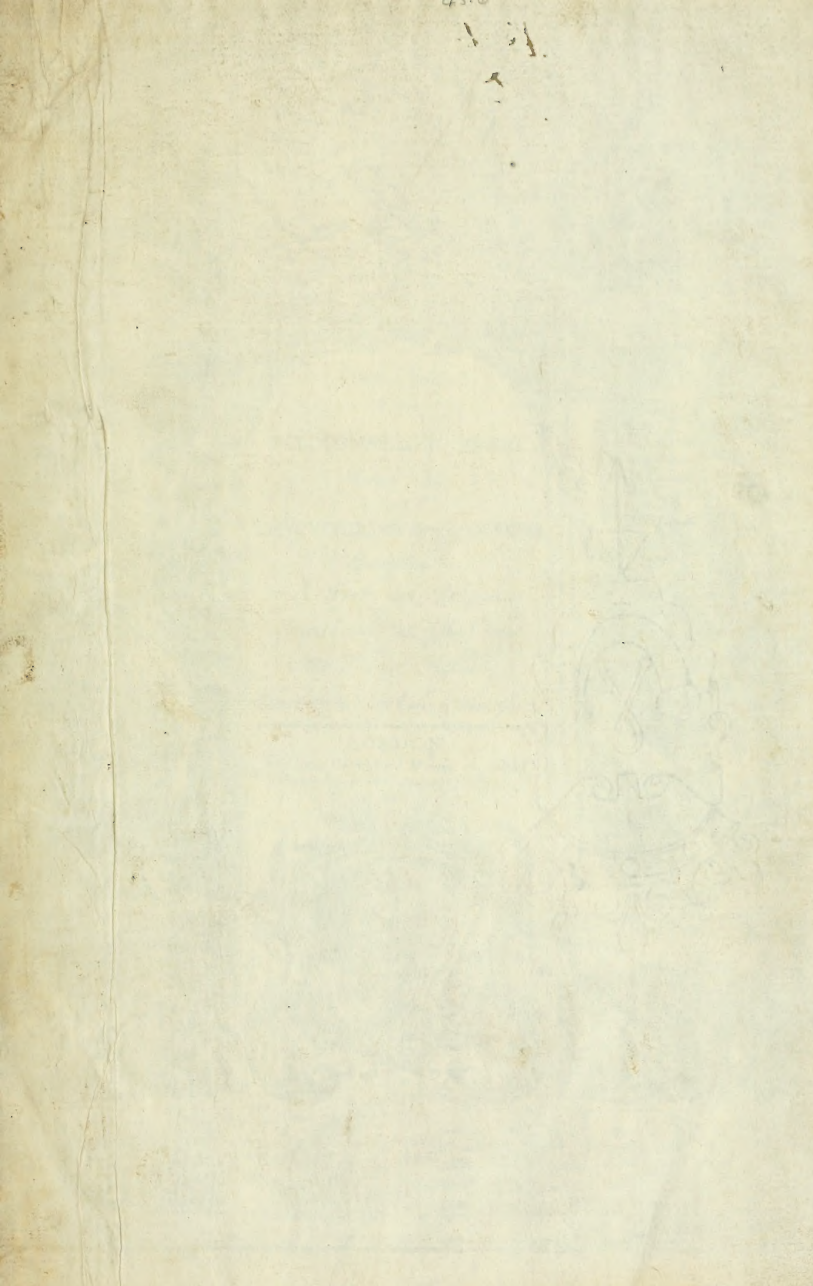


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ΕΛΛΑΣ



ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ



ΑΡΧΙΑΜΟΣ



Eight Bookes
of the
PELOPONNESIAN WARRE
Written by
THVCYDIDES the sonne of OLORVS
Interpreted
with Faith and Diligence
Immediately out of the Greeke
By Thomas Hobbes
Secretary to y^e late Earle of Devonshire

LONDON

Imprinted for Richard Mynne, in Little
Brittaine, at the signe of S. Paul.
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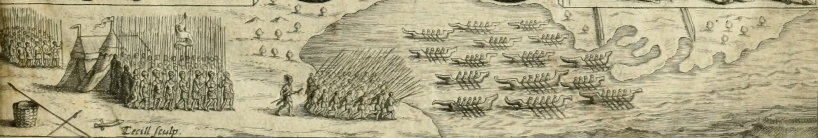
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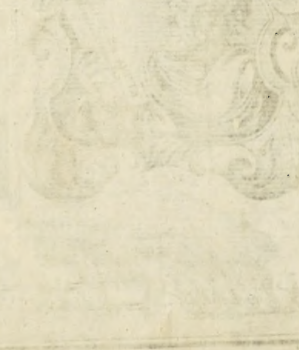
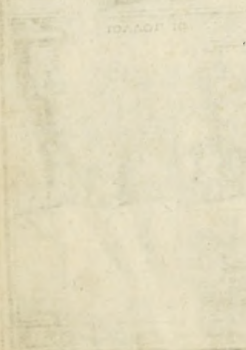
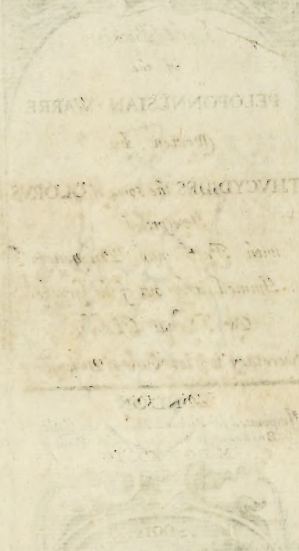
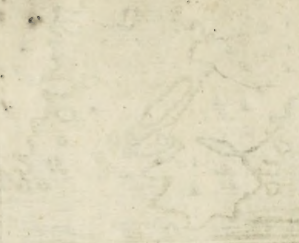
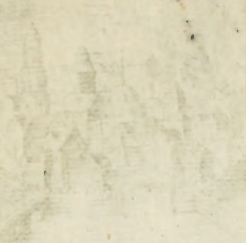


Et scilicet sculp.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ



TO THE RIGHT
HONOVABLE, SIR

WILLIAM CAVENDYSSE, Knight
of the BATH, Baron of HARDVICKE,
and Earle of DEVONSHIRE.

Right Honourable,



Take confidence from your Lordships goodnesse, in the very entrance of this Epistle, to professe, with Simplicities, and according to the faith I owe my Master now in Heauen, That it is not vnto your selfe, but to your Lordships Father, that I Dedicate this my Labour, such as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may present it as a voluntary Oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an Account, to him, by whose Indulgence, I had both the time, and Ammunition to performe it; Nor if such Obligation were removed, know I any to whom I ought to Dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many yeeres I had the honour to serue him, I know this, There was not any, who more really, and lesse for Glories sake, fauoured those that studied the *Liberall Arts* liberally, then My Lord,

A

your

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

your Father did; nor in whole house a man should lesse need the Vniuersity, then in his. For his own studie, it was bestowed, for the most part, in that kind of Learning, which best deserueth the paines and houres of Great Persons, *History*, and *Ciuill knowledge*, and directed not to the Ostentation of his reading, but to the Gouvernment of his Life, and the Publike good. For he so read, that the Learning he tooke in by study, by iudgement he digested, and conuerted into Wisdome, and ability to benefith his Countrey; to which also hee applyed himselfe with Zeale, but such as tooke no fire, either from *Faction* or *Ambition*. And as he was a most able man, for soundnesse of aduice, and cleere expression of himselfe, in matters of difficulty and consequence, both in publike and priuate; so also was he one whom no man was able either to draw, or iustle out of the straight path of Iustice. Of which vertue I know not whether hee deserued more, by his seuerity, in imposing it (as he did, to his last breath) on himselfe, or by his Magnanimity in not exacting it to himselfe from others. No man better discerned of *Men*; and therefore was he constant in his Friendships, because he regarded not the *Fortune*, nor *Adherence*, but the *Men*; with whom also he conuersed with an opennesse of heart, that had no other guard then his owne Integrity, and that *Nil Conscire*. To his *Equalles* hee carried himselfe equally; and to his inferiours familiarly; but maintaining his Respect fully, and onely, with the natie splendour of his worth. In summe, hee was one in whom might plainely bee perceiued, that *Honour* and *Honesty* are but the same thing, in the

the different degrees of persons. To him therefore, and to the memory of his worth, be consecrated this, though vnworthy Offering.


And now, imitating in this *Ciwill Worship*, the *Religious worship* of the Gentiles, who when they Dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and presented the same to their Images; I bring & present this Gift of mine, *the History of THUCYDIDES* translated into English, with much more diligence then elegance; to your Lordship, who are the Image of your Father, (for neuer was a man more exactly coppied out, then he in you,) and who haue in you the seeds of his vertues already springing vp. Humbly intreating your Lordship to esteeme it amongst the Goods that descend vpon you, and in your due time to read it. I could recommend the Author vnto you, not impertinently, for that he had in his veynes the blood of Kings; but I chuse rather to recommend him for his writings, as hauing in them profitable instruction for Noblemen, and such as may come to haue the mannaging of great and waighty actions. For I may confidently say, that notwithstanding the excellent both Examples and Precepts of Heroique Vertue you haue at home, this Booke will conferre not a little to your institution; especially, when you come to the yeeres, to frame your life by your owne Observation. For in *History*, actions of *honour* and *dishonour* doe appeare plainely and distinctly, which are which; but in the present Age they are so disguised, that few there bee, and those very carefull, that bee not grossely mistaken in them. But this, I doubt not, is superfluously spoken by mee to your Lordship: Therefore I end with

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

this prayer, That it will please God to giue you
Vertues sutable to the faire dwelling he hath pre-
pared for them, and the happinesse that such Ver-
tues leade vnto, both in, and after this world.

*Your Lordships most
humble Seruant,*

THO. HOBBS.



TO THE READERS.

THough this Translation haue already past the Censure of some, whose Iudgements I very much esteeme; yet, because there is something, I know not what, in the censure of a Multitude, more terrible then any single Iudgement, how seuerer or exact soeuer, I haue thought it discretion in all men, that haue to doe with so many, and to me, in my want of perfection, necessary, to bespeake your Candor. Which that I may vpon the better reason hope for, I am willing to acquaint you briefly, vpon what grounds I vndertooke this Worke at first; and haue since, by publishing it, put my selfe vpon the hazard of your censure, with so small hope of glory; as from a thing of this nature can be expected. For I know, that meere Translations, haue in them this property, that they may much disgrace, if not well done; but if well, not much commend the doer.

It hath bene noted by diuers, that Homer in Poesie, Aristotle in Philosophy, Demosthenes in Eloquence, and others of the Ancients, in other knowledge, doe still maintaine their Primacy; none of them exceeded, some not approached, by any, in these later Ages. And in the number of these, is iustly ranked also our Thucydides; a Workeman no lesse perfect in his worke, then any of the former; and in whom (I beleeue with many others) the Faculty of writing History is at the highest. For the principall and proper worke of History, being to instruct, and enable men, by the knowledge of Actions past, to beare themselves prudently in the present, and prouidently towards the Future, there is not extant any other (meere ly humane) that doth more fully and naturally performe it, then this of my Author. It is true, that there be many excellent and profitable Histories written since; and in some of them, there be inserted very wise discourses, both of Manners and Pölicie. But being discourses inserted, and not of the contexture of the Narration, they indeed commend the knowledge of the Writer, but not the History it selfe; the nature whereof, is meere ly narrative. In others, there bee subtilie coniectures, at the secret aymes, and inward cogitations of such as fall vnder their Penne; which is also none of the least vertues in a History,

where

To the Readers.

Where the coniecture is thoroughly grounded, not forced to serue the purpose of the Writer, in adorning his stile, or manifesting his subtilty in coniecturing. But these coniectures cannot often be certaine, vnesse withall so euident, that the narration it selfe may be sufficient to suggest the same also to the Reader. But Thucydides is one, who, though he neuer digresse to reade a Lecture, Morall or Politicall, vpon his owne Text, nor enter into mens hearts, further then the actions themselves euidently guide him, is yet accounted the most Politique Historiographer that euer writ. The reason whereof I take to bee this: He fillet his Narrations with that choice of matter, and ordereth them with that Iudgement, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himselfe, that, as Plutarch saith, he maketh his Auditor a Spectator. For he setteth his Reader in the Assemblies of the People, and in the Senates, at their debating; in the Streets, at their Seditions; and in the Field, at their Battels. So that looke how much a man of understanding, might haue added to his experience, if he had then liued, a beholder of their proceedings, and familiar with the men, and businesse of the time; so much almost may he profit now, by attentive reading of the same here written. He may from the narrations draw out lessons to himselfe; and of himselfe be able, to trace the drifts and counsailes of the Actors to their seate.

These Vertues of my Author did so take my affection, that they begat in me a desire to communicate him further; which was the first occasion that moued mee to translate him. For it is an errour we easily fall into, to beleue, that whatsoeuer pleaseth vs, will be, in like manner and degree, acceptable to all; and to esteeme of one anothers Iudgement, as we agree in the liking, or dislike of the same things. And in this errour peraduenture was I, when I thought, that as many of the more iudicious, as I should communicate him to, would affect him as much as I my selfe did. I considered also, that he was exceedingly esteemed of the Italians and French in their owne Tongues; notwithstanding that he bee not very much beholding for it to his Interpreters. Of whom (to speake no more then becomes a Candidate of your good opinion in the same kinde). I may say this, That whereas the Author himselfe, so carrieth with him his owne light throughout, that the Reader may continually see his way before him, and by that which goeth before, expect what is to follow, I found it not so in them. The cause whereof, and their excuse may bee this: They followed the Latine of Laurentius Valla, which was not without some errours; and he a Greeke copie, not so correct as now is extant. Out of French hee was done into English, (for I neede not dissemble to haue seene him in English) in the time of King Edward the sixth; but so, as by multiplication of errour; hee became at length traduced,

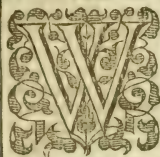
To the Readers.

traduced, rather then translated into our Language. Hereupon I resolved to take him immediately from the Greeke, according to the Edition of Emilius Porta; not refusing, or neglecting any version, Comment, or other helpe I could come by. Knowing that when with Diligence and Leisure I should haue done it, though some error might remaine, yet they would be errors but of one descent; of which neuerthelesse I can discover none, and hope they bee not many. After I had finished it, it lay long by mee, and other reasons taking place, my desire to communicate it ceased.

For I saw, that, for the greatest part, men came to the reading of History, with an affection much like that of the People, in Rome, who came to the spectacle of the Gladiators, with more delight to behold their blood, then their Skill in Fencing. For they be farre more in number, that loue to read of great Armies, bloody Battels, and many thousands slaine at once. then that minde the Art, by which, the Affaires, both of Armies, and Cities, be conducted to their ends. I obserued likewise that there were not many, whose eares were well accustomed to the names of the places they shall meet with in this History; without the knowledge whercof, it can neither patiently be read ouer, perfectly understood, nor easily remembered; Especially being many, as heere it falleth out; because in that Age, almost euery City, both in Greece and Sicily, the two maine scenes of this Warre, was a distinct Common-wealth by it selfe; and a party in the Quarrell.

Neuerthelesse I haue thought since, that the former of these considerations ought not to be of any weight at all, to him that can content himselfe with the Few and better sort of Readers; who, as they onely iudge, so is their approbation onely considerable. And for the difficulty arising from the ignorance of places, I thought it not so insuperable, but that with conuenient pictures of the Countries it might be remoed. To which purpose, I saw there would be necessary, especially two; a Generall Mappe of Greece, and a Generall Mappe of Sicily. The latter of these, I found already extant, exactly done, by Philip Cluuerius; which I haue caused to be cut, and you haue it at the beginning of the Sixth Booke. But for Mappes of Greece, sufficient for this purpose, I could light on none. For neither are the Tables of Ptolomie, and descriptions of those that follow him, accommodate to the time of Thucydides; and therefore few of the Places by him mentioned, therein described: nor are those that bee, agreeing alwayes with the truth of History. Wherefore I was constrained to draw one (as well as I could) my selfe. Which to doe, I was to rely, for the maine Figure of the Countrey, on the moderne description now in reputation; and in that to set downe those Places especially (as many as the Volume was capable of) which occurre in the
reading

OF THE LIFE AND HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.



Ye reade of diuers men that beare the name of *Thucydides*. There is *Thucydides* a *Pharsalian*, mentioned in the eighth Booke of this History; who was publike Hoste of the *Athenians* in *Pharsalus*, and chancing to be at *Athens*, at the time that the government of the 400 began to goe downe, by his interposition, and perswasion, kept asunder the *Factions* then arming themselves, that they fought not in the City to the ruine of the Common-wealth. There is *Thucydides* the son of *Milesias*, an *Athenian*, of the towne of *Alope*,

of whom *Plutarch* speaketh in the Life of *Pericles*; and the same in all probability, that in the first Booke of this History, is said to haue had the charge of 40 Gallies, sent against *Samos*, about 24 yeeres before the beginning of this Warre. Another *Thucydides* the sonne of *Ariston*, an *Athenian* also, of the Towne of *Acherdus*, was a Poet, though of his verses there be nothing extant. But *Thucydides* the writer of this History, an *Athenian*, of the Towne of *Halmus*, was the sonne of *Olorus*, (or *Orolus*) and *Hegesippus*. His Fathers name is commonly written *Olorus* though in the Inscription on his Tombe, it was *Orolus*. Howsoever it be writtten, it is the same that was borne by diuers of the Kings of *Thrace*, and imposed on him, with respect vnto his descent from them. So that though our Author (as *Cicero* saith of him *Lib. 2. De Oratore*) had neuer written an History, yet had not his name not bin extant, in regard of his Honour and Nobility. And not onely *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cimon*, but also almost all others that haue touched this point, affirme directly that he was descended from the *Thracian* Kings. Adducing this for prooffe, that he was of the house of *Miltiades*, that famous Generall of the *Athenians*, against the *Persians* at *Marathon*, which they also proue by this, that his Tombe was a long time extant amongst the Monuments of that Family. For neere vnto the Gates of *Athens*, called *Melirides*, there was a place named *Coela*; and in it the Monuments called *Cimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which, none but such as were of that Family, might be buried. And amongst those was the Monument of *Thucydides*, with this Inscription, *Thucydides Orolis Halimusius*. Now *Miltiades* is confessed by all, to haue descended from *Olorus*, King of *Thrace*, whose daughter another *Miltiades*, Grandfather to this, married, and had children by. And *Miltiades*, that wonne the memorable victory at *Marathon*, was heire to goodly possessions, and Cities in the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, ouer which also hee reigned. In *Thrace* lay also the possessions of *Thucydides* and his wealthy Mines of Gold, as he himselfe professeth in his fourth Booke. And although those riches might come to him by a Wife (as is also by some affirmed) which he married in *Scapte-Hyle*, a City of *Thrace*, yet euen by that marriage, it appeareth, that his affaires had a relation to that Countrey, and that his Nobility was not there vknowne. But in what degree of kindred *Miltiades*, and he, approached each other, is not any where made manifest. Some also haue coniectured that hee was of the house of the *Pisistratides*; the ground of whose coniecture hath bene onely this, that he maketh honourable mention of the government of *Pisistratus*, and his sonnes, and extenuateth the glory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; prouing that the freeing of the State of *Athens* from the tyranny of the *Pisistratides*, was falsely ascribed to their fact, which proceeded from priuate reuenge, in a quarrel of Loue) by which the tyranny ceased not, but grew heauier to the State, till it was at last put

Of the Life and History of *Thucydides*.

downe by the *Lacedemonians*. But this opinion, as it is not so well grounded, so neither is it so well received as the former.

Agreeable to his Nobility, was his institution in the study of *Eloquence*, and *Philosophy*. For in *Philosophy*, he was the Scholler (as also was *Pericles* and *Socrates*) of *Anaxagoras*, whose opinions, being of a straine about the apprehension of the vulgar, procured him the estimation of an *Atheist*, which name they bestowed vpon all men that thought not as they did, of their ridiculous Religion, and in the end, cost him his life. And *Socrates* after him for the like causes, vnderwent the like fortune. It is not therefore much to be regarded, if this other disciple of his, were by some reputed an *Atheist* to. For though he were none, yet it is not improbable, but by the light of naturall reason, he might see enough in the Religion of these Heathen, to make him thinke it vaine, and superstitious; which was enough to make him an *Atheist*, in the opinion of the People. In some places of his History, hee noteth the equiuocation of the Oracles; and yet hee confirmeth an assertion of his owne, touching the time this Warrelasted, by the Oracles prediction. He taxeth *Nicias* for being to punctuall in the obseruation of the Ceremonies of their Religion, when he ouerthrew himselfe and his Army, and indeed the whole Dominion, and liberty of his Countrey by it. Yet he commendeth him in another place for his worshipping of the *Gods*, and faith in that respect, hee least of all men deserued to come to so great a degree of Calamity as hee did. So that in his writings our Authour appeareth to be, on the one side not superstitious, on the other side, not an *Atheist*.

In *Rhetorique*, he was the Disciple of *Antiphon*. one (by his description in the eighth Booke of this History) for power of speech almost a miracle, and feared by the People, for his eloquence. Inasmuch as in his latter dayes hee liued retired, but so, as he gaue counsell to, and writ Orations for other men that resorted vnto him, to that purpose. It was he that contriued the deposing of the People, and the setting vp of the gouernment of the 400. For which also he was put to death, when the People againe recovered their authority; notwithstanding that hee pleaded his owne cause, the best of any man to that day.

It need not be doubted, but from such a Master, *Thucydides* was sufficiently qualified, to haue become a great Demagogue, and of great authority with the People. But it seemeth he had no desire at all to meddle in the gouernment, because in those times it was impossible for any man to giue good and profitable counsell for the Common-wealth and not incur the displeasure of the People. For their opinion was such of their owne power, and of the facility of achieving whatsoeuer action they vndertooke, that such men onely swayed the Assemblies, and were esteemed wise and good Common-wealths men, as did put them vpon the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes. Whereas he that gaue them temperate, and discreet aduice, was thought a Coward, or not to vnderstand, or else to maligne their power. And no maruell; for much prosperity (to which they had now for many yeeres been accustomed) maketh men in loue with themselves; and it is hard for any man to loue that counsell which maketh him loue himselfe the lesse. And it holdeth much more in a Multitude, then in one Man; For a man that reasoneth with himselfe, will not be ashamed to admit of timorous suggestions in his business, that he may the stronglier prouide; but in publique deliberations before a Multitude, Feare, (which for the most part aduise well, though it execute not so) seldome or neuer sheweth it selfe, or is admitted. By this meanes it came to passe amongst the *Athenians*, who thought they were able to doe any thing, that wicked men and flatterers draue them headlong into those actions that were to ruine them; and the good men either durst not oppose, or if they did, vndid themselves. *Thucydides* therefore, that he might not be either of them that committed, or of them that suffered euill, forbore to come into the Assemblies, and propounded to himselfe, a priuate life as farre as the eminency of so wealthy a person, and the writing of the History he had vndertaken, would permit.

For his opinion touching the gouernment of the State, it is manifest that hee least of all liked the *Democracy*. And vpon diuers occasions hee noteth the emulation and contention of the Demagogues, for reputation, and glory of wit; with their crossing of each others counsels to the dammage of the Publique; the inconstancy of

Of the *Life and History of Thucydides.*

of Resolutions, caused by the diuersity of ends, and power of Rhetorique in the Orators; and the desperate actions vnder taken vpon the flattering aduice of such as desired to attaine, or to hold what they had attained of authority and sway amongst the common people. Nor doth it appeare, that he magnifieth any where the authority of the *Few*; amongst whom he saith euery one desireth to be chiefe, and they that are vnderualued, beare it with lesse patience then in a *Democracy*; whereupon sedition followeth, and dissolution of the government. Hee prayseth the government of *Athens*, when it was mixt of the *Few* and the *Many*; but more he commendeth it, both when *Pisistratus* reigned (sauiug that it was an vsurped power) and when in the beginning of this Warre, it was *Democraticall* in name, but in effect *Monarchicall* vnder *Pericles*. So that it seemeth that as he was of Regall descent, so he best approued of the *Regall Government*. It is therefore no maruell, if he meddled as little as he could in the businesse of the Common-wealth, but gaue himselfe rather to the obseruation and recording of what was done by thoe that had the manning thereof. Which also he was no lesse prompt diligent and faithfull by the disposition of his mind, then by his fortune, dignity, and wisdom, able to accomplish. How he was disposed to a worke of this nature, may be vnderstood by this, that when being a young man he heard *Herodotus* the Historiographer reciting his History in Publique, (for such was the fashion both of that, and many Ages after) he felt so great a sting of emulation, that it drew teares from him, inasmuch as *Herodotus* himselfe tooke notice how violently his mind was set on letters, and told his Father *Olorus*. When the *Poloponnesian* Warre began to breake out, he coniectured truely, that it would proue an Argument worthy his labour: and no sooner it began, then he began his History; pursuing the same, not in that perfect manner, in which we see it now, but by way of Commentary, or plaine Register of the Actions and passages thereof, as from time to time they fell out, and came to his knowledge. But such a Commentary it was, as might perhaps deserue to be prefer'd before a History written by another. For it is very probable that the eighth Booke is left the same it was when he first writ it, neither beautified with *Orations*, nor so well Cemented at the *Transitions*, as the former seuen Bookes are. And though he began to write as soone as euer the Warre was on foot, yet began he not to perfect and polish his History, till after he was banished.

For notwithstanding his retyred life vpon the Coast of *Thrace*, where his owne possessions lay, he could not auoyd a seruice of the State, which proued to him afterwards very vnfürunate. For whilest he resided in the Ile *Thasus*, it fell out that *Brasidas* the *Lacedemonian*, besieged *Amphipolis*, a Citie belonging to the *Athenians*, on the Confines of *Thrace*, and *Macedony*, distant from *Thasus*, about halfe a dayes sayle. To relieue which, the Captaine thereof for the *Athenians*, sent to *Thucydides*, to leuy a power and make haste vnto him. (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had authority to raise forces in those parts, for the seruice of the Common-wealth.) And he did accordingly. But he came thither one night too late, and found the City already yeelded vp. And for this he was afterwards banished, as if he had let slip his time through negligence, or purposely put it off, vpon feare of the Enemy. Neuerthelesse he put himselfe into the Citie of *Eion*, and preferred it to the *Athenians*, with the repulse of *Brasidas*, which came downe from *Amphipolis*, the next morning, and assaulted it. The author of his banishment is supposed to haue been *Cleon*, a most violent Sycophant in those times, and thereby also a most acceptable Speaker amongst the people. For where affaires succeed amisse, though there want neither prouidence, nor courage in the Conduccion, yet with those that iudge onely vpon euents, the way to calumny is alwayes open, and *Enuy*, in the likenesse of *Zeale* to the Publique good, easily findeth credit for an accusation.

After his Banishment he liued in *Scapte-Hyle*, a Citie of *Thrace*, before mentioned, as *Plutarch* writeth; but yet so, as he went abroad, and was present at the Actions of the rest of the Warre, as appeareth by his owne words in his fift Booke. Where he saith, that he was present at the Actions of both parts, and no lesse at those of the *Poloponnesians*, by reason of his exile, then those of the *Athenians*. During this time also, he perfected his History, so far as is now to be seene; nor doth

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it appeare that after his exile, he euer againe enjoyed his Countrey. It is not cleere in any Author, where, or when, or in what yeere of his owne Age, he dyed. Most agree that he dyed in Banishment; yet there be that haue written, that after the defeat in *Sicily*, the *Athenians* decreed a generall reuocation of all banished persons, except those of the Family of *Pericles*; and that he then returned, and was after wards put to death at *Athens*. But this is very vnlikely to be true, vnlike by *after* the defeat in *Sicily*, he meant *so long after*, that it was also after the end of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, because *Thucydides* himselfe maketh no mention of such returne, though he out-lived the whole War, as is manifest by his words in the fifth Booke. For he saith he liued in banishment twenty yeeres after his charge at *Amphipolis*; which happened in the eighth yeere of this Warre, which in the whole, lasted but 27 yeeres compleat. And in another place he maketh mention of the razing of the *Long-walles* betwene *Peiræus*, and the City; which was the last stroke of this Warre. They that say he dyed at *Athens*, take their coniecture from his Monument which was there. But this is not a sufficient Argument; for he might bee buried there secretly, (as some haue written he was) though he dyed abroad; or his Monument might be there, and (as others haue affirmed) he not buried in it. In this variety of coniecture there is nothing more probable then that which is written by *Plutarch*, where he describeth the Monuments of the *Athenian* Citie, and faith thus. *The worthy A. of Oenobus, in the behalfe of Thucydides, is not without honour* (meaning that he had a Statue.) *For Oenobius obtained to haue a Decree passed for his returne; who returning was shame by treachery, and his Sepulchre is now in the Gates called Melitrides.* He dyed, as saith *Marcellinus*, after the seven and fiftieth yeere of his Age. And if it be true that is written by *A. Gellius*, of the Ages of *Hæcæus*, *Demetrius*, and *Thucydides*, then died he not before the sixty eighth yeere. For if he were forty when the Warre began, and liued (as he did, certainly) to see it ended he might be more when he dyed, but not lesse then sixty eight yeeres of Age. What children he left, is not manifest. *Plutarch in Alcibiades*, maketh mention of *Milefius* and *Stephanus*, sonnes of a *Thucydides*, of a very Noble Family; but it is cleere that they were of *Thucydides*, the Riual of *Pericles*, both by the name *Milefius*, and because this *Thucydides* also, was of the Family of *Melitrides* as *Plutarch* tellt forth in the Life of *Cimon*. That he had a sonne, is affirmed by *Marcellinus*, out of the authority of *Polémon*, but of his name there is no mention, save that a learned man readeth there, in the place of *his*... (which is in the imperfect Copie) *Timotheus*. Thus much of the person of *Thucydides*.

Now for his writings, two things are to bee considered in them, *Truth*, and *Eloquution*. For in *Truth* consisteth the *Soule*, and in *Eloquution* the *Body* of History. The latter without the former, is but a picture of History; and the former without the latter, vnapt to instruct. But let vs see how our Author hath acquitted himselfe in both. For the Faith of this History, I shall haue the lesse to say, in respect that no man hath euer yet called it into question. Nor indeed could any man iustly doubt of the truth of that Writer, in whom they had nothing at all to suspect of those things that could haue caused him either voluntarily to lie, or ignorantly to deliuer an vntruth. He ouertasked not himselfe by vndertaking an History of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to informe himselfe. He was a man that had as much meanes, in regard both of his dignity and weal, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needfull for a man to haue. He vsed as much diligence in search of the truth, (noting every thing whilst it was fresh in memory, and laying out his wealth vpon intelligence,) as was possible for a man to vse. He affected least of any man the acclamations of Popular Auditories, and wrote not his History to win present applause, as was the vse of that Age, but for a Monument to instruct the Ages to come. Which he professeth himselfe, and enticeth his Booke *ΚΤΙΜΑ ΕΣ ΑΕΙ*, *A Possession for euermlasting*. He was farre from the necessity of seruile Writers, either to feare or flatter. And whereas he may peraduenture be thought to haue bene malivolent towards his Countrey, because they deserued to haue him so, yet hath he not written any thing that discouereth any such passion. Nor is there any thing written of them that tendeth to their dishonour, as *Athenians*, but onely as *People*; and that by the necessity of the narration, not by any sought digression. So that no word of his,

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but their own actions do sometimes reproach them. In summe if the truth of a History did ever appeare by the manner of relating, it doth so in this History; So coherent, perspicuous and perswasive is the whole Narration, and every part thereof.

In the *Eloquution* also; Two things are considerable, *Disposition* or *Method*, and *Stile*. Of the *Disposition* here vsed by Thucydides, it will be sufficient in this place, briefly to observe only this. That in his first Booke, first he hath by way of *Exordium*, deriued the State of Greece from the Cradle, to the vigorous Nature it then was at, when he began to write; and next, declared the causes, both real and pretended of the Warre hee was to write of. In the rest, in which hee handleth the Warre it selfe, he followeth distinctly and purely the order of time throughout; relating what came to passe from yeere to yeere, and subduiding each yeere into a Summer and Winter. The grounds and motives of euery action he setteth down before the action it selfe, either Narratiuely, or else contriueth them into the forme of *Deliberative Orations*, in the persons of such as from time to time bare sway in the Common-wealth. After the actions, when there is iust occasion, he giueth his iudgement of them, the wing by what meanes the successe came either to be furthered or hindered. Digressions for instructions cause, and other such open conuincances of Precepts (which is the Philosophers part) he neuer vseth, as hauing so clearly set before mens eyes, the wayes and euents, of good and euill counsels, that the Narration it selfe doth secretly instruct the Reader, and more effectually then possibly can be done by Precept.

For his *Stile*, I referre it to the iudgement of diuers antient and competent Judges. Plutarch, in his Booke, *De gloria Atheniensium*, saith of him thus. Thucydides smeth alwayes at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to cast his Reader into the same passions that they were in, that were beholders. The manner how Demosthenes ranged the Athenians on the rugged shore before Pylus. How Brasidas urged the Grecians to ronne his Gallie a ground; how he went to the Ladder, or place in the Gallie for descent, how he was hurt, and swoyned, and fell downe on the ledges of the Gallie; how the Spartans fought after the manner of a Land-fight upon the Sea, and the Athenians of a Sea-fight upon Land. Again, in the Sicilian Warre, how a battell was fought by Sea and Land, with equall fortune. These things, I say, are so described, and so evidently set before our eyes, that the mind of the Reader is no lesse affected therewith, then if hee had been present in the Actions. There is for his perspicuity. Cicero in his Booke entituled *Orator*, speaking of the affection of diuers Greeke Rhetoricians, saith thus. A little therefore Herodotus and Thucydides are the more admirable. For though they liued in the same Age with those I haue before named, (meaning Thrasymachus, Gorgias and Theodorus) yet were they farre from this kind of delicacy, or rather indeed of idleness. For the one without rubbe, gently glideth like a still River, and the other (meaning Thucydides) runnes stronger, and in matter of Warre, as it were bloweth a trumpet of Warre. And in these two (as saith Theophrastus) History hath browsed her selfe, and aduertured to speake both more copiously, and with more ornament then in those that were before them. This commends the gravity, and the dignity of his language. Again in his second Booke, *De Oratore*, thus. Thucydides in the *Art of speaking*, both in my opinion far exceeded them all. For he is so full of matter, that the number of his sentences, doth almost reach to the number of his words; and in his words he is so apt, and so close, that it is hard to say, whether his words do more illustrate his sentences, or his sentences his words. There is for the pithinesse and strength of his Stile. Lastly, for the purity, and propriety, I cite, *Dionysius Halicarnassius*, whose testimony is the stronger in this point, because he was a Greeke Rhetorician for his faculty, and for his affection, one that would no further commend him, then of necessity he must. His words are these. There is one vertue in Eloquence, the chiefe of all the rest, and without which there is no other good esse in speech. What is that? That the language be pure and retain the propriety of the Greeke tongue. This they both observe diligently. For Herodotus is the best rule of the Ionique, and Thucydides of the Attique Dialect. These testimonies are not needfull to him that hath read the History it selfe, nor at all, but that this same *Dionysius* hath taken so much paines, and applied so much of his faculty in Rhetorique to the extenuating of the worth thereof; Moreover, I haue thought it necessary to take out the principall objections he maketh against him, and without many words of mine owne, to leaue them to the consideration

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deration of the Reader. And first Dionysius saith thus. *The principall, and most necessary office of any man that intendeth to write a History, is to chuse a Noble Argument, and gratefull to such as shall read it. And this, Herodotus, in my opinion, hath done better then Thucydides. For Herodotus hath written the 19th History, both of the Greekes and Barbarians, to save from oblivion, &c. But Thucydides writeth one onely Warre, and that neither honourable nor fortunate; which principally were to bee wished never to have beene; and next, never to have been remembered, nor knowne to posterity. And that he took an evill Argument in hand, he maketh it manifest in his proeme, saying, That many Cities were in that Warre made desolate, and utterly destroyed, partly by Barbarians, partly by the Greekes themselves: so many banishments, and so much slaughter of men as neuer was the like before, &c. So that the hearers will abhorre it, as the first propounding. Now by how much it is better to write of the wonderfull acts both of the Barbarians, and Grecians, then of the pitifull and horrible calamities of the Grecians, so much wiser is Herodotus in the choyce of his Argument, then Thucydides.*

Now let any man consider whether it be not more reasonable to say. *That the principall, & most necessary office of him that will write a History, is to take such an Argument, as is both within his power well to handle, and profitable to posterity that shall read it. Which Thucydides, in the opinion of all men, hath done better then Herodotus. For Herodotus undertooke to write of those things, of which it was impossible for him to know the truth; and which delight more the eare with fabulous Narrations, then satisfy the mind with truth. But Thucydides writeth one Warre, which, how it was carried from the beginning to the end, he was able certainly to informe himselfe. And by propounding in his Proeme, the miseries that happened in the same, he sheweth that it was a great Warre, and worthy to be knowne, and not to be concealed from posterity, for the calamities that then fell upon the Grecians; but the rather to be truly delivred unto them for that men profit more by looking on adverse events, then on prosperity. Therefore by how much mens miseries doe better instruct, then their good success, by so much was Thucydides more happy in taking his Argument, then Herodotus was wise in chusing his.*

Dionysius againe, saith thus. *The next office of him that will write a History, is to know where to begin, and where to end. And in this point Herodotus seemeth to be farre more discret then Thucydides. For in the first place he layeth downe the cause, for which the Barbarians began to iniure the Grecians; and going on, maketh an end at the punishment, and the revenge taken on the Barbarians. But Thucydides begins at the good estate of the Grecians, which being a Grecian, and an Athenian, he ought not to have done; nor ought he being of that dignity amongst the Athenians, so evidently to have laid the fault of the Warre upon his owne City, when there were other occasions enough to which he might have imputed it. Nor ought he to have begun with the businesse of the Corcyraens, but at the more Noble Acts of his Countrey, which they did immediately after the Persian Warre, (which after ward in convenient place he mentioneth, but it is but cursorily, and not as he ought.) And when he had declared those, with much affection, as a lover of his Countrey, then he should have brought in, how that the Lacedaemonians, through envy and feare, but pretending other causes, began the Warre, and so have descended to the Corcyraean businesse, and the Decree against the Megareans, or whatsoever else he had to put in. Then in the ending of his History, there be many errors committed. For though he professes he was present in the whole warre, and that he would write it all, yet he ends with the Naual battell at Cynossema, which was fought in the 21 yeere of the warre; whereas it had beene better to have gone through with it, and ended his History with that admirable, and gratefull returne of the banished Athenians from Phile, at which time the City recovered her liberty.*

To this I say. *That it was the duty of him that had undertaken to write the History of the Peloponnesian Warre, to begin his Narration no further off, then at the causes of the same, whether the Grecians were then in good, or in evill estate. And if the iniury, upon which the Warre arose, proceeded from the Athenians, then the writer, though an Athenian, and honoured in his Countrey, ought to declare the same, and not to scape, nor take, though at hand, any other occasion to transserre the fault. And that the Acts done before the time comprehended in the Warre he writ of, ought to have been touched but cursorily, and no more then may serve for the enlightning of the History to follow, how Noble*
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foener these Acts haue bene. Which when he had thus touched, without affection to either side, and not as a louer of his Countrey, but of truth, then to haue proceeded to the rest, with the like indifferency, And to haue made an end of Writing, where the Warre ended, which he undertooke to Write; not producing his History beyond that period, though that which followed were neuer so admirable and acceptable. All this Thucydides hath obserued.

These two criminations, I haue therefore set downe at large, translated almost verbatim, that the iudgement of *Dionysius Halicarnassius*, may the better appeare, concerning the mayne and principall vertues of a History. I thinke there was neuer written so much absurdity in so few lines. He is contrary to the opinion of all men that euer spake of this subiect besides himselfe, and to common sense. For he makes the scope of History not profit by writing truth, but delight of the hearer, as if it were a Song. And the Argument of History, he would not by any meanes haue to containe the calamities and misery of his Countrey, (these he would haue buried in silence) but onely their glorious and splendid actions. Amongst the vertues of an Historiographer, hee reckons affection to his Countrey; study to please the hearer; to write of more then his Argument leads him to; and to conceale all actions that were not to the honour of his Countrey. Most manifest vices. He was a Rhetorician, and it seemeth he would haue nothing written, but that which was most capable of Rhetoricall ornament. Yet *Lucian*, a Rhetorician also, in a Treatise, entituled, *How a History ought to be written*, saith thus. That a writer of History, ought in his writings, to be a forraigner, without Countrey, liuing vnder his owne Law onely, subiect to no King, nor caring what any man will like, or dislike, but laying out the matter as it is.

The third fault he finds, is this. That the method of his History is governed by the time, rather then the periods of seuerall actions. For he declares in order what came to passe each Summer, and Winter, and is thereby forced sometimes, to leaue the Narration of a siege, or sedition, or a Warre, or other action, in the midst, and enter into a Relation of somewhat else, done at the same time, in another place, and to come to the former againe when the time requires it. This saith hee, causeth confusion in the mind of his hearer, so that he cannot comprehend distinctly the seuerall parts of the History.

Dionysius aymeth still at the delight of the present hearer; though *Thucydides* himselfe professe that his scope is not that, but to leaue his worke for a perpetuall possession to posterity. And then haue men leasure enough to comprehend him throughly. But indeed, whosoeuer shall reade him once attentively, shall more distinctly conceiue of euery action this way, then the other; and the method is more naturall; for as much as his purpose being to write of one *Peloponnesian* Warre, this way he hath incorporated all the parts thereof into one body, so that there is vni-ty in the whole, and the seuerall Narrations are conceiued onely as parts of that; Whereas the other way, he had but sowed together many little Histories, and left the *Peloponnesian* Warre (which he tooke for his subiect) in a manner vnwritten; for neither any part, nor the whole, could iustly haue carryed such a Title.

Fourthly, he accuseth him for the method of his first Booke, in that he deriueth *Greece*, from the infancy thereof to his owne time; and in that he setteth downe the Narration of the quarrels about *Corcyra*, and *Posidea*, before he entreateth of the true cause of the Warre, which was the greatnesse of the *Athenian* dominion, feared and enuyed by the *Lacedamonians*.

For answer to this, I say thus. For the mentioning of the antient State of *Greece*, he doth it briefly, insisting no longer vpon it then is necessary for the well vnderstanding of the following History. For without some generall notions of these first times, many places of the History are the lesse easie to be vnderstood, as depending vpon the knowledge of the originall of seuerall Cities, and Customes, which could not be at all inserted into the History it selfe, but must be either supposed to be foreknowne by the reader, or else be deliuered to him in the beginning, as a necessary Preface. And for his putting first the Narration of the Publique, and auowed cause of this Warre, and after that the true and inward motiue of the same, the reprehension is absurd. For it is plaine that a cause of Warre, divulged and auowed, how slight soeuer it be, comes within the taske of the Historiographer, no lesse then the

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the Warre it selfe, for without a pretext, no Warre followes. This pretext is alwayes an injury received, or pretended to be received. Whereas the inward motive to hostility is but coniecturall, and not of that euidence, that a Historiographer should be alwayes bound to take notice of it; as enuy to the greatnesse of another State, or feare of an injury to come. Now let any man iudge, whether a good writer of History, ought to handle, as the principall cause of Warre, proclaimed injury, or conceal, deny. In a word, the Image of the Method vsed by *Thucydides* in this point is this. The Quarrell about *Corcyra*, passed on this manner; and the Quarrell about *Potidæa*, on this manner; (relating both at large) and in both, the Athenians were accused to haue done the injury. Neuertheless the Lacedæmonians had not upon this injury entred into a Warre against them, but that they enuyed the greatnesse of their power, and feared the consequence of their ambition. I thinke a more cleare, and naturall order cannot possibly be deuised.

Again he sayes, that he maketh a Funerall Oration (which was solemnly done on all occasions through the Warre) for 15 Horsemen onely, that were slaine at the Brookes called *Rheiri*; and that for this reason onely, that he might make it in the person of *Pericles*, who was then living, but before another the like occasion happened, was dead.

The manner of the Athenians was, that they that were slaine the first, in any Warre, should haue a solemne Funerall, in the suburbs of the Citie. During this Warre, they had many occasions to put this custome in practise. Seeing therefore it was fit to haue that custome, & the forme of it knowne, and that once for all, the manner being euer the same, it was fittest to relate it on the first occasion, what number soeuer they were that were then buried; which neuertheless is not likely to haue been so few as *Dionysius* saith. For the Funerall was not celebrated till the Winter after they were slaine, so that many more were slaine before this solemnity, and may all be accounted amongst the first. And that *Pericles* performed the office of making their Funerall Oration, there is no reason alledged by him, why it should be doubted.

Another fault hee finds, is this; That he introduceth the Athenian Generals in a Dialogue, with the Inhabitants of the Ile of *Melos*, pretending openly for the cause of their inuasion of that Ile, the power and will of the State of Athens, and insisting vterly, to enter into any disputation with them, concerning the equity of their cause; which he saith, was contrary to the dignity of the State.

To this may be answered; That the Proceeding of these Generals was not vnlike to diuers other Actions, that the people of Athens openly tooke vpon them; and therefore it is very likely they were allowed so to proceed. Howsoever, if the Athenian People gaue in charge to these their Captaines, to take in the Island, by all meanes whatsoeuer, without power to report backe vnto them first, the equity of the Islanders cause, as is most likely to be true, I see then no reason the Generals had to enter into disputation with them, whether they should performe their charge, or not, but onely whether they should doe it by faire, or foule meanes; which is the point treated of in this Dialogue. Other Cawils he hath, touching the matter, and order of this History, but not needfull to be answered.

Then for his phrase, he carpeth at it in infinite places, both for obscure and licentious. He that will see the particular places, he reprehendeth, let him read *Dionysius* himselfe, if he will; for the matter is too tedious for this place. It is true, that there be some Sentences in him, somewhat long, not obscure to one that is attentive, and besides that, they are but few. Yet is this the most important fault he findeth. For the rest, the obscurity that is, proceedeth from the profoundnesse of the Sentences, containing contemplations of those humane passions, which either dissimiled, or not commonly discoursed of, doe yet carry the greatest sway with men, in their publique conuersation. If then one cannot penetrate into them without much meditation, we are not to expect a man should vnderstand them at the first speaking. *Marcellinus* saith, he was obscure on purpose, that the Common people might not vnderstand him. And not vnlikely; for a wise man should so write (though in words vnderstood by all men) that wise men only should be able to commend him. But this obscurity is not to be in the Narrations of things done, nor in the descriptions of places, or of battels; in all which, *Thucydides* is most perspicuous,

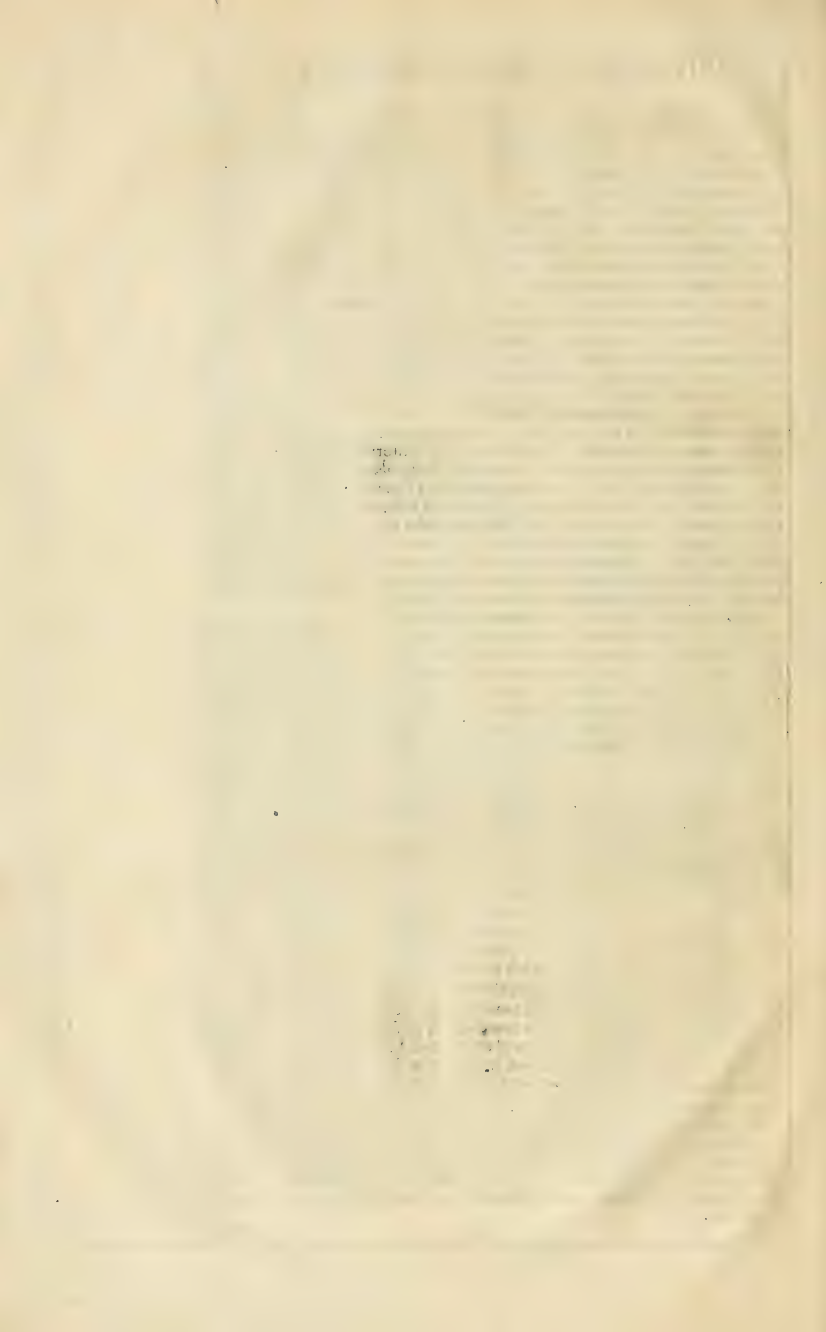
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as *Plutarch* in the words before cited hath testified of him. But in the Characters of mens humours and manners, and applying them to affaires of consequence, it is impossible not to be obscure to ordinary capacities, in what words soever a man deliuer his mind; If therefore *Thucydides* in his Orations, or in the Description of a Sedition, or other thing of that kind be not easily vnderstood, it is of those only that cannot penetrate into the nature of such things, and proceedeth not from any intricacy of expression. *Dionysius* further findeth fault with his vjing to set word against word, which the *Rhetoricians* call *Antitheta*. Which, as it is in some kind of speech, a very great vice, so is it not vnproper in Characters; and of comparatiue discourses, it is almost the onely stile.

And whereas he further taketh him for licentiousnesse in turning *Nommes* into *Verbes*, and *Verbes* into *Nommes*, and altering of *Genders*, *Cases*, and *Numbers*, as hee doth sometimes for the more efficacy of his stile, & without *Solacisime*, I leaue him to the answer of *Marcellinus*; who sayes, That *Dionysius* findeth fault with this, as being ignorant (yet he was a professed *Rhetorician*) that this was the most excellent, and perfect kind of speaking.

Some man may peraduenture desire to know, what motiue *Dionysius* might haue, to extenuate the worth of him, whom he himselfe acknowledged to haue bene esteemed by all men, for the best by farre of all Historians that euer writ, and to haue bene taken by all the Antient Orators, and Philosophers, for the measure and rule of writing History. What motiue he had to it, I know not; but what glory he might expect by it, is easily knowne. For hauing first preferred *Herodotus*, his Countreyman, a *Halicarnassian*, before *Thucydides*, who was accounted the best, and then conceiuing that his owne History might perhaps be thought not inferiour to that of *Herodotus*, by this computation he saw the honour of the best Historiographer falling on himselfe; Wherein (in the opinion of all men) he hath misreckoned. And thus much for the obiections of *Dennis* of *Halicarnasse*.

It is written of *Demosthenes*, the famous Orator, that he wrote ouer the History of *Thucydides* with his owne hand, eight times. So much was this Worke esteemed, euen for the eloquence. But yet was this his eloquence not at all fit for the barre, but proper for History, and rather to be read, then heard. For words that passe away (as in publike Orations they must) without pause, ought to be vnderstood with ease, and are lost else; though words that remaine in writing for the Reader to meditate on, ought rather to be pithy, and full. *Cicero* therefore doth iustly set him a part, from the ranke of Pleadars, but withall, he continually giueth him his due for History, Lib. 2. De Oratore. What great *Rhetorician* euer borrowed any thing of *Thucydides*? yet all men praise him, I confesse it, as a wise, seuer, graue Relator of things done. Not for a Pleader of Causes at the Barre, but a Reporter of Warre in History. So that he was neuer reckoned an Orator, nor if he had neuer written a History, had his name therefore not bene extant, being a man of Honour and Nobility. Yet none of them imitate the gravity of his Words and Sentences; but when they haue vttored a kinde of Lame and disoynted stuffe, they presently thinke themselves brothers of *Thucydides*. Again, in his Booke, De optimo Oratore, he saith thus. But here will stand up *Thucydides*; For his eloquence is by some admired; and iustly. But this is nothing to the Orator wee seeke; for it is one thing to unfold a matter by way of Narration; another thing to accuse a man, or cleere him by Arguments. And in Narrations, one thing to stay the hearer; another to stirre him. *Lucian*, in his Booke entituled, How a History ought to be written, doth continually exemplifie the vertues which he requires in an Historiographer, by *Thucydides*. And if a man consider well that whole Discourse of his, he shall plainly perceiue, that the Image of this present History, praconceiued in *Lucians* minde, suggested vnto him all the Precepts he there deliuereth. Lastly, heare the most true and proper commendation of him, from *Iustus Lipsius*, in his Notes to his Booke, De Doctrina Ciuili, in these words. *Thucydides*, who hath written, not many, nor very great matters, hath perhaps yet won the Garland from all that haue written of matters, both many and great. Euery where for Eloquution graue; short and thicke with sense; sound in his indgements; seuerly where seuerly instructing, and directing a mans life and actions. In his Orations and Excursions, almost Diuine. Whom the oftner you read, the more you shall carry away, yet neuer be dimissed without appetite. Next to him is *Polybius*, &c. And thus much concerning the Life and History of *Thucydides*.



The names of the places of Greece occurring in *Thucydides*, or in the *Mappe of Greece*, briefly noted out of diuers Authors, for the better manifesting of their situation, and enlightning of the History.

Ara, a City of the Locrians of Opus, confining on Himantia, which is a City of Phocis. *Pausanias in Phocis.*

Abdera, a City situate next beyond the River Nestus, towards the East. *Strabo. Epitome lib. 7. Nestus a River of the territory of Abdera. Herodotus, lib. 7.*

Abdus, a City on the entrance of Hellespont, between Lampsaes and Ilium, equally distant from both. In sight of Ilium, and is distant from the mouth of the River Aesepus by Sea 700 furlongs. *Strabo, lib. 13.*

Acanthus, a City neere to the Isthmus of Mount Athos, and (as in the Epitome of Strabos seventh Booke) in the Bay of Singus. But it appeareth by Herodotus in his seventh Booke, that it lyeth on the other side, in the Bay of Strymon; where he saith, that the Isthmus of Mount Athos is of twelve furlongs length, and reacheth from Acanthus to the Sea that lyeth before Torone. And in another place of the same Booke he saith, that the Fleet of Xerxes layed through the Ditch (which Xerxes had caused to be made through the said Isthmus) from Acanthus, into the Bay, in which are these Cities, Singus, &c.

Acanthia, a region in Greece, diuided from Epirus by the Bay of Ambracia. *Pol. lib. 4.* It reacheth from Ambracia to the River Achelous; and is diuided from the Aetolians by Achelous. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Achaean, a City of Troas, opposite to the Ile Tenedos. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Achaia, a Region of Peloponnesus, confining on Elis, Arcadia, and Sicyonia; bounded on one side with Elis, at the Promontory of Araxus, and on the other side with the Territory of Sicyon. *Strab. lib. 8.* It hath in it 12 Cities in this order, beginning at that part which confineth on Sicyonia. Pelene, Egira, Ege, Birra, Helice, Argium, Rhytis, Patre, Phare, Olonus, Dyme, Tritea. *Herodotus lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9.* It is also a part of Thessaly, in which are the Phthiotae. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. lib. 9.*

Acharnae, a Towne of Attica, distant from Athens about 60. Furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* and lyeth toward the North east, as may be collected out of the narration of the journey of Aristides with his Atoric, in the same Booke.

Achelous, a river that riseth in the Mountaine Pindus, and running through the Territories of Agreus, and Amphilechia, and by the City of Stratus, deuideth the maritime parts of Acarnania from Aetolia. *Strabo lib. 10.* Achelous riseth in Pindus, and runneth through Dolepia, Agreus, Amphilechia, by the City of Stratus, and by the City Oenias into the Sea. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* in the later end.

Acheron, — **Acherusia** is a Lake which Acherusia, disflueth into the Sea, neere unto Chermerium, a Promontory of Thesprotis, and into this Lake falleth the River Acheron. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* Acheron cometh out of the Lake Acherusia, into the Hauen Glycys. *Strab. lib. 7.* Acheron cometh out of Molossia, and falleth into the Lake Acherusia, which Lixy calleth the Bay of Thesprotia. *Lixy, lib. 8.*

Aclie, a Citie of Lacinias, betweene It and Gylgium the river Eurotas goeth out into the Sea. *Strabo lib. 8.* From Helos, which is at the mouth of Eurotas, it is 30 furlongs distant, and from the Promontory of Tenarus 230 furlongs. *Pausan. in Laconice.*

Acheria, a Promontory ioyning to the Territory of Methone, and is the beginning of the Bay of Messenia. *Strabo, lib. 8.*

Acrothoi, — **Acrothoi** are the People Acrothos prom.

Acrothos, — of a City in the Territory of Aclie, in which Aclie is the Mountaine Athos. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* Acrothos is a Promontory of Mount Athos, towards the Bay of Strymon. And Acrothos is a City in the same. *Herodotus lib. 7.* In head of this Acrothos and Acrothos, Ptolemy hath Aclioa, a Citie and Promontory. Acrotan, a Towne on the top of Mount Athos. *Pliny, lib. 4.*

Aclie is that Territory wherein standeth the Mountaine Athos, disioyned from the Continent by a Ditch made by the King of Persia, and hath in it these Cities, Sane, Dien, Thysus, Cleome, Acrothoi, Olophrysus. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Aclium, a Temple of Apollo, vpon the shore. It is situate where the Bay of Ambracia is narrowest. *Polybius lib. 4.* In the mouth of the Bay of Ambracia, not farre from Anaclorinum. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Adramyttium — The Bay of Adramyttium & sinus At — (taken in the greatest dramytticus, extent) beginneth at the

Promontory of Euboea, and endeth at the Promontory of Sane, which is opposite to Malta of Lesbos. And the Bay of Adramyttium (properly so called) beginneth at the Promontory of Gargara, and endeth at the Promontory of Pyrrha. And the Citie of Adramyttium is within the Promontory of Pyrrha. *Strabo lib. 13.*

Aedessa, a City of Euboea, ouer against Opus, a City of the Locrians. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Aedessa, a City of Macedonia, in the way called by Strabo, Ienitis, from Apollonia and Dyrachium (or Epidamnus) to Thessalonica (or Therme), and lyeth betweene Thessalonica and the Eordians. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Aege, a City of Euboea, opposite to the mouth of the River Cephalissus. *Strab. lib. 9.* It is also the name of a Citie of Achaia in Peloponnesus, betweene Helice and Bura. *Herodotus, lib. 1. Pausan. in Achaia.* It is the same also of another City in Achaia, lying vp from the Sea behind the Territory of Cyne. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Aegina, an Island ouer against Epidaurus, in the Saronian Bay. *Strab. lib. 8. Pausan. in Cor.*

Aegine, a City of Achaia, betweene Pelene and Ege. *Herod. lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9.* Opposite to Parnassus. *Polyb. lib. 4.* Also a Citie of Lesbos, where the Island is narrowest betweene the Bay of Pyrrha, and the other Sea. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Aegium, a Towne in Aetolia, amongst the Hills, 80 furlongs distant from the Sea. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Aegium, a City of Achaia, betweene Helice and Rhypes. *Herodot. lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9.* distant from Patre 160 Furlongs. *Pausan. in Achaia.*

Aegopotamos, a River in the Thracian Chersonesus, distant from Sestos 15 furlongs. *Xenophon. Grecorum 2.*

Emathia, a Region of Macedonia, placed by Ptolemy betweene Thessaly and the River Axios.

Echus, a Mountaine of Thrace, which diuideth it almost in the middlest, and reacheth from the Pangaeian Mountains, to Pontus Euxinus. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Echia, a City in the Bay of Therme, last in order from Potidea towards Therme. *Herodotus lib. 7.* It is distant from Thessalonica, (which is the same with Therme) 120 Furlongs, and opposite to Pydna. *Lixy lib. 44.* in the beginning.

longs, and as much from *Mela*, a Promontory of *Lebanus*, to which it is opposite. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Caulone, a Promontory of *Palaeus*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. Epit. lib. 7. Itaq. lib. 44.*

Catharea, a Haven of *Euboea*, on the outside, not farre from *Gereia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Caspine, a City of *Acadia*, not farre from *Orchomenus*. *Paus. lib. 4.* the River *Laron* runneth betwene it and *Egeus*. *Taus. in Acadia.*

Cardiade, a City of *Laconia*, betwene *Phare* and *Leuctra*, by the Sea side, in the *Megennis Bay*. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant from the Promontory of *Tenarus* 400. Furlongs. *Paus. in Laconia.* It is also a City in the Island *Cypr*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Cadya, a City in the Isthmus of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, vpon the Sea-side in the black Bay [or Bay of *Melas*] *Herod. lib. 6.*

Carpathus, an Island in that Sea, which called from it *Mare carpathicum*, both to the North the Sea called *leaurum*, to the South, the *Aegyptian* Sea, to the West, the *Cretic* and *African* Seas. *Strab.* in the end of the tenth book.

Casse, a Towne in *Acadia*, betwene *Orchomenus* and *Pheneum*, in the confines of both, distant from *Pheneum* threefcore Furlongs. *Taus. in Acadia.*

Cassio, a City of *Euboea*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Ocha*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Maratho* a City of *Attica*, is equally distant from it and *Athens*. *Paus. in Attica.*

Cassus, an Island in the *Carpathian* Sea, from *Carpathus* 80 furlongs, and from *Sammotis* a Promontory of *Crete*, 250. in quantity 80 furlongs about. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cassius, a Haven in the *Chersonesusus* of *Erythraea*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Corymbus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Cassus, a maritime City of *Lyca*, subiect to the *Indians*, by the River *Calbus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Cassius, a River of *Asia*, falling into the Sea at *Ephesus*, so as the mouth of it is the Haven of the *Ephesians*. *Strab. lib. 14.* When the *Ionians* made a iourney against *Sardes*, they left their Fleet at *Cassius*, and then went vpon the River *Cassius*, and then over the Mountaine *Tmolus*, and so to *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Cassius, a Region of *Attica*, betwene the Hills *Parnethus* and *Bregeia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cassipates, a place mentioned in the first Booke of *Thucydides*. *Plum* hath the Island *Cassipates*, opposite to *Epidaurus*, and distant from it 6 miles. The *Scholiast*, and *Steph.* putt in the West parts of *Helasponne*, say, falsely.

Cassum, a Promontory of *Euboea*, opposite to the Promontory of *Cnemides* of the *Locrians*, and to *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Ceramea, a Haven of the *Corinthians*, on the side of the Isthmus that lieth towards *Aegina*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* *Cerisyra* is on one side, and *Leporeum* on the other, containe the Isthmus. *Paus. in Corinthiaca.*

Cerian Island, one of the *Cyclades*, the nearest to the Island *Helma*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cephallenia, an Island ouer against *Acarnania*, distant from *Leucadia* ten furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.* and hath in it 4 Cities, *Pala*, *Sami*, *Pront*, *Crany*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cephissus, a River, which rising about *Iliza*, a City of *Phoenicia*, and going by *Elites*, *Dandie* and *Libanitis*, Cities of *Phoenicia*, and *Cheronea* and *Coronea*, Cities of *Baetia*, falleth into, at *Coyorea*, and filleth the Lake called *Copas*. Afterwards, an Earthquake opening the way, it went on to the Sea, and entered it at *Larmina*, a Towne of *Baetia*, opposite to *Aege* of *Euboea*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a River of *Attica*, rising in the Territory of *Eleuthis*, and falling into the Sea by *Pireus*. *Taus. in Attica.*

Ceramus, Mountaines of *Epirus*, on the Sea-side, in the entrance of the *Junian* Gulfe. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Ceraurus, a Towne betwene *Cnidus* and *Halicarnessus*, from whence also the Bay there is called the *Ceraurians* Bay. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Cerisyra, a Hill of the *Argillians*, beyond *Strymon*, neere *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cerene, a Mountaine betwene *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, the same deuith the *Peronians* from the *Sinitians*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Cestrine, a Region of *Epirus*, deuiced from *Thelprota* by the River *Thyanis*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* The *Chaonians* and *Theprotians* haue all the Sea coast from the mountaines called *Ceraurus*, to the *Ambracian* Bay, (therefore *Cestrine* seemeth part of the *Chaonians*) *Strab. lib. 7.* called *Cestrine* from *Cestrinus* the sonne of *Helenus*. *Paus. in Corinthiaca.*

Cheronea, a City of *Baetia*, confining on *Phocis*, twenty furlongs distant from *Panopeus* or *Phanotis*, and situate vpon the River *Cephissus*. *Pausan. in Phocica.* *Strab. lib. 9.*

Chalce, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, distant from *Telos* 80 Furlongs, and from *Carpathus* 400 Furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Chalcedonia, a City of *Bithynia*, ouer against *Byzantium*. *Strab. lib. 12.* in the mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*. *Ibid.* *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Chalcis, a City of *Euboea*, at the *Euripus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Strab. lib. 10.* Also a City of *Aetolia*, vpon the River *Euenus*, on the East side of it. *Strab. lib. 10.* beneath *Calidone*. *Ibid.* *lib. 9.* *Idem* *lib. 9.*

Chalcidea, a Region ioyning to *Thrace*, containing most of the Townes vpon or neere the Sea, from the mouth of the River *Strymon*, to *Poidica* in *Palene*. This may be gathered out of *Thucydides*. It was so named, for that they were Colonies of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, either immediate or deuiced.

Chalci, the people of a City of the *Lauri* *Gizole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Chaonia, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, beginning at the Mountaines called *Ceraurus*, and together with *Thelprota* reacheth as farre as the *Ambracian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 7.* It is diuided from *Thelprota*, by the River *Thyanis*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Chelidrus, a small River of *Macedonia*, which rising in *Grestoma*, runneth into the River *Axius*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Chelimeria, a Promontory of *Epirus*, be-

twene the Islands called *Syba*, and the mouth of the River *Asiphan*. *Strab. lib. 7.* *Idem* *Chelimeria*.

Chelonata, a Promontory of *Elis*, betwene the Promontories of *Araxus* and *Isthys*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Chersonesus, significth any portion of Land that is almost enuironed with the Sea; but for the most part, when there is no word added to determine the signification, it is heere that Territory of *Thrace*, which is included with these three Seas, *Propontia*, *Hellis*, and the *Blacke* Bay, *Melas*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* In the Isthmus of this *Chersonesus* standeth the City *Cadya*, at the side toward the *Blacke* Bay, and *Pulya* on the part toward *Propontia*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Chius, now called *Scio*, an Island and City of the *Ionians*. *Herod. lib. 1.* distant from *Lesbos* about 400. Furlongs, and 900. furlongs in circuit. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Chrysi, a part of *Mydonia* so called. *Steph.*

Chrysopolis, a Village of the *Chalcedonians*, in the mouth of *Pontus*. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Cimela, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, vide *Cyclades*. It lieth West of *Sigama*, *Pholagandros*, and *Lagysa*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cirra, a City of *Phoenicia*, in the *Corinthian* Bay, ouer against *Sigon*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Delphi* threefcore furlongs. from *Delphi* to *Cirra* runnes the River *Pylus*. It is the Haven or Towne of shipping for *Delphi*. It confineth vpon *Locris*. *Pausan. in Phocica.* He maketh it the same with *Crisa*. vide *Crisa*.

Citarius, a Mountaine of *Macedonia*, ioyning to *Olympus*, out of which riseth the River *Eurotas*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Citheron, a Mountaine of *Attica*. When the *Persian* Campeynder *Dardanius* lay about *Aegina* in the Territory of *Plataea*, the Army of the *Grecians* that were encamped at the foot of *Citheron*, were opposite to them. *Herod. lib. 9.* *Plataea* is betwene *Citheron* and the City of *Thebes*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Citium, a City of *Cyprus*.

Clarus, an Island, one of the *Sporades*. *Ex Oritely th. sacra.* Also a City belonging to the *Colophonians*. *Paus.* in *Asie*, betwene the mouth of the River *Cassius* and the City of *Colophon*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Clazomenae, an Ionique City in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* Situate in the *Chersonesusus* of *Erythraea*, confining on the *Erythraean*, these being within the *Clazomenians* without the *Chersonesusus*. Betwene *Clazomenae* and *Teos*, across the Isthmus it is but fifty Furlongs, but round about by Sea, a thousand Furlongs. Presently without the Isthmus, where it is narrowest, stands *Chazomenae*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Before it lye 8 little Islands. *Idem* *lib. 14.*

Cleitor, a City of *Acadia*, betwene *Paphia* and *Caspia*. *Taus. lib. 4.* It confineth on the Territory of *Phoenicia*, towards the East. *Taus. in Asie.*

Cleone, a City of *Argia*, betwene *Argos* and *Corinth*, confining on the *Phisians*. *Paus. in Corinthiaca.* Also a City in the territory where Mount *Alipus* standeth. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Cnemides.

Cnemides, a Promontory of *Loeris*, distant from *Cymis*, the Haven of the *Opuntians*, towards *Thermopylae*, 50 furlongs *Strab. lib. 9.*

Cnidus, a City of the *Dorians* in *Asia*, by the Sea called *Triopium*. *Herod. lib. 1.* On the North it hath the *Cecanian* Bay on the South, the *Rhodian* Sea. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Colone, an vyland City of *Hellepont*, in the Territory of *Lampacus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a maritime City of *Tracia*, 140 furlongs from *Blum*, between *Namastus* and *Lanissa*. *Id. lib. 13.*

Colomides, a maritime Citie of *Messenia*, between *Asine* and the mouth of the River *Panilius*, distant from *Asine* 40 furlongs. *Pauf. in Messeniis.*

Colophon, an Ionique City in *Lydia*, *Herod. lib. 1.* between *Ephesus* and *Lobodus*: from *Lobodus* 120 furlongs: from *Ephesus* 70 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Colophonium portus, a Haven not farre from *Tmone*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Cope & *Copais lacus*. *Cope* is a City of *Bactria*, situate on the North part of the Lake *Copais*. *Strab. lib. 9. Pauf. in Bactria.*

Coraſſe, Two little Ilands on the West of the Iland *Paros*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Corea, now call'd *Corfu*, an Iland ouer against *Epirus*, whose East parts are opposite to the Ilands called *Sibota*, and West parts, to the Haven called *Ouchimus*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Coraſſus, a Towne of the Territory of *Ephesus*, by the Sea ſide, neere to the mouth of the River *Cyſſus*. *Herodotus, lib. 5.*

Coriathus, a famous City, neere the *Iſſmus* of *Peloponnesus*.

Corone, a City of *Ætolia*, vpon the Riuer *Cephissus*, where it entrench into the Lake *Conaris*, and not far from the Hill *Helicon*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Coronea, a City of *Acarnania*, *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Corvra, a Towne neere the Sea in *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Corymbus, a Mountaine in the *Chefunensis* of *Euboea*, between *Tes* and *Erythra*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Coryphasium, a Promontory of *Messenia*, distant from *Metime* 100 furlongs: in this Promontory stood the Fort of *Pylus*. *Pauf. in Messeniis.*

Cos, a Iland with a City in it of the ſame name. It belonged to the *Dorians* of *Asia*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* called *Cos Meropeidis*, *Thucyd. lib. 8.* because inhabited of old by the *Meropeians*. It lyeth in the *Carpethian* Sea, *Strab. lib. 10.* Opposite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the *Mindians*. *Id. lib. 14.*

Cranon a City in the *Champagne* of *Thrace*, *Strab. lib. 9.* The ſame may be gathered out of *Uing*, *lib. 42.*

Craus, a people of *Cephalonia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* About the ſtraight of that Iland. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Crateri, a Haven neere the City of *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Crene, a well, the wellet, aplace in *Acarnania*, not farre from *Argo*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Creusa, a Sea-Towne of *Bœtia*, vpon the Bay of *Criffa*, belonging to the City *Theſ-*

pie. *Strab. lib. 9. Pauf. in Boeotia.*

Criffa, a vyland City, a Sea-Towne of *Phocæa*, between *Circha* & *Antirrhia*, which the Bay of *Corinth* is called after the *Criffian* Bay, *Strab. lib. 9.* This Bay is called now the Bay of *Leopæa*.

Critroa, a Promontory of *Attica*, lying out into the Sea, between the City *Athens*, and the mouth of the River *Achilæus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Crocylinus, a Towne in *Ætolia*, of the Region inhabited by the *Amolæ*. *Thuc. lib. 3.*

Crommyon, a Towne in the *Iſſmus* of *Corinth*, *Thucyd. lib. 4. Pauf. in Corinthiis.* between *Scoberus* and the Rocks called *Seronides*, and confineth on *Meſſens*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Cyclades, Ilands in the *Ægean* Sea, ſo called, for that they lye round about the Iland *Delos*. Their number and order, according to *Strabo*, is this, *Helena*, *Cos*, *Cythus*, *Scirphus*, *Melos*, *Schozus*, *Cimolis*, *Proconthus*, *Olearus*, *Naxus*, *Paros*, *Syrus*, *Myconus*, *Tenus*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cyllene, a Sea-towne of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the City of *Elis*, and where their ſhipping lay, 60 furlongs distant from *Araxus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* and from *Elis* 10 furlongs. *Pauf. in 2. Elacorum.* Also a Mountaine, the highest in *Peloponnesus*, on the confines of *Acadia* and *Achaia*, neere *Phœnum*. *Pauf. in Arcadiciis.*

Cyme, a City of *Æolis*, on the Sea-coast, *Her. 1.* the laſt of the maritime Cities of *Æolis* towards *Ionia*, as may be gathered out of *Strab. lib. 13.*

Cynosema, a Promontory of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, not farre from *Abdus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* ouer against the mouth of the River *Rhodus*, which talleth into the Sea between *Abdus* and *Dardanium*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Cynus, a Towne of *Loeris*, vpon the Sea towards *Eubœa*, belonging to the City of *Opus*, distant from the Promontory *Cnemides* 50 furlongs, in the entrance of the Bay of *Opus*. *Strab. lib. 9. Luy. lib. 28.*

Cynaria, a territory on the border between *Argia* and *Laconia*, toward the Sea-side, containing the Cities *Thryæ* and *Anthens*. *Thucyd. lib. 5. Pauf. in Corinthiis.*

Cyphanta, a maritime Towne of *Laconia*, distant from *Zarex* on one ſide 16 furlongs, from *Præſie* on the other 200. *Pauf. in Laconiciis.*

Cyſſela, a Caſtle in *Parthoſia*, a Territory of *Acadia*, neere to *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. *Thuc. lib. 5.*

Cyribus, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from *Pella*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Cyrheſte*, that is, the people of *Cyribus* are placed thereabouts by *Plinius*, *lib. 4.*

Cytium, a City of *Noris* on the ſide of *Pernaſſus*. *Thuc. lib. 3. Strab. lib. 9.*

Cythera, an Iland opposite to *Malœa*, a Promontory of *Laconia* and distant from it forty furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* oppoſite directly to the City *Bœa*. *Pauf. in Laconiciis.* In it are two Cities, *Cythera* and *Seandea*. *Thucyd. lib. 4. Pauf. in Laconiciis.*

Cythus, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *vide Cyclades.*

Cyziens, an Iland and City in *Propontis*,

Strab. lib. 12. distant from *Zelea*, which is a City neere the Sea, on the River *Asopos* 190 furlongs. *Id. lib. 13.*

D

Dalmanus & *Dardanium*, *Dalmanus* is a City on the Sea-side from *Abdus*, 70 furlongs, between it and *Scioetium*. *Strab. lib. 13.* It confineth on *Abdus*. *Herodot. lib. 7. Dardanium*, is a Promontory between *Abdus* and *Dardanus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Daulis, a Region of *Bœotia*, lying vpon *Propæas*, *Phrygon* and *Scolia* mention the Towne *Daulis* or *Daulium*, which ſtandeth ſaith ſtandeth vpon the Lake *Daphne*, by the River *Haradon*. *Strab. lib. 12.* It was a Province haueſt to the *Perſians* in the time of *Xerxes*, and governed by *Megabates*, his Lieutenant. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Delia, a Citie of *Phocæa*, on the Eaſt of *Delphi*, vpon the River *Cephissus*, and at the foot of *Demofis*. *Strab. lib. 9. Pauf. in Phocæis.*

Delos, a Towne in *Attica*, in the way between *Orupus* and *Athens*, distant from *Athens* 20 furlongs, and not much more from *Eubœa*. *Thuc. lib. 7.*

Delum, a Temple of *Apollis* by the Sea-side in the Territory of *Leopæa*. *Thucyd. lib. 4. Pauf. in Boeotia.* Oppoſite to *Crades* of *Eubœa*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Delos, an Iland, and in it a City with a Temple conſecrated to *Apollis*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* It is distant from *Andrus* 3 miles, and as many from *Miconus*. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Delphi, a City of *Phocæa*, famous for the Temple and Oracle of *Apollis*. It ſtandeth at the foot of the Hill *Pernaſſus*. *Herod. lib. 8.* on the South part of the hill. *Strab. lib. 9* threſcore furlongs from the Sea. *Pauf. in Phocæis.*

Delphinium, a Towne in the Ile *Chios*, not farre from the City *Chius*, and by the Sea-side. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Dercei, a people of *Thrace*.

Dicaea, a City of *Thrace*, between *Abdera* and *Maronea*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Delidys, a people in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib. 8.*

Dion, a City, and in it a Temple of *Iupiter*, ſtanding at the Sea ſide, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* Also a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib. 4.*

Docubus, a City of *Paonia*, at the foot of *Cerene*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

Dolope, a Citie of the *Perſians*, not far from the Mountaines called *Cambury*. *Thuc. lib. 44.*

Dolopia, an Iland on the South ſide of the hill *Præſia*, on the North of the *Amphilocheia*, and confineth on *Phlœas* of *Thrace*. *Strab. lib. 9, 10.*

Doris, a Region confineth on the *Mæonians*, and with a narrow corner running in between them and *Phocæa*. *Herod. lib. 8.* It lyeth on the Eaſt part of *Pernaſſus*, and deuideth the *Læonians* called *Ore*, from the *Læonians* called *Opuntians*. It was called *Terra-polis*, because it contained three Cities, *Ermeus*, *Boion*, *Cytium*, and *Pardus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* The *Dorians* are also a Nation in *Asia*, by the Sea-side, lying to *Cos*, of which

which were numbered, the inhabitants of the Islands *Samos* and *Cos*, and the Cities *Cardiaca* and *Cardanopolis*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Champs, a large Champagne by the River *Thames* in *Thrace*, where *Alexander* passing on towards *Greece*, mustered his Army by *Ama*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Chalcis, a City of *Edonia*, beyond the River *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Chersonesus, a Promontory of the Island *Cos*, distant from the City *Cos*, 200 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Chironia, an Island lying before *Clazomenae*. *Thucyd. lib. 8. Liny, lib. 38. vide Clazomenae.*

Cnoi, a people of *Thrace*.

Cnossus, a City of *Creta*, the nearest to the confines of *Ela*. *Strab. lib. 8. Pausan. in Achaea.*

E

Echinades, Islands lying in and out before the mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Strab. lib. 10.*

Edonia, a Region of *Thrace*, lying to the River *Strymon*, and the Sea; It had in it *Amphipolis*, *Drablia*, and other Cities. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* by which the situation thereof may be sufficiently understood.

Eidoneia, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from *Dilemnus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Liny, lib. 4.*

Eion, a City of *Thrace*, on the River *Strymon*. *Herod. lib. 7.* In the mouth of *Strymon*, 25 furlongs from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Ela, a Sea-towne in *Achaia*, belonging to the City of *Pergamus*, distant from the mouth of the River *Cnossus* towards *Ionia*, 12 furlongs; and from *Cane* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Elaea, a City of *Phocia*, by the River *Cephissus*, confining on the *Iacenta*. *Strab. lib. 9. Pausan. in Phocia.* It standeth in the footings of the *Parnassus* Mountaines. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Elavetere, a Towne of *Attica*, betweene *Eleusis* and *Platana*, on the border of *Attica*. *Pausan. in Attica. lib. 10. in Boeotia.*

Elausa, a City of *Corymbus*, to the North of *Lemnos*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Eleusis, Sea-towne of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 8.* on the confines of *Megara*. *Pausan. in Attica.*

Eliensis and *Melesina* are two Regions, that take up the West part of *Troas*. *Herod. lib. 1.* *Eliensis* is bounded on the North by the Promontory *Chersonesus*, and divided from *Melesina* in the parts towards the Sea, by the River *Neda*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Eliensis* the principall City thereof is distant from the Sea 120 furlongs, and from *Olympia* almost three hundred. *Pausan. in fine sua Iliacorum.*

Ellenensis, a Towne in *Nerium* of the Territory of *Leucadia*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Elymaia, a Nation of *Macedonia*, which *Elimeia*, a *Platonia* placeth on the Seaside vpon the *Ionian* Gulfe. *Liny* hath the City *Elimeia* at the foot of the Mountaines *Cathartes*, and by the River *Alasmon*. *Liny, lib. 42.*

Encheira, a Towne of *Erythraea*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* on the part toward *Lesbos*, as may be probably conjectured by the History.

Enipeus, a River of *Thessaly*, which falleth into the River *Peneus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* But first it receiveth into it the water of *Asopos*, that falleth by *Panopolis*. *Strab. lib. 8.* It falleth in the Mountain *Othrys*. *lib. 8.*

Eorda, a Region of *Macedonia*, betweene the *Encheira* and *Thessalonica* (or *Thessaly*) in the way called *Ignatia*, that leadeth from *Thessalonica* to *Thessalonica*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Ephesus, an Ionique City in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* at the mouth of the River *Causus* on the side towards *Mycale*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Ephesus, a City of *Thessaly*, vpon the River *Thymus*. *Strab. lib. 7. Liny, lib. 1.* Also a City of *Agria*. *Strab. lib. 7. & lib. 10.*

Epidaurus, a City afterwards called *Dyrachum*, now *Darceus*, situate on the *Ionian* Gulfe, amongst the *Taurantia*, *Myriani*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* next without the Bay called *Rhygius*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Epidaurus, a City of *Argia* by the Seaside, in the inmost part of the *Saronian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Epidaurus Limera, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argos*, 300 furlongs from the Promontory of *Malea*. *Pausan. in Laconia.*

Ereia, a City in *Erythraea*, betweene *Teos* and *Cassius*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Eretria, a City in the Ile *Lesbos*, betweene *Pythia*, and the Promontory *Sigrium*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Eretria, a City of *Euboea*, betweene *Chalcis* and *Gaeolus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* opposite to *Cyprus* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Erigon, a River of *Macedonia*, arising in *Illyria*, and falling into the River *Axius*. *Thucyd. lib. 39. Strab. lib. 7.*

Eretria, a City of *Doris*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* *Strab. lib. 10.* Also a Haven in the Territory of *Rhodes*, in *Achaia*. *Thucyd. lib. 7. Pausan. in Achaia.*

Erythraea, an Ionique City. *Herod. lib. 1.* It standeth in the middle of the *Chersonesus*, betweene the Promontory *Argemum* and the Mountain *Mimas*, and before it lye certaine Islands called *Hippi*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a Towne in the confines of *Attica*, not farre from *Platana*. *Thucyd. lib. 3. Herod. lib. 9.*

Erythraea, a Region of *Thessaly*, confining on the Mountaines *Olympus* and *Ossa*. *Herod. lib. 1.* It is the West part of *Thessaly*, and lyeth betweene Mount *Pindus* and the vpper *Macedonia*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Euboea, an Island lying opposite to the Continent of *Attica*, and *Paonia*, and *Laconia*, extending from *Sinum*, as far as *Thessaly*. The length of it is reckoned from the Promontory *Cenium*, to the Promontory *Geraeus*. *Cenium* *Euboea* is all that shore that is from the *Eretria* to *Geraeus*. *Strab. lib. 10. Herodotus* maketh it to be on the other side of the Island. *Herod. lib. 7.* It seemes therefore that *Cenium* *Euboea* is not the proper name of a place, but an appellation signifying any hollow bending of the shore.

Euenus, a River, which rising amongst the *Boii*, a Nation of *Attolia*, runneth by *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, and then bending toward the West, by *Tlemon* into the Sea. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Eurotas, a River of *Laconia*, rising in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, and pailling by the City of *Lacedaemon*, on the East side of it, falleth into the Sea neere *Helos*, betweene *Cyphus* and *Aeria*. *Strab. lib. 8.* Also a River of *Thessaly*, rising out of the Hill *Citium*, and falling into the River *Peneus*. *Strab. lib. 7. Pto.*

Eunymia, a Nation of *Asians*, one of the three, *Asians* being those that dwelt toward the Sea; *Ophionei*, these toward the *Hellespontus*; *Thracii*, lib. 3. *Eunymia* therefore must be those toward *Agria* and *Attica*.

G

Galepsus, a City not farre from *Towne*. The Fleet of *Xerxes* compassing the Promontory of *Amphelus*, passed by these Cities, *Torone*, *Galepsus*, *Sermyla*, &c. *Herodotus, lib. 7.*

Galepsus, a City of *Thrace*, not far from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Ortelius* thinketh it the same with *Galepsus*; but it is more probable by the History to be another.

Gargara, a Promontory in *Asia*, 260 furlongs within the Promontory of *Leitis*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Adramyttium*, properly so called. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Geraeus, a Promontory of *Euboea*. *Geraeus* and *Petalia* are opposite to *Sinum*, a Promontory of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 10. Geraeus* is betweene the City *Syrax*, and *Eretria*. *Idem, lib. 10.*

Geraeus, a Hill in *Megara*, neere the entrance of the *Isthmus*. *Thucyd. lib. 1. Pausan. in Attica.*

Glauce, a City in *Ionia*, neere the Mountain *Mycale*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Gigonus, a Promontory not farre from *Potidea*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Herod. lib. 7.*

Gimphi, a City of *Thessaly*, in the Region called *Ephoria*. *Strab. lib. 9.* neere to the Springs of *Peneus*. *Idem, lib. 4.* The nearest of the *Thessalian* Cities to *Epirus*. *Liny, lib. 32.*

Gomus, a City of the *Peribolians* in *Thessaly*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* in the entrance to *Tempe*. *Polyb. lib. 17. Liny, lib. 44.* twenty miles distant from *Larissa*. *Liny, lib. 36. Gomus* is in the entrance out of *Macedonia* through the *Peribolians* into *Thessaly*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Gortyna, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from the Hill *Cerine*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Gramine, a River in *Hellespont*, rising in Mount *Ida*, neere unto *Scopis*, and falling into *Propontis* betweene the City *Triapus*, and the mouth of the River *Alyceus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Grasomia, a Region of *Macedonia*, lying to *Mygdonia*, in which riseth the River *Chedonius*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Gyarus, a small Island, out of the *Cyclades*. *Pto. Cy. lib. 1.*

Gyrtus, a City of *Peribolia*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* before *Gomus* so such as come out of *Macedonia*, by the Mountaines called *Cambus*. *Liny, lib. 44.*

Gythium, a City of *Laconia*, the Harbour of the *Lacedaemonian* Shipping betweene

Asine and *Acia*. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant 230 furlongs from the Promontory of *Tenarus*. *Pauf. in Laconicis.*

H

Halicus *Thucyd. lib. 1.* A maritime Towne *Halicus Straboni*, of *Argia*, in the Bay *Halicus Pausanias*, of *Hermione*. *Strabo, lib. 8.* betweene *Asine* and *Hermione*, two hundred and fifty furlongs from *Asine*. *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.*

Haliartus, a Citie of *Boeotia*, by the side of the Lake *Copus*, towards *Heliion*. *Strab. lib. 9.* It consisteth on the Territory of *Thespiæ*. *Pauf. in Boeoticiæ.*

Halicarnassus, a City of the *Doreans* in *Asia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* In the bottome of the *Ceraman Bay*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Halimus, a Towne of *Attica*, next after *Phaleron*, towards the Promontory of *Sunium*. *Strab. lib. 9.* In this Towne was *Thucydides* borne, the Author of this History.

Hatfarna, a Towne in the Iland *Cos*, neere vnto the Promontory of *Lalier*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Hamessus, a City of *Troas*, vnder the Promontory of *Leclus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Harmalus, a City in the Continent, ouer against *Methymna* of *Lesbos*. *Thuc. lib. 8.*

Harpagium, a place on the confines of *Priapius* and *Cyrcus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Hebrus, a Riuer of *Thrace*, falling into the Sea betweene *Ænus* and *Donscus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Helenæ, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*, adjacent to the Continent of *Attica*, and extending from *Sunium* to *Tiboricus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Heliæ, a Citie of *Achaia*, on the Sea-side, betweene *Ægium* and *Bura*, distant from *Ægium* forty furlongs. *Pausan. in Achaicis.*

Helos, a *Laconique* City, by the side of the Riuer *Enrotas*, not farre from the Sea. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant from *Erythium* a hundred furlongs, and from *Acia* thirty. *Pauf. in Laconicis.*

Heræa, a City of *Arcadia*, in the confines of *Elis*, vpon the Riuer *Alpheus*. *Polyp. lib. 4.* *Pauf. in Arcadicis.* It consisteth on *Megalopolis*, and the Riuer *Ladon* runneth within 15 furlongs of it. *Pausan. in Arcadicis.*

Heraclea, a City of the *Mælians*, built by the *Lacedæmonians*, within the straight of *Thermopyæ*, distant from it forty furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a City in the Bay of *Latmus*, betweene *Miletus* and *Pyrrha*, distant from *Pyrrha* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.* Also a City of the *Sinii*, a people of *Macedonia*, called *Heraclea Sinica*. *Lin. lib. 45.*

Hermione, a maritime City in *Argia*, betweene *Asine* and *Træzen*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.* From it is named the Bay of *Hermione*, which hathin it in order these three Cities, *Asine*, *Hermione*, *Træzen*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Pausanias in Corinthiacis.* But *Strabo* seemeth to make the Bay of

Hermione to begin at the Promontory *Syl-lanm*, and to end at *Epidaurus*. *Quare.*

Hermus, a Riuer diuiding *Æolis* from *Ionia*. *Strab. lib. 14.* It runneth through the *Plaines* that lye before the Citie *Sardis*, and entrench the Sea by *Phœcea*. *Herod. lib. 1.*

Hestii, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Hestrea, a City of *Eubœæ*, not farre from the Promontory *Ceræum*. *Strab. lib. 10.* The Territory of *Hestrea* is called *Hestiotis*, and is ouer against *Thessaly*, as may appeare out of *Herod. lib. 7.*

Hyei, The people of a City of the *Locri Ozole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Hyampolis, a City of *Phocis*, confining on *Abasæ*, a City of the *Locrians* of *Opus*. *Pauf. in Phocis.*

Hyfæ, a Towne of *Attica*, on the confines of *Platais*. *Herodot. lib. 9.* *Thucyd. lib. 3.* Vide *Oenoe*. Also a Towne of *Argia*, on the confines of *Tegea*, in the way betweene *Tegea* and *Argos*. *Pausanias in Corinthiacis.*

I

Iassus, a maritime City of *Asia*, situate in an Iland, neere to the Continent.

Strab. lib. 14. in that Bay which on the side towards *Miletus* hath *Possideum* for bound, and on the other side, the City *Mindus*. *Polyp. lib. 16.* The Bay is called *inua Bærgiæticus*. *Idem.*

Icarus, or *Icaria*, an Iland on the West of the Ile *Samos*. *Strab. lib. 10.* distant from it 80 furlongs. *Idem. lib. 14.*

Iclhyi, a Promontory of *Elis*, neere the Citie of *Phia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* Vide *Phia*.

Icus, an Iland lying before *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Ida, a Mountaine of *Asia*, extending from *Leclus* and the places on the *Adramyttian Bay*, to the City *Zeiea* by *Propontis*. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Idæus a place in the *Thracian Cherfonnesus*, opposite to *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Thuc. lib. 8.*

Idomene, two Hill toppes so called, betweene *Ambracia* and *Argos Amphilocheum*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Ielysus, a City in the Iland of *Rhodes*, betweene *Camirus* and the City of *Rhodes*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Ilium sine Troia, a famous City in *Asia*, 170 furlongs from *Abydus*, standing from the Sea towards the Mountaine *Ida*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Imbros, an Iland not farre from the *Thracian Cherfonnesus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* It is distant from *Lemnos* two and twenty miles, and from the Ile *Samos*, that lyeth before the Riuer *Hebrus*, two and thirty miles. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Iolus a maritime Towne of *Thessaly*, in the *Pægean Bay*, not farre from *Demetrias*. *Lin. lib. 4.*

Ionia, a Region inhabited by the *Grecians* in *Asia*, by the Sea-side, reaching from *Possideum* a Promontory of *Miletus*, on the South, to *Phœcea*, and the mouth of

the Riuer *Hermus*, on the North. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Ionian Gulfe. The *Ionian Gulfe*, or the *Ionian Sea*, is the utmost part of the *Adriaticque Sea*, beginning at the *Cerannia Mountains*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Ios, an Iland on the Coast of *Creta*, equally distant from *Therapsa* an *Anaphe*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Ipnætes, The people of a City of the *Locri Ozole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Ismaris, a Lake in *Trace*, betweene *Stryma* and *Maronea*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Istone, a Hill in the Ile *Coryra*. *Thuc. lib. 3.*

Ithaca, an Iland ouer against *Cephalonia*, and neere to it. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Ithome, a Hill in *Messenia*, neere the Sea, and on it a City, which was afterward the Cittadell of the City *Messene*, that was built after the *Peloponnesian Warre*, by *Epaminondas*. *Pauf. in Messeniacis.*

L

Laconia, a Region of *Teloponnesus*, confining on *Messenia*, *Argia*, and *Arcadia*. *Strab. lib. 8.* diuided from the Territory of *Megalopolis* of *Arcadia*, by the Riuer *Alpheus*. *Pauf. in Arcadicis.*

Lalier, the most Southerne Promontorie of the Ile *Cos*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Lacedæmon, the head City of *Laconia*, on the West side of the Riuer *Enrotas*, remote from the Sea, beneath the Mountaine *Taygetus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Polyp. lib. 5.*

Lade, a small Iland, lying before the City *Miletus*. *Herod. lib. 6.* *Thucyd. lib. 8.* *Pauf. in Atticis.*

Ladon, a Riuer rising in the Territory of *Cleitor* in *Arcadia*, passing by the border of *Itæra*, and falling into the Riuer *Peneus* in *Elis*, neere to *Phylæ*. *Pauf. in Arcadicis.* & *Euacorum secundæ.*

Lagusa, an Iland on the West of the Iland *Ios*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Lampsacus, a maritime City in *Hellepont*, from *Abydus*, towards *Propontis*, distant 170 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Lindus, a Towne of the Territory of *Orestinus* *Arcadia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Lariissa, a City of *Thessaly*, on the Riuer *Peneus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a City of *Troas*, betweene *Achaenus* and *Calene*. *Strabo, lib. 13.*

Latmus, and **Latmus**, a Mountaine at the Bay of **Latmus**, which Bay beginneth at *Possideum* in the Territorie of *Miletus*, and endeth at the Promontorie of *Pyrrha*, betweene which places by the shore, it is two hundred furlongs, and streight ouer, but thirty. *Strabo, libro 4.* *Latmus* is also an Iland in those parts, as appeareth by *Thucyd. dei, lib. 2.* but I can finde no mention of it in any other Author.

Laurium, a Mountaine and Towne in *Attica*, not far from *Sunium*, betweene *Sunium* and

and *Agro*, *Lib. 1. At. 1. 8.* The *Agro* men had their Mines in this Mountain, *Time*, *Lib. 1.*

18. A Nation dwelling on the River *Sarab*, betwixt the border between *Thrace* and *Lycaonia*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

19. A City in *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

20. A Nation of the *Comitani* in the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* Between *Thrace* and *Lycaonia*, contained the *Comitani*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

21. A City in the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

22. A Island in the *Thrace* Sea, on the East of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

23. A City of *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

24. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

25. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

26. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

27. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

28. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

29. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

30. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

31. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

32. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

33. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

34. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

35. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

36. A Island, one of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

miles from *Agro*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Lycaonia, a mountaine in *Arcadia*, neere to the confines of *Lycaonia*, and *Megaronia*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* Not far from *Tegra*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Lycaonia, a City of *Lycaonia*, on the Confines of *Lycaonia*, in the *Lycaonia* way, that leadeth from *Apollonia* to *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Lycaonia, a River of *Lycaonia*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.* It is situated on the sea face, between *Agro* and *Thrace*, distant from each 120 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Lycaonia, a Region and City of the upper *Lycaonia*, the people are called *Lycaonians*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Lycaonia, a City of *Lycaonia*, in the way between *Lycaonia* and *Thrace*, which hee calles the *Lycaonia* way, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

M

Macedonia, a famous Kingdome, bordered with *Thrace*, *Epina*, *Lycaonia*, and *Lycaonia*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a City in the *Thrace* *Chersonesus*, between *Sicilia* and *Thrace*, is the thirde of the *Thrace*, of not above four hundred furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a River of *Thrace*, the mouth of it is five hundred furlongs, the beginning of the *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a people of *Thrace*, bordering on *Macedonia*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a Territory of *Thrace*, belonging to the City *Macedonia*, which City is about three score and some furlongs from *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a City of *Thrace*, the Territory whereof extendeth from the Mountain *Orus* and the Lake *Orus*, to the Mountain *Pelion*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a Promontory of *Thrace*, between which and *Thrace* is comprehended the *Thrace* Bay, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a City of *Thrace*, confining on *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a Towne in *Thrace*, over against *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a small River of *Thrace*, between *Thrace* and *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a Nation of *Thrace*, whereof one part called *Thrace*, inhabit on the West of *Thrace*, and continue on *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a small River of *Thrace*, between *Thrace* and *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Macedonia, a small River of *Thrace*, between *Thrace* and *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

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Macedonia, a small River of *Thrace*, between *Thrace* and *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, a City of *Thrace*, on the West of the River *Thrace*, the Army of the *Thrace* having passed the River *Thrace*, out of *Thrace*, went on into *Thrace*, by these Cities in order, *Thrace*, *Thrace*, and *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, a City of *Thrace*, built after the *Thrace* Warre, by *Thrace*. The Territory thereof confineth on *Thrace*, *Thrace*, *Thrace*, *Thrace*, and *Thrace*. It standeth on the River *Thrace*, not farre from *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, a City confining with *Thrace* at *Thrace*, distant from the Sea 18 furlongs, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, a River, and a Bay into which it empteth, on the West of the *Thrace* *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, a Promontory of the Island *Thrace*, over against the Ile *Thrace*, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, a City of *Thrace*, neere to the *Thrace* Southward, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Thrace, a City of *Thrace*, neere to the *Thrace* Southward, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

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Thrace, a City of *Thrace*, neere to the *Thrace* Southward, *Lib. 1. 1. 1.*

Miletus, an Ionique City of *Caria*, the farthest toward the South. *Herodot. lib. 1.* next to *Pesideum*, in the *Laurian Bay*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Mindus, a Hill in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythrae*, between the Cities *Erythrae* and *Chersonesus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Mindus, a maritime Citie of *Caria*, betweene the Promontorie of *Astypalea*, and the City *Iasus*. *Strabo. libro 14.*

Minio, an Island, as *Thucyd.* a Promontory as *Strabo* saith, that maketh *Nisaea* a Haven. *Strab. lib. 3. Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Mizlens, the chiefe City of *Lesbos*, situate betweene *Mitylma* and *Males*, distant from *Males* threefore and ten furlongs, from *Came* one hundred and twenty furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Misogissus, a people of *Epirus*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* dwelling by the River *Acticon*. *Livy. lib. 8.*

Molychia, a City of the *Loeri Ozole*, on the Sea side, next to *Antirrhium*, on the part toward *Enneus*. *Pauf. in Phocia.*

Munichia, a Promontory of *Attica*, which with *Piræus* made the Harbour of the *Athenian* shipping, with three faice Hauens within it. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Myrales, a Promontory ouer against the Ile *Samos*, *Herodot. lib. 1.* A Mountaine neere to *Triente*, opposite to *Samos*, which with *Pesideum* a Promontory of *Samos*, maketh the streight of seven furlongs ouer. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Mycaleffus, a City of *Bzasia*, betweene *Thebes* and *Chalcis* of *Eubæa*. *Pauf. in Eubæia. Thucyd. lib. 7.*

Myene, a City once the head of *Argia*, on the left hand to those that goe from *Cleone* to *Argos*, distant from *Argos* fifty furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8. Pauf. in Corinthiacus.*

Myconus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Pide Cyclades.*

Mydonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, deuided from *Bottia* by the River *Axius*, and reaching vnto *Pellene*. *Herodot. libro 7.*

Mytila, an vpland City of *Caria*, neereft to the Sea at *Physcus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Myonessus, a maritime City of *Ionia*, betweene *Teos* and *Lebedes*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Myrcinus, a City of the *Ecdonians* in *Thrace*, by the River *Strymon*. *Herodot. lib. 5.*

Myus, an Ionique City, 30 furlongs about the mouth of the River *Meander*. *Strab. lib. 14.* Also a City of the *Loeri Ozole*, neere *Amphissa*, and thirty furlongs more remote from the Sea. *Pauf. in Phocia.*

N

Naupactus, a City of the *Loeri Ozole*, neere to *Antirrhium*, within the *Crissean Bay*. *Strab. lib. 9.* and next to it is *Ocanibæa*. *Pauf. in Phocia.*

Nauplia, a City of *Argia*, in the *Argine Bay*, next after *Tenenus*, towards the Promontory *Sosylenus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Naxus an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Pide Cyclades.*

Neda, a River of *Peloponnesus*, rising in the Mountaine *Itecum*. *Pauf. in Arcadus.* and passing through *Mettema*, freedom in *Mettema*. It diuiderh the maritime parts of *Lis* and *Mettema*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Nereus, a Forrest and Towne, The Forrest betweene *Cleone* and *Phlius*. *Strab. lib. 8.* The Towne betweene *Cleone* and *Argos*. *Pauf. in Corinb.*

Neritum, The *Chersonesus* of *Leucas*, since cut off and made an Island by the *Corinthians*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Nessus, a River of *Thrace*, that goeth out into the Sea, neere to the City *Abdera*. *Herod. lib. 7.* on the West side of *Abdera*. *Ept. lib. 7.*

Nisæa, the Haven Towne to the City of *Mettema*, *Pege* and *Nisæa* comprehend the *Isimus*, and are distant from each other 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* On the East of the Island *Atine*. *Id. lib. 9.*

Nissia, an Island, one of the *Sperades*, 60 furlongs from the Ile *Cn*, and as many from the Ile *Telus*, in compasse 80. furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Nonacris, a City of *Arcadia*, to the West of *Phoenice*, and enclining to the right hand. *Pauf. in Arcadica.*

Notium, a Towne on the Sea-side, belonging to the *Colophonians*, and distant from *Colophon* two miles. *Livy. lib. 37.* Also a place in the Ile *Chios*, betweene the Promontory *Melana* and the Haven *Phrene*. Distant from the City *Cikias* by Land threefore furlongs, by Sea 300. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Nymphaeum, a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Singus*. *Strab. Ep. lib. 7.*

O

Oebi, a Mountaine, the greatest of *Eubæa*, neere to the City *Carystus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Odontanti, a people of *Thrace*, neage, the Mountaine *Pangeum*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Odisse, a people of *Thrace*. *Thucyd. libro 2.*

Oeanthei, a maritime City of the *Loeri Ozole*. *Pauf. in Phocia.* Ouier against *Argine* of *Achaia*. *Polyb. lib. 4.*

Oenys, a Citie of *Acarnania*, by the Sea side, opposite to the Promontory *Araxus*, in *Peloponnesus*, and confining on *Actia*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* on the East side of the River *Achelous*, at the mouth of it. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Oiecon, a City of the *Loeri Ozole*, not far from *Naupactus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Oene, a Towne on the border of *Attica*, towards *Bzotia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Oene* and *Hysie* the last of the Townes of *Attica*, towards *Bzotia*, on that part which is remotest from *Chalcis* and *Eubæa*. *Herodot. libro 5.*

Oenophytia, a place in *Bzotia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* but whereabouts, I cannot finde.

Oenussæ, certaine Islands vpon the Coast of *Chios*. *Herod. lib. 1. Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Oeta, a Mountaine neere *Thermopyle*:

that part which is neere *Thermopyle*, for about twenty furlongs, is properly called *Oeta*, though the whole tract from *Thermopyle* as far as the Bay of *Ambraçus*, be commonly also called *Oeta*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Oezyme, a City of the *Edonians*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* Beyond the River *Strymon*, and by the Sea-side, according to *Ptolome*.

Olearus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Pide Cyclades.*

Olestra, a city of *Achaia*, betweene *Patrae* and *Dyme*, at the mouth of the River *Permus*. *Pauf. in Achaia.*

Olyra, a Castle by the side of the Bay of *Ambraçus*, neere to *Argos*. *Amphidochium*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Olpe, a city of the *Loeri Ozole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* but whereabouts I know not.

Olophyxus, a city in Mount *Athos*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Olympia, a place in *Elis*, with a Temple dedicate to *Iupiter*, vpon the side of the River *Alpheus*, distant from the Sea 80 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Olympus, a Mountaine, which is the bound of *Hesly* on the North, and of *Macedonia* on the South, betweene it and the Mountaine *Ossa*, in a narrow Valley, runneth the River *Tenens*. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Pauf. Eliacos in secundo.*

Olynthus, a city of the *Bottians* driven out of *Bottia* by the *Macedonians*. *Herod. lib. 8.* The *Bottians* driven out of *Bottia*, seated themselves on the borders of the *Chalcidians* towards *Thrace*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Olynthus* standeth somewhat remote from the Sea, and about threefore furlongs from *Poudaia*. *Id. lib. 2.* *Merghena*, which standeth on the Bay of *Torone*, serued them for the place of their shipping. *Strab. Ept. lib. 7.*

Omnagator, a Promontory of *Laconia*, betweene which and *Midea* is the city and Bay of *Buca*. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

Ophacæ, a people of *Ætolia*, toward the *Mælian* Gulfe. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Opus, the chiefe city of the *Loeri Opontia*, distant from the Sea fiftene furlongs, opposite to *Adepsia* in *Eubæa*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Orekomenus, a city of *Bzotia*, confining on *Phocia*, through the Territory whereof the River *Cephissus* passeth from *Cheronea* into the Lake *Copas*. *Strab. lib. 9. Pauf. in Bzotica.*

Also a city of *Arcadia*, confining on *Manitina* and *Pheneum*. *Pauf. in Arcadica.*

Oressis, a Region of *Macedonia*, confining on *Epirus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* not farre from *Elymea*. *Liv. lib. 31.*

Orestium } A city of *Arcadia*, in the or way betweene *Sparta* and *Orestium* the *Isimus*. *Herodot. lib. 9.* and betweene *Megalopolis* and *Tegæa*. *Pauf. in Arcadica.*

Orens, a citie of the *Heslians*, in *Eubæa*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* *Strab. lib. 9.* not farre

fare from the Promontory of *Ceneum*. *Id.* lib. 9. the first City of *Eubœa* on the left hand to them that come from the Bay of *Demetrias*, (or *Pegæan* Bay) toward *Chalcis*. *Id.* lib. 9.

Oreæ, a City of *Agia*, on the borders of the *Perizonian* and *Sipyonian* Territories. *Id.* in *Continuatio*.

Orebie, a City of *Eubœa*, not farre from *Agæ*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Oreæ, a maritime towne in *Attica*, towards *Phaleron*, and opposite to *Eretri*. *Strab.* lib. 9. It is distant from *Eretria* 60 furlongs. *Thucyd.* lib. 8.

Ossa, a Mountain of *Thessaly*. Between *Ossa* and *Oropus*, in a narrow valley, runneth the River *Peneus*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Ossa, a Mountain bounding *Thessaly* on the South. *Herod.* lib. 7. It hath on the North side the *Phœbeus*, but reacheth also, to the *Dolopians*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

P

Pafolus, a River of *Asia* the lesse, rising in the Mountain *Timbis*, and falling into the River *Hermus*. *Strab.* lib. 13. It runneth through the Market-place of *Sardis*. *Herod.* lib. 5.

Paflos, a City standing in the Isthmus of the *Thracian Cherfoneus*, toward *Propontis*. *Herod.* lib. 6.

Panonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, reaching on one side to the River *Strymon*. *Herod.* lib. 5. on the other side to the River *Anisus*. *Pauf.* *heliomarus primo*, in the beginning.

Pale, a City of *Cephalonia*, in the narrow part thereof, neere to the Bay. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Palæe, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, betweene *Lœtus* and *Athysa*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Panæus, a River of *Messenia*, rising betweene *Tarantum* and *Acadicia*, and falling into the Sea in the midst of the *Messenian* Bay. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Panæum, a Towne in *Attica*, on the confines of *Boœia*. *Thucyd.* lib. 5.

Panæus, a People of *Thrace*. * *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Pangæum, a Mountain in *Thrace*, above the Region called the *Pierian* Bay. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. Vide *Pierian* Bay.

Panopæus, the same with *Phanotis*. Vide *Phanotis*.

Panormus, a Haven of *Achaia*, neere to *Rhum*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. opposite to *Naxos*. *Polib.* lib. 4. Distant from *Rhum* with in the *Pægean* Bay 15 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 9. Also a Towne in the Territory of *Miletus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8.

Panoplia, a City of *Thessaly*. *Thuc.* lib. 1. Whereabouts in *Thessaly* I find not.

Parauis, a Nation of *Epirus*, neere to the *Malagasin*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. *Plutarch.* in *quest. Græc.* quæst. 13. 25.

Parian, a maritime City of *Hellepont*, betweene *Lampfacus* & *Prizus*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Parnassus, a Mountain, on whose West part are the *Laeri Ozgle*; East part, the *Phicæus* and *Doreans*; and which extendeth to the Mountains that runne along from *Thermopie* to the *Ambracian* Bay, and meeteth with them at a right angle. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Parnethus, a Hill in *Peloponnesus*, where-

in are the bounds of *Argia*, *Tegea*, and *Laconia*. *Pauf.* in *continuation*. Also a Hill in *Attica*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Paros, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. Vide *Cyclades*.

Parthasias, a City and Territory of *Arcadia*, bordering upon *Laconia*. *Thuc.* lib. 5.

Parusius, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, on the West of *Icarus*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Patæe, a maritime City of *Achaia*, distant from *Rhum*, fifty furlongs; from *Olenus* 80 furlongs. *Pauf.* in *Achaia*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Pege, a City in the Mountainous part of *Megaria*. *Pauf.* in *Achaia*. *Pege* and *Argia* comprehend the *Corinthian Isthmus*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Pegæse, a City of *Thessaly*, in the *Pegæsean* Bay. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Peneice, a small Territory on the confines of *Attica* and *Boœia*, neere to *Oropus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Pelagius, a Region of *Thessaly*, between *Pellus*, and the Territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Pele, an Island lying before *Clazomenæ*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8. Vide *Clazomenæ*.

Pelon, a Mountain in the Territory of *Magnesia* in *Thessaly*, ioyned to the Mountain *Ossa*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Pella, a City of *Macedonia*, wherein *Alexander the Great* was borne. It standeth in a Lake betweene the Rivers *Axius* and *Lydus*. *Strab.* *Epit.* lib. 7.

Pellæe, a City of *Achaia*, confining on *Sicyonia* and *Phœneum*, distant from the Sea threecore furlongs, and from *Ægira* 120 furlongs. *Pauf.* in *Achaia*. Also a Peninsula of *Macedonia*, betweene the Bay of *Torone*, and the Bay of *Thème*. *Herod.* libro 7. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

Pelagoma, a Region of *Macedonia*, toward *Illyria*. *Liuy.* lib. 45.

Peloponnesus, that part of *Greece* within the Isthmus of *Corinth*, now called *Moræa*.

Peneus, a River of *Thessaly*, rising in the Mountain *Pinus*, neere to *Macedonia*. *Strab.* lib. 7. running by *Larissa*, and thence through *Tempe* into the Sea. *Idem.* lib. 9. It divideth *Ossa* from *Olympus* with a narrow vale, and receiveth into it the Rivers *Apudamus*, *Enipeus*, and others. *Herod.* lib. 7. Also a River of *Peloponnesus*, betweene the Promontory *Chelonaia*, and the Towne *Silene*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Peloponnesus, an Island that lyeth before *Magnesia*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Perrhebi, a City of the *Pierians* of *Thrace* vnder the Mountain *Pangæum*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Also an *Eolique* City, 120 furlongs from the Sea, by the side of the River *Cæicus*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Perinthus, a maritime City of *Thrace*, on the side of *Propontis*.

Perrhebi, a People of *Thessaly*, that inhabit the Mountainous Countrey about *Olympus*, from the City *Atax*, 'as farre as to *Tempe*, and the City *Gyrus*. *Strab.* lib. 9. Out of *Macedonia* into *Thessaly* there lyeth a way through the *Perrhebi*, by the City *Gomus*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Petalia, a Promontory of *Eubœa*, against which, lye the Islands called also *Petalæ*, opposite to the Promontory *Sunium* in *Attica*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Plæcium, a City of *Thessaly*, betweene *Pharilus* and *Dion*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

Phages, *Phagres* in *Thymidides*, *Niphagres* in *Herodotus*, a City of the *Pierian*, betweene *Pangeum* and the Sea. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Phaleron, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, betweene *Pireus* and *Haliusius*. *Strab.* lib. 8. It was heretofore the Haven of *Athens*. *Pauf.* in *Attica*. distant from *Athens* 20 furlongs. *Idem.* in *Attica*.

Phane, a Haven in the Ile *Chios*. *Liuy.* lib. 44. betweene the Promontory *Pofidæum*, and the shore called *Notium*. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Phanotis, a City of *Phœen*, vpon the River *Cephusus*. *Strab.* lib. 9. the same with *Panopæus*, distant 20 furlongs from *Clazomena* in *Æzolia*. *Pauf.* in *Phœen*.

Phære, a City in the *Messenian* Bay, next after *Cardanyle*, Westward. *Strab.* lib. 8. above it, within the Land, are *Thurium* and *Anthes*, fourcore furlongs distant from it. *Pauf.* in *Laconia*. Also a City of *Achaia*, vpon the River *Pœnus*, distant from *Patæe*, 150 furlongs, from the Sea 70 furlongs. *Pauf.* in *Achaia*.

Pharilus, a City of *Thessaly*, by the River *Apidanus*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Pharbus, *Pharbus* to *Platonia*, but in *Liuy* *Baphysus*, a River of *Macedonia*, falling into the Sea neere to the City *Dion*. *Liuy*.

Phæia, a City of *Elis*, betweene the mouth of the River *Alpheius*, and the Promontory *Ællys*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Phœneum, a City of *Acadicia*, confining on *Pellene* and *Ægira*, Cities of *Achaia*, and on *Symphalius*, *Nonacis*, and *Clætor*, Cities of *Acadicia*. *Pauf.* in *Acadicia*.

Phære, a City of *Thessaly*, neere the Lake *Boëbe*, and confining on *Pellus*, and the Territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Phile, a Towne of *Attica*, confining on *Taxagra* of *Boœia*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Philius, a City neere the head of the River *Alopus* in *Achaia*, the Territory whereof is inclosed as it were in a circle, with the Territories of *Sicyon*, *Cleone*, and *Stymphalius*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Phocæa, an Ionique City in *Lydia*, at the mouth of the River *Hermus*. *Herod.* lib. 1. the bound of *Ionia* that way. *Strab.* libro 14.

Phoris, a Region of *Greece*, betweene the *Laeri Ozgle* and *Boœia*. *Attolia*, *Lucris*, *Phœus*, *Boœia*, lye paralll one to another. The *Phœacians* inhabit the East side of *Parnassus*. *Strab.* lib. 9. and extend by the Sea-side from *Ciriba* to *Antiqua*. *Pauf.* in *Phœen*.

Phœneus portus, a Haven in *Messenia*, neere the Promontory *Acritas*, betweene it and the City *Metone*. *Pausanias* in *Messenia*. Also a haven in the Peninsula *Erythra*, vnder the Hill *Mimas*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8.

Phulagandrus, an Island to the West of the Island *Ios*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Phrygæ, a place in *Attica*, neere *Acharne*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Phygalea, a City of *Acadicia*, on the confines of *Messenia*. *Polib.* lib. 4. vpon the River *Lymax*, which falleth into the River *Neda*. *Pauf.* in *Acadicia*.

Phycus, a Castle not farre from *Lepreum* in *Elis*. *Thuc.* lib. 5.

Phlyea, a City of Macedonia. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. *Ptolome* placeth it about the River *Chedrus*, not farre from the River *Asius*.

Phlyeus, a maritime City of *Caria*, betwene *Lurina* and *Canus*, opposite to *Rhodes*. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Phlyta a City on the West side of the River *Abelous*, not farre out of the way from *Stratus*, into *Agreth*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Pieria, a maritime City of Macedonia, touching on one side the River *Teneus*. *Strab.* lib. 9. and on the other side the confluent of the Rivers *Lydius* and *Alaemon*, where begins *Bettia*, according to *Herodotus*, lib. 7.

Pierisima, a tract of Land betwene the Mountain *Pangæum* and the Sea, in which standeth the City *Phages*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. *Pergamus* and *Ninagres*, Townes of the *Pierians*, vnder the Hill *Pangæum*, on the West of the River *Neglus*. *Herodot.* lib. 7.

Pindus, a Mountain bounding *Thessaly*, on the West. *Herodot.* lib. 7. It hath on the South the *Dolopians*; on the North, Macedonia. *Strab.* lib. 9. Also a City of the Region called *Doris*, one of the foure for which it was called *Tetrapolis*, and standeth about *Erimus*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Piræus, a Towne and Hauen of *Attica*, seruing for the shipping of *Athen*, in the midst betwene *Pege* and *Sanium*. *Strab.* lib. 8. distant from *Athen* 40 furlongs. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. Also a desert Hauen in the Territory of *Corinth*, the remotest towards *Epidaurus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8.

Piressa, a City of *Thessaly*, neere the mouth of the River *Peneus*. *Ex interprete Orphei Argonautæ*.

Pitane, an *Æolique* City in the shore of *Asia*. *Herod.* lib. 1. betwene *Atarneus* and the mouth of the River *Caicus*. *Strab.* lib. 13. Also a City of *Messenia*, on the confines of *Elis*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Plana, a City of *Bœotia*, seventy furlongs from *Thebes*. Betwene these Cities runneth the River *Asopus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. *Pauf.* in *Bœotica*. It standeth betwene Mount *Cithæron* and *Thebes*, neere the confines of *Attica* and *Megaria*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Plæron, a City of *Ætolia*, betwene *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, vpon the River *Euenus*, on the Sea-side, West of *Chalcis* and the mouth of the River. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Polichme, a Towne in the Continent of *Asia*, neere to *Clazomena*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8.

Polis, a village of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd.* lib. 7.

Posædum, a Temple dedicated to *Neptune*; and because those Temples were for the most part in Promontories, and places open to the Sea, diuers Promontories haue bene so called. There is *Posædum* a Promontory of *Chius*, opposite to the Promontory of *Argemum* in *Erythræa*, and betwene the City *Chius* and the Hauen *Phana*. *Strab.* lib. 14. Also a Promontory of the *Milesians*, the remotest of *Ionis* Southward. *Strab.* lib. 14. Also a Promontory of *Samos*, which with *Mycale* in the Continent, make the straight there of seven furlongs ouer. *Strab.* lib. 14. Also a Pro-

montory of *Pellene*, neere the City of *Menda*. *Thuc.* lib. 5. Of two Promontories that are in *Pellene*, (*Canassæa* being one) this is the lesser. *Livy*, lib. 44. Also a Temple in the *Corinthian* Isthmus, where were celebrated the *Isthmian* Games.

Potidea, a City in *Pallene*. *Herodot.* lib. 7. in the very Isthmus of it. *Thuc.* lib. 1. *Cassander* is a City in the streight that ioineeth *Pellene* to Macedonia, enclosed on one side with the *Toronean* Bay; on the other, with the *Macedonian* Sea. *Livy*, lib. 44. *Cassandria* was formerly called *Potidea*. *Strab.* *Ept.* lib. 7.

Potidania, a City of *Ætolia*, on the confines of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Præstæ, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argo*. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Pausan.* in *Laconica*, the last *Lacæmon* City towards *Argo*, and distant from *Cyparissia* 200 furlongs. *Pauf.* in *Laconica*. Also a Towne in *Attica*, by the Sea side towards *Enbæus*, betwene *Thoricus* and *Brauron*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Propegasium, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Ptolemy*.

Prisapus, a City lying vpon *Propontis*, betwene *Lampascus* and the River *Granicus*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Prieus, an *Ionique* City in *Caria*. *Herodot.* lib. 1. betwene the mouth of *Meander*, and the Mountain *Mycale*. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Præconessus, an Island in *Propontis*, ouer against the shore that is betwene *Parium* and *Prisapus*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Pronæ, a City of *Cephalonia*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Propontis, the Sea betwene *Hellæspont* and *Pontus Euxinus*. *Strab.* lib. 2.

Profection, a City of *Ætolia*, not far from *Plæuron*, but more remote from the Sea. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Prole, an Island ouer against *Messenia*, not farre from *Ælus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

Psyra, an Island, distant fifty furlongs from *Melsæna* a Promontory of *Chius*. *Strab.* lib. 44.

Psytæa, an Island betwene the Continent of *Attica*, and the Ile *Salamis*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Psophis, a City of *Arcadia*, in the West parts thereof, towards *Achaia* and *Elis*. *Polyb.* lib. 4.

Pickum, a Towne on the Sea side in *Erythræa*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8.

Phibiotis, the South part of *Thessaly*, reaching in length to Mount *Pindus*, and in breadth as farre as *Pharsalus*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Pythia, a small Island, neere to the City *Corcyra*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

Pydna, a Macedonian City in *Pieria*. *Strab.* *Ept.* lib. 7. opposite to *Æuca*. *Livy*.

Pylos, a City of *Messenia*, in the Promontory *Coryphasium*, distant from *Methone* 100 furlongs. *Pauf.* in *Messenica*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4. 5. Also a City of *Elis*, at the confluent of *Peneus* and *Ladon*. *Pauf.* *Elæcorum* secundum.

Pydus, a River betwene *Abydus* and *Dardanius*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8. It seemeth to bee the same which *Strabo* calleth *Rhodius*. *Ptolemy*.

Pyræus, a Promontory of *Asia* the lesse, which with *Gargara* (another Promontory)

distant from it 120 furlongs, maketh the Bay of *Abrangium*, properly so called. *Strab.* lib. 13. Also a City of *Leibos*, on the Sea-side towards *Greece*, distant from *Mytilene*, which is on the other Sea, 80 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 13. Also a City of *Jonæ*, in the *Lætan* Bay. *Strab.* lib. 14.

R

Rhammus, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, betwene *Marathon* and *Oropus*, distant from *Marathon* 60 furlongs. *Pausan.* in *Attica*.

Rheii, certaine Brookes of salt water, supposed to come from the Sea betwene *Attica* and *Enbæus*, vnder ground, as from the higher Sea, and rising in *Attica*, to fall into the *Saronic* Bay, as a lower Sea, betwene *Finæus* and *Elæus*. *Pausan.* in *Attica* & *Corinthiacis*.

Rhene, an Island, foure furlongs distant from *Delos*. *Strab.* lib. 10. It was before *Delos*, as *Sphæleria* before *Fylis*. *Pausan.* in *Ægeum*. *Polygætes* Lyriat of *Samos*, tyed it to *Delos* with a chaine. *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Rhium, a Promontory of *Achaia*, betwene *Patæ* and *Ægium*, which with *Antirrhium*, maketh the straight of the *Corinthian* (or *Cyprian*) Bay, of five furlongs ouer. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Rhium Achaicum*, and *Antirrhium*, (which is also called *Rhium Mythænicum*) are the iawes of the *Corinthian* Bay. *Livy*, lib. 22.

Rhodope, a Mountain of *Thrace*.

Rhodius, a River in the *Hellæspont*, betwene *Abydus* and *Dardanius*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Rhodus, an Island in the *Carpathian* Sea, 920 furlongs in compasse, inhabited by the *Dorians*. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Rhoetium, a City of *Hellæspont*, *Thucyd.* lib. 8. on the Sea-side, betwene *Dardanius* and *Sigæum*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Rhyper, a City of *Achaia*, thirty furlongs from *Ægium*. *Pauf.* in *Achaia*.

S

Sala, a City of the *Samotheacians*, in the shore of *Doris*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Salamis, an Island adiacent to *Eleusis* of *Attica*. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Pausan.* in *Attica*.

Same, a City in the Island of *Æolia*, at the passage betwene it and *Rhium*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Samia, a City of *Elis*, a little about *Samicum*, betwene which Cities runneth the River *Angros*. *Pauf.* *Elæcorum* primo.

Sanicum, a maritime City of *Elis*, the first beyond the River *Neda*, at the mouth of the River *Anigros*. *Pauf.* *Elæcorum* primo.

Saminthus, a Towne of *Argis*, in the plains of *Argos* towards *Nemea*. *Thucyd.* lib. 5.

Samotheacis, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, ouer against the mouth of the River *Heberus*. *Plin.* lib. 4.

Samus, an *Ionique* Island, and City of the same name. The Island is five hundred furlongs about, and *Potidæum* a Promontory thereof, not above fuen furlongs from the

the Continent. The City standeth on the South part of it, at the Sea-side. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Samo, a City in *Pellene*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. lib. 10. lib. 9.* Also a City by the side of the Dutch made by *Xerxes*, in Mount *Atos*, without the fame, and to the Bay of *Sigae*. *Herod. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Sardis, the chiefe City of the *Lydians*, situate vnder the Hill *Tmolus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Through it runneth the Riuier *Pactolus*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Sasander, a Riuier of *Troas*, rising in Mount *Jila*, *Sinuat*, and *Sasander* meete in a Fenne, and then goe out into the Sea by one Channell, at *Sigaeum*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Saunium, a Promontory of the Iland *Cos*, neere the City *Cos*, opposite to *Tamernum*, a Promontory of the Continent. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Saudia, a City in the Iland *Cythera*. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

Scapha, a City of *Treas*, in the highest part of Mount *Ida*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Scione, a City in *Talliae*. *Herod. lib. 7.* betweene *Mede* and *Sane*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Sciritia, the territory of *Scirus*, a *Lacemian* Towne on the confines of *Panchalia* in *Arcadia*, neere to *Cypella*. *Thucyd. lib. 11.*

Schamus, a Haven of the Territory of *Comoli*, at the narrowest part of the *Illymus*, betweene *Cenchree* and *Crommyon*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Seclus, a City of *Chalcidea*, not far from *Oreum*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Semira, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, out of which riseth the Riuier *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Seyathus, an Iland in the *Aegian* Sea, lying before the territory of *Magneia*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Betweene *Seyathus* and the Continent of *Magneia*, there is a narrow strait. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Sidaceum, a Promontory of *Peloponnesus*, the bound of the Bay of *Argos*, towards *Cenchree*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Sigae, an Iland in the *Aegian* Sea, lying ouer against the Continent of *Magneia*. *Strab. lib. 9.* betweene *Euboea* and *Lesbos*. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Silafis, a Towne in *Laconia*, betweene *Lece* and *Andros*, the Hill *Parnonius*, which is the bound of *Laconia* and *Argia*. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

Silybria, a City of *Thrace*, by the side of *Propontis*.

Sigae, a Promontory of *Magneia*. *Herod. lib. 7.* the beginning of the *Pegasean* Bay. *Proleme.*

Siphnia, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Sermon, a Promontory; the utmost Westward of the shore of *Doris* in *Terrae*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Sinuaia, a City of *Chalcidea*, vpon the *Tamernian* Bay. The Navy of *Xerxes* being come about the *Tamernian* Amples, passeth by this City, *Torone*, *Galepius*, *Sermyla*, &c. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Sigae, a City of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, thirty furlongs from *Abdus*, but neerer to *Troas* than *Abdus* is. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Sinuaia, an Iland not farre from *Meio*,

on the West of the Iland *Ios*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Sicion, a City of *Peloponnesus*, betweene *Corinth* and *Achaea*, distant a hundred furlongs from *Phobus*. *Pauf. in Corinth.*

Sidafis, a Towne by the Sea-side in *Elyphoea*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Sigae, a City and Promontory of *Troas*, at the mouth of the Riuier *Scamander*. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Sigium, the most northerne Promontory of the Ile *Leibos*, betweene *Egeus* and *Antifis*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Sineos, a Riuier of *Troas*, which running into a Fenne, ioyneth there with the Riuier *Scamander*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Singus, and the Bay of *Singus*, A Towne, and Bay taking name from it, betweene Mount *Athos* and *Torone*. *Herodotus, lib. 7.*

Sintip, a people about *Amphipolis*. *Liu, lib. 44.* deuided from *Paonia* by the Mountaine *Cereine*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

Sipse, a City of *Baotia*, vpon the *Criसान* Bay. *Pauf. in Boetia.*

Siphnia, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Smyrna, a maritime City of *Asia*, in the Bay called from it the Bay of *Smyrna*, beyond *Cleomene* towards *Aeolis*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Sellum, a maritime Towne of *Asarnania*. *Thucyd. Scholia. ad lib. 2.*

Sparta, the fame with *Lacedaemon*. *Strab. lib. 10. Vide Lacedaemon.*

Spartolus, a City of the *Botticeans*, on the border of the *Chalcidean*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

Spercheus, a Riuier that riseth in *Dolopia*, at a Mountaine called *Tympelestus*, and falleth into the *Melan* Bay, tenne furlongs within *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Sphaeria, a little Iland lying before *Pylus* of *Messenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4. Paufan. in Messenia.*

Sporades, Ilands vpon the Coast of *Caria*, and of *Creta*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Stagirus, a City in the Bay of *Strymon*, betweene *Argilus* and *Acanthus*. *Herodot. lib. 7.*

Stratus, a City of the *Amphiloebians* in *Acarnania*, vpon the Riuier *Achelous*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* two hundred furlongs from the Riuers mouth. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Strophades, Ilands ouer against *Mesenia*, about 400 furlongs from the Continent. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Stryma, a City on the Coast of *Thrace*, next after *Micybria*, towards *Macedonia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Strymon, a Riuier deuiding *Thrace* from *Macedonia*. It riseth in the Hill *Scennus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* It passeth by *Amphipolis*, on both sides of it, and falleth into the Sea at the City *Tim*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* It is said to rise out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*. *Strab. lib. 7.* But it is probable that the Hill *Scennus* is part of *Rhodope*.

Symphalia, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on the Territory of *Thlus*. *Pauf. in Arcadia.* *Strab. lib. 8.*

Syrn, a City in *Fubna*, neere to the City *Cyphus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Suumm, a Promontory and Towne in *Acetia*, towards *Euboea*, betweene the *Saronian* Bay and the Sea towards *Euboea*.

Strab. lib. 10. and distant from *Euboea* three hundred furlongs. *Idem. lib. 9.*

Sydonia, Ilands betweene *Iacintus*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, and the Continent. *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.* Also a Haven by the Promontory of *Cimerium*, in the same Continent. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Syme, an Iland ouer against the Continent of *Caria*, betweene *Loryma* and *Chidass*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Syon, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

T

TANARUS, a Promontory of *Laconia*, betweene the *Laconian* and the *Messinian* Bayes. *Pauf. in Laconia.* Also a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the *Messinian* Bay, distant from *Tennus* the Promontory forty furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

Tanagra, a City of *Boetia*, confining on *Attica*, thirty furlongs from *Aulis*, a Haven on the *Euboean* Sea. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Taulantia, a People of *Illyria*, about *Dyrrachium* (or *Epidamnus*) *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Tarquetus, a Mountaine of *Laconia*, beginning at the Sea, about *Thurides*, and reaching vp towards *Areadia*, as farre as *Amycle* and *Iacedaemon*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Teges, a City of *Arcadia*, betweene *Argos* and *Lacedaemon*. *Thucyd. lib. 5. Herodot. lib. 6. Polyb. lib. 4.* The Territory thereof consisteth with the *Argives* at *Hyfiae*, with *Laconia* at the Riuier *Alpheus*, and with the Territory of *Hyfiae* at the Hill *Parnethus*. *Pauf. in Arcad.* These Cities of *Peloponnesus*, *Argos*, *Teges*, and *Maninea*, though much celebrated in History, are placed with little consideration of any History, in all the Maps that I have hitherto seene.

Teichussa, a Castle of the *Milesians* in the Bay of *Iessus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Telos, an Iland ouer against *Troas*. *Herod. lib. 7.* a narrow Iland, in circuit 140 furlongs, adiacent to *Cnidus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Tenium, a Towne in *Argia*, distant from *Argos* 24 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* from *Nauplia* 50 furlongs. *Pauf. in Corinth.*

Tempe, a pleasant Valley betweene the Mountaines *Ossa* and *Olympus*: through it runneth the Riuier *Peneus*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. lib. 9. Liu. lib. 44.*

Tenedus, an Iland in circuit about 80 furlongs, opposite to the Continent of *Troas*, at *Achenn*, betweene *Sigaeum* and *Larisse*, and distant from it 40 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Tenos, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Tcos, a maritime City of *Ionis*, situate in the very *Illymus* of the *Erythraean Chersonesus*, distant from *Lebedus* 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Temerium, a Promontory of the *Mindians*, opposite to the Ile *Cos*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Tenichissa, an Iland not farre from *Halicarnassus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Thassus, an Iland vpon the Coast of *Thrace*, belic a dayes sayle from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Thrace

Thesbe, the principall City of *Boeotia*, situate neere the Riuers *Ilmonus* and *Asopus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Plataea* 70. furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Thera, an Island on the Coast of *Crete*, distant from a Promontory thereof called *Dion*, seventy furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Thersia, a small Island neere to *Thera*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Therme and the *Therme* is a City in the *Thermean* Bay. Soottome of the *Thermean* Bay; and the *Thermean* Bay is presently within *Callene*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Thermopylae, the straight entrance into *Greece* out of *Thessaly*, of about halfe an *Aeres* breadth, betwene the Mountaine *Oeta* and the *Melean* Bay. Called *Thermopylae*, from hot waters that rise there (which the *Grecians* call *Thermoe*;) and from Gates made there by the *Phocaeans* in old time, (which they call *Pyle*.) *Herod. lib. 7.* This streight is distant from *Chales* in *Eubaea* 530. furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Thesiae, a City of *Boeotia*, vnder Mount *Helicon*, on the confines of the City *Alivatus*. *Pauf. in Boeotia.* neere to the *Cyrtian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Therpiotes, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, bordering on the *Ambraciotae* and *Leucadiani*. *Herod. lib. 8.* The *Chamae* and *Thespiotes* haue the whole coast, from the *Coronian* Mountaines to the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Thessalia, a Region of *Greece*, contained within the Mountaines *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Pelion*, which is to the Sea, *Othrys* and *Pindus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* where hee layeth out the bounds of *Thessaly* exactly.

Therissus, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, toward the *Eubaeus* Sea, next beyond the Promontory *Sunium*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Vide *Helena*.

Thracia, a Kingdome bordering on *Macedonia*, at the Riuers *Strymon*, described at large by *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Thio, and *Thys* or *Thrio*, a Towne *Thracij campi*. 30. *Attica*, between *Athens* and *Eleuth.* ouer against *Salamis*. The Fields belonging to it, are called *Thracij Campi*, and the shore *Thracij litus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Herod. lib. 8.*

Tironium, a City of *Locris*, vpon the *Melean* Bay, betwene the Promontory *Cnemides*, and *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Thurides, a City in the *Melesian* Bay, the first towards the East, distant from the Promontory *Tenarus* 70 furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

Thurium, a City of *Iaconia*, 80 furlongs about *Phara*. *Pauf. in Messenia.*

Thymus, a Riuers of *Epirus*, diuiding *Thesprotis* from *Cessime*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Thymus, a Hill on the confines of *Argos* and *Amphilochia*, not farre from *Argos*. *Amphilochia*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Thyrea, a maritime City, in the Bay of *Argos*, in the Territory called *Cynuria*. It confineth on *Argia* and *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* and on the Territory of *Tegea*. *Pauf. in Arcadia.*

Thyssa, a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib. 4.* *Herod. lib. 7.*

Thicium, a City of *Aetolia*, in the part inhabited by the *Apodoti*. *Thuc. lib. 8.*

Thiorea, a City in the top of *Pernassus*, called also *Nyon*, 80 furlongs from *Delphi*. *Pauf. in Phocia.*

Timolus, a Mountaine betwene the Riuers *Cyffrus* and the City of *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.* *Sardes* standeth at the foote of *Timolus*, and out of this Hill riseth the Riuers *Pallolus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Tolophon, a City of the *Loeri Ozole*. *Thuc. lib. 3.*

Tomcus, a Hill neere to *Pylus* in *Messenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Torone, and *Torone* is a *Chalcidique* City, the Bay of — betwene the *Singitique* *Torone*. — and *Toronean* Bayes, neere

the Promontory *Ampelus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* The place of the *Tenarian* Bay is vnderstood out of *Long. lib. 44.* where he saith, that *Cassandrea* (or *Pansea*) standeth betwene the *Macedonian* Sea, and the Bay of *Tenore*.

Tragis, an Island neere to *Sagris*. *Thuc. lib. 1.*

Tra, ex. Island about *Stilem*. *Strab. lib. 4.*

Triquetum, a Promontory of the *Ionian*, *Thuc. lib. 8.* *Vide curius.*

Tripodiscus, a Village of *Megaria*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Trica, a City of *Aschis*, remote from the Sea, distant from *Tricene* 110 furlongs. *Pauf. in Ithaca.* Also a City of the *Leont Ozole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Trina, a Territory of *Asia* the lesse, vpon the side of the *Aegean* Sea, betwene *Aeolis* and *Hellespont*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Truaga, a maritime City of *Argia*, the vtmost in the Bay of *Itemone*. *Strab. lib. 8.* confining on *Epidauria*. *Pauf. in Corinthia.*

Troia. *Vide Ilum.*

Troilum, a Promontory, and foot of the Mountaine *Mysae*, ouer against the Ile *Samos*, which with *Pestum* a Promontory of that Ile, maketh the streight there of seven furlongs ouer. *Strab. lib. 14.*

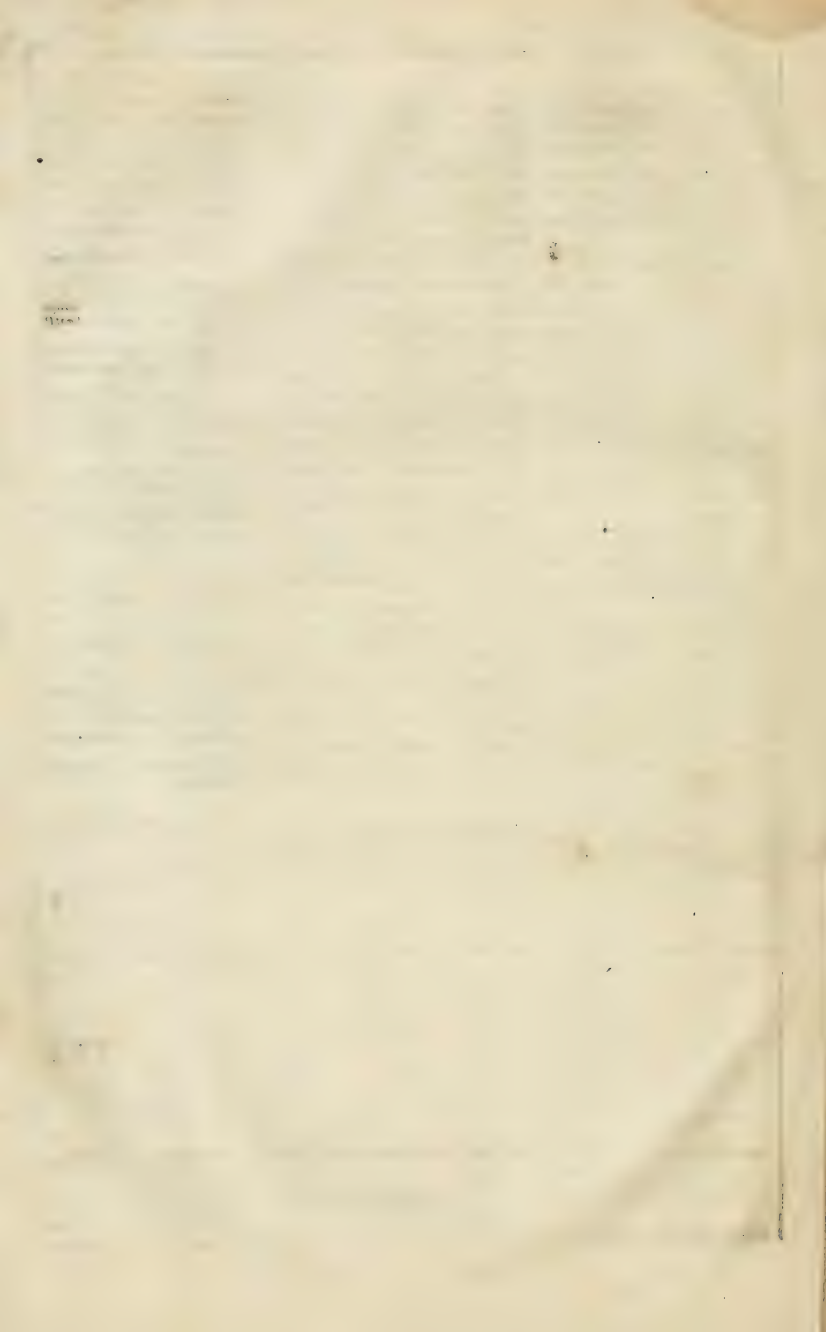
Z

Zacynthus, an Island ouer against *Peloponnesus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* Now called *Zante*.

Zacex, a maritime City of *Iaconia*, distant on one side from *Epaurum* *Loeri* 100 furlongs, and from *Cyphanta* on the other side, sixteene furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

Zelata, a City vnder Mount *Ida*, toward *Propontis*, distant from *Cyzicus* 190. furlongs, and from the Sea 80. furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Zone, a City on the shore of *Deisicus* in *Thrace*. *Herod. lib. 7.*





THE
FIRST BOOKE
OF
THE HISTORY OF
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The estate of Greece, deriued from the remotest knowne Antiquity thereof, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre. The Occasion and Pretexts of this Warre, arising from the Controuersies of the Athenians with the Corinthians, concerning Corcyra and Potidæa. The Lacedæmonians, instigated by the Confederates, undertake the Warre; not so much at their instigation, as of enuie to the greatnesse of the Athenian Dominion. The degrees by which that Dominion was acquired. The Warre generally decreed by the Confederates at Sparta. The Demands of the Lacedæmonians. The obstinacy of the Athenians; and their Answer, by the aduice of Pericles.

A **T**HVCYDIDES an Athenian, wrote the Warre of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, * as they warred against each other; beginning to write, as soone as the Warre was on foot, with expectation it should proue a great one, and most worthy the relation, of all that had beene before it: Coniecturing so much, both from this, that they flourished on both sides

* The common appellation given by the Grecians, to all Nations besides themselves.

To make it appeare that this Warre was greater then any before it, the Author sheweth the impetuosity of former times; describing 3. Periods; 1. From the beginning of the Grecian memory, to the Warre of Troy. 2. The Warre it selfe. 3. The time from thence, to the present Warre which he writeth.

The State of Greece before the Trojan Warre.

* Greece.

ἡμετέρας γενέσων.
ἡμετέρας ἀρίστη. What
ever is estimated by
money.

* The territory of the Athenian City, so called, from Athens, the Daughter of Cranaus.

* The Athenians had an opinion of themselves, that they were not descended from other Nations, but that their Ancestors were over the Inhabitants of Attica: wherefore they also stile themselves ἄττικοι, i. e. men of the same Land.

in all manner of provision: and also because hee saw the rest of Greece, siding with the one or the other Faction; some then presently, and some intending so to doe. For this was certainly the greatest Commotion that euer happened amongst the Grecians, reaching also to part of the * Barbarians, and, as a man may say, to most Nations. For the Actions that preceded this, and those againe that are yet more ancient, though the truth of them, through length of time, cannot by any meanes cleerely be discovered; yet for any Argument that (looking into times farre past) I haue yet light on to perswade me, I doe not thinke they haue beene very great, either for matter of Warre, or otherwise.

For it is euident, that that which now is called * Hellas, was not of old constantly inhabited; but that, at first, there were often remouals, euery one easily leauing the place of his abode, to the violence alwayes of some greater number. For whiles Trafficke was not, nor mutuall entercourse, but with feare, neither by Sea nor Land; and euery man so husbanded the ground, as but barely to liue vpon it, without any * stocke of * Riches; and planted nothing, (because it was vncertaine when another should invade them, and carry all away, especially, not hauing the defence of Walls) but made account to be Masters in any place, of such necessary sustenance, as might serue them from day to day, they made little difficulty to change their habitations. And for this cause, they were of no ability at all, eyther for greatnesse of Cities, or other provision. But the fattest Soyles were alwaies the most subiect to these changes of Inhabitants; as that which is now called Thessalia, and Boeotia, and the greatest part of Peloponnesus, (except Arcadia) and of the rest of Greece, whatsoever was most fertile. For, the goodnesse of the Land increasing the power of some particular men, both caused Seditions, (whereby they were ruin'd at home) and withall, made them more obnoxious to the insidiation of strangers. From hence it is, that * Attica, from great antiquity, for the sterility of the Soyle, free from Seditions, hath beene inhabited euer by the same * People. And it is none of the least euidences of what I haue said, That Greece, by reason of sundry transplantations, hath not in other parts receiued the like augmentation. For, such as by Warre,

or

A or Sedition, were driven out of other places, the most potent of them, as to a place of stability, retired themselves to *Athens*; where receiving the Freedome of the City, they long since so increased the same in number of People, as *Attica*, being incapable of them it selfe, they sent out Colonies into *Ionia*.

And to me, the imbecillity of ancient times, is not a little demonstrated also by this [that followeth.] For before the *Trojan Warre*, nothing appeareth to have beene done by *Greece* in Common; nor indeed was it, as I thinke, called all by that one name of *Hellas*; nor before the time of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, was there any such name at all. But *Pelagium* (which was the farthest extended) and the other parts, by Regions, received their names from their owne Inhabitants. But *Hellen* and his Sonnes being strong in *Phthiotis*, and called in, for their ayde, into other Cities; these Cities, because of their conversing with them, began more particularly to be called *Hellenes*: and yet could not that name of a long time after prevaile vpon them all. This is coniectured principally out of *Homer*; for, though borne long after the *Trojan Warre*, yet he giues them not any where that * name in generall; nor indeed to any, but those, that with *Achilles* came out of *Phthiotis*, and were the first so called. But in his Poemes, he mentioneth *Danaans*, *Argives*, and *Achaans*; nor doth he likewise vse the word *Barbarians*; because the *Grecians*, as it seemeth vnto me, were not yet distinguished by one common name of *Hellenes*, oppositely answerable vnto them. The *Grecians* then, neither as they had that Name in particular by mutuall entercourse, nor after, vniuersally so termed, did euer before the *Trojan Warre*, for want of strength and correspondence, enter into any Action, with their Forces ioyned. And to that Expedition they came together, by the meanes of Navigation, which the most part of *Greece* had now received.

For *Minos* was the most ancient of all, that by report we know to have built a Nauy: and he made himselfe Master of the now * *Grecian Sea*; and both commanded the Iles called *Cyclades*, and also was the first that sent Colonies into most of the same, expelling thence the *Carians*, and constituting his owne Sonnes there for *Gouernours*, and also freed the Seas of *Pirates*, as much as hee could,

The originall of the name *Hellas*.

* The name of *Hellenes* not given to all the *Grecians* in the time that *Homer* wrote his Poemet.

The *Trojan Warre* was the first Enterprize where the *Grecians* combined their forces.

Minos, King of *Creta*, the first that had a Nauy.

* Before that time, it was called the *Carian Sea*.

A Digression, touching
the Piracie & Robberies
of old time; with other
Notes of Saulvagenesse.

Robbing had in honour.

* In distinction to the other
Locrians, called Opuntij.

Continuall wearing of
Armour in fashion.

The Athenians grew first
ciuill.

* The Athenians, holding
themselves to be sprung from
the ground they liued on,
wore the Grasshopper for
a kinde of Ornament, because
that Beast is thought to be ge-
nerated of the Earth.

for the better comming in (as is likely) of his owne Re- A
uenue.

For the *Grecians* in old time, and such *Barbarians* as, in
the Continent, liued neere vnto the Sea, or else inhabited
the Ilands, after once they beganne to crosse ouer one
to another in Ships, became Theeues, and went a-
broad vnder the conduct of their most puissant men, both
to enrich themselves, and to fetch in maintenance for the
weake: and falling vpon Towns vnfortified, and scattering-
ly inhabited, rifled them, and made this the best meanes
of their liuing; Being a matter at that time no where in B
disgrace, but rather carrying with it something of glory.
This is manifest by some that dwell on the Continent, a-
mongst whom, so it be performed Nobly, it is still esteem-
ed as an Ornament. The same also is prooued by some
of the ancient Poets, who introduce men questioning of
such as saile by, on all Coasts alike, whether they bee
Theeues, or not; as a thing neyther scorned by such as
were asked, nor vpbraided by those that were desirous to
know. They also robbed one another within the maine
Land: And much of *Greece* vseth that old custome, as the C
Locrians called *Oxola*, the *Acarnanians*, and those of the
Continent in that quarter, vnto this day. Moreouer, the
fashion of wearing Iron, remaineth yet with the people
of that Continent, from their old Trade of Theeuing.

For once they were wont throughout all *Greece*, to goe
armed, because their Houses were vnfenced, and trauailing
was vn safe, and accustomed themselves, like the *Barba-
rians*, to the ordinary wearing of their Armour. And the
Nations of *Greece* that liue so yet, doe testifie, that the
same manner of life was anciently vniuersall to all the rest. D
Amongst whom, the *Athenians* were the first that laid by
their Armour, and growing ciuill, passed into a more tender
kinde of life. And such of the Rich as were any thing
stepped into yeeres, layd away, vpon the same delicacie,
not long after, the fashion of wearing linnen Coates, and
* golden Grasshoppers, which they were wont to binde
vp in the lockes of their haire: from whence also the same
Fashion, by reason of their affinity, remained a long time
in vse amongst the ancient *Ionians*. But the moderate kind
of Garment, and conformable to the wearing of these E
times, was first taken vp by the *Lacedemonians*; amongst
whom

A whom also, both in other things, and especially in the culture of their bodies, the Nobility observed the most equality with the Commons. The same were also the first, that when they were to contend in the * *Olympicke Games*, stript themselves * naked, and anoynted their bodies with oyntment: whereas in ancient times, the Champions did also in the *Olympicke Games* vse Breeches; nor is it many yeeres since this custome ceased. Also there are to this day amongst the *Barbarians*, especially those of *Asia*, Prizes propounded of fighting with Fists, and of Wrestling, and the Combattants, about their priuie parts, weare Breeches in the Exercise. It may likewise by many other things bee demonstrated, that the old *Greekes* vsed the same forme of life, that is now in force amongst the *Barbarians* of the present Age.

As for Cities, such as are of late Foundation, and since the increase of Navigation, in as much as they haue had since, more plenty of riches, haue beene walled about, and built vpon the Shore; and haue taken vp *Isthmi*, [that is to say, neckes of Land between Sea and Sea] both for Merchandise, and for the better strength against Confiners. But the old Cities, men hauing beene in those times, for the most part, infested by Theeues, are built farther vp, as well in the Ilands, as in the Continent. For others also that dwelt on the Sea side, though not Sea-men, yet they molested one another with Robberies; and euen to these times, those people are planted vp high in the Countrey.

But these Robberies were the exercise especially of the Ilanders; namely, the *Carians*, and the *Phœnicians*: for by them were the greatest part of the * Ilands inhabited. A testimony whereof, is this: The *Athenians*, when in this present * Warre they hallowed the Ile. of *Delos*, and had digged vp the Sepulchers of the Dead, found that more then halfe of them were *Carians*, * knowne so to bee, both by the armour buried with them, and also by their manner of buriall at this day. And when *Minos* his Nauy was once afloat, Nauigators had the Sea more free: For hee expelled the Malefactors out of the Ilands, and in the most of them, planted Colonies of his owne. By which means, they who inhabited the Sea-coasts, becoming more addicted to Riches, grew more constant to their dwellings;

* Exercises of diuers kinds instituted in honour of Iupiter, at Olympia in Peloponnesus, to which resorted such out of Greece, as contended for Prizes.

* This was perhaps the cause, why it was a capitall crime, for women to be Spectators of the Olympicke exercises.

The Cities of Greece, now seated, and for what causes.

The *Carians* and *Phœnicians*, were those that committed the most robberies.

* The Cyclades.

* Vide Lib. 4. in the beginning.

* The *Carians* hauing invented the Crest of the Helmet, and also the drawing of Images on their Targets, had therefore a Helmet and a Buckler buried with them, and had their heads laid towards the West.

of whom, some growne now rich, compassed their Townes about with Walls. For out of desire of gaine, the meaner sort vnderwent servitude with the mighty; and the mighty with their wealth, brought the lesser Cities into subiection. And so it came to passe, that rising to power, they proceeded afterward to the Warre against *Troy*.

And to mee it seemeth, that ^a *Agamemnon* got together that Fleet, not so much for that hee had with him the ^b *Suters of Helena*, bound thereto by oath to *Tyndareus*, as for this, that hee exceeded the rest in power. For they that by tradition of their Ancestours, know the most certaintie of the Acts of the *Peloponnesians*, say, That first, *Pelops*, by the abundance of wealth which he brought with him out of *Asia*, to men in want, obtained such power amongst them, as, though hee were a Stranger, yet the Countrey was called after his name. And that this power was also increased by his Posterity: For, *Euristheus* being slaine in *Attica*, by the ^c *Heracleides*, *Atreus*, that was his ^d Vncle by the Mother, (and was then abiding with him as an exiled person, for feare of his Father, for the * death of *Chrysippus*) and to whom *Euristheus*, when he vndertooke the Expedition, had committed *Mycena*, and the gouernment thereof, for that he was his Kinsman; when as *Euristheus* came not backe, (the *Mycenians* being willing to it, for feare of the *Heracleides*, and because he was an able man, and made much of the Common people) obtained the Kingdome of *Mycena*, and of whatsoeuer else was vnder *Euristheus*, for himselfe: And the power of the ^e *Pelopeides* became greater then that of the ^f *Perseides*. To which greatnesse ^g *Agamemnon* succeeding, and also farre excelling the rest in Shipping, tooke that Warre in hand, as I conceiue it, and assembled the said Forces, not so much vpon fauour, as by feare. For it is cleere, that he himselfe both conferred most Ships to that Action, and that some also hee lent to the *Arcadians*. And this is likewise declared by *Homer* (if any thinke his testimony sufficient) who, at the deliery of the Scepter vnto him, calleth him, *Of many Iles, and of all Argos King*. Now he could not, liuing in the Continent, haue bene Lord of the Ilands, other then such as were adjacent, which cannot bee many, vnlesse hee had also had a Nauy. And by this Expedition, we are to estimate what were those of the Ages before it.

The Action of *Troy*.

^a The Sonne of *Atreus*, the Sonne of *Pelops*.

^b The opinion was, that *Tyndareus*, the Father of *Helena*, tooke an Oath of all his Daughters *Suters*, that if violence were done to him that obtained her, all the rest should helpe to reuenge it.

And that *Menelaus* hauing married her, and *Paris* the Sonne of *Priam*, King of *Troy* taking her away, *Agamemnon*, in the behalfe of his Brother *Menelaus*, drew them by this Oath to the Siege of *Ilium*. *Peloponnesus*, so called from *Pelops*.

The increase of the power of the *Pelopians*.

^c A kindred and race of men, whereof was *Hercules*. This Family was persecuted by *Euristheus*, who was of the House of *Perseus*, and driven into *Attica*, thither he following them, was slaine by the *Athenians*.

^d *Astidamia*, the Mother of *Euristheus*, was *Atreus* his Sister.

* *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, Sonnes of *Pelops*, at the impulsion of their Mother, slew this *Crysippus*, who was their halfe Brother, viz. by the Father; and for this fact, *Atreus* fled to *Euristheus*.

Atreus King of *Mycena*, after the death of *Pelops*.

^e The House of *Pelops*.

^f The House of *Perseus*.

^g The Sonne of *Atreus*, begot to the power of both Houses, both of the *Pelopeides*, and of the *Perseides*.

Now

A Now seeing *Mycena* was but a small Citie, or if any other of that Age seeme but of light regard, let not any man for that cause, on so weake an Argument, thinke that Fleet to haue beene lesse then the Poets haue said, and Fame reported it to bee. For, if the City of *Lacedemon* were now desolate, and nothing of it left, but the Temples, and floores of the buildings, I thinke it would breed much vnbeliefe in posterity long hence, of their power, in comparision of the Fame. For although of * five parts of *Peloponnesus*, it possesse * two, and hath the leading of the rest, and also of many Confederates without; yet the Citie being not close built, and the Temples and other Edifices not costly, and because it is but scatteringly inhabited, after the ancient manner of *Greece*, their power would seeme inferiour to the report. Againe, the same things happening to *Athens*, one would coniecture by the sight of their Citie, that their power were double to what it is. Wee ought not therefore to bee incredulous, [concerning the Forces that went to *Troy*,] nor haue in regard so much the externall shew of a Citie, as the power: but we are to thinke, that that Expedition was indeed greater then those that went before it, but yet inferiour to those of the present Age; if in this also we may credit the Poetry of *Homer*, who being a Poet, was like to set it foorth to the utmost. And yet euen thus it commeth short. For hee maketh it to consist of 1200. Vessels: those that were of *Baotians*, carrying 120. men apiece, and those which came with *Philoctetes*, 50. Setting forth, as I suppose, both the greatest sort, and the least, and therefore of the bignesse of any of the rest, hee maketh in his Catalogue, no mention at all: but declareth, that they who were in the Vessels of *Philoctetes*, serued both as Mariners and Souldiers: for he writes, that they who were at the Oare, were all of them Archers. And for such as wrought not, it is not likely that many went along, except * Kings, and such as were in chiefe authority, especially being to passe the Sea with Munition of Warre, and in Bottomes without Deckes, built after the old and Peiraticall fashion. So then, if by the greatest and least, one estimate the meane of their Shipping, it will appeare, that the whole number of men considered, as sent ioyntly from all *Greece*, were not very many. And the cause heereof was not so much

want

Mycene, though no great Citie, yet was of great power,

* 1. *Laconia*. 2. *Arcadia*. 3. *Argolica*. 4. *Messenia*. 5. *Egis*. *Morea*.

* *Laconia*, *Messenia*.

The City of *Sparta* lesse, and the City of *Athens*, greater, then for the proportion of their power.

A Survey of the Fleet sent to *Troy*.

* As *Achilles*, *Wylles*, *Ajax*, *Diomedes*, *Patroclus*, and the like.

* The whole number of men, estimating the Ships at a medium to carry 85. men apiece, which is the meane betwene 120. and 50, come to 101000. men, carried in these 1200. Ships. Yet the Author makes it a light matter in respect of the present warre.

want of men, as of wealth. For, for want of victuall, they **A**
 carryed the lesser Army, and no greater then they hoped
 might both follow the Warre, and also maintaine it selfe.
 When vpon their arriuall, they had gotten the vpper hand
 in fight, (which is manifest; for else they could not haue
 fortified their Campe) it appeares, that from that time for-
 ward, they employed not there their whole power, but
 that for want of victuall, they betooke themselues, part
 of them to the tillage of *Chersonesus*, and part to fetch in
 Booties: whereby diuided, the *Trojans* the more easily
 made that tenne yeeres resistance; as being euer a Match **B**
 for so many as remained at the Siege. Whereas, if they
 had gone furnished with store of prouision, and with all
 their Forces, eased of Boothaling and Tillage, since they
 were Masters of the Field, they had also easily taken the
 Citie. But they stroue not with their whole power, but
 onely with such a portion of their Army, as at the seue-
 rall occasions chanced to bee present: when as, if they had
 pressed the Siege, they had wonne the place, both in lesse
 time, and with lesse labour. But through want of money,
 not onely they were weake matters all that preceded this **C**
 Enterprize, but also this, (which is of greater name then
 any before it) appeareth to bee in fact beneath the Fame,
 and report, which, by meanes of the Poets, now goeth
 of it.

The pouerty of the
Greekes was the cause
 why the *Trojans* could
 so long hold out.

The state of *Greece*, after
 the *Troian Warre*.

For also after the *Trojan Warre*, the *Grecians* continued
 still their shiftings, and transplantations; insomuch as ne-
 uer resting, they improued not their power. For the late
 returne of the *Greekes* from *Ilium*, caused not a little inno-
 uation; and in most of the Cities there arose seditions;
 and those which were driven out, built Cities for them-**D**
 selues in other places. For those that are now called *Bœo-*
tians, in the sixtieth yeere after the taking of *Troy*, expelled
Arne by the *Thessalians*, seated themselues in that Country,
 which now *Bœotia*, was then called *Cadmeis*. (But there
 was in the same, a certaine portion of that Nation before,
 of whom also were they, that went to the Warfare of
Troy.) And in the eightieth yeere, the *Doreans*, together
 with the *Heracleides*, seized on *Peloponnesus*. And with
 much adoe, after long time, *Greece* had constant rest; and
 shifting their seates no longer, at length sent Colonies a-**E**
 broad. And the *Asbenians* planted *Ionia*, and most of the
 Islands,

Bœotia, more anciently
Cadmeis.

The *Ionians* were the Co-
 lonies of the *Athenians*.

A Ilands; and the *Peloponnesians*, most of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and also certaine parts of the rest of *Greece*. But these Colonies were all planted after the *Trojan Warre*.

But when the power of *Greece* was now improoved, and the desire of money withall, their reuenues being enlarged, in most of the Cities there were erected Tyrannies: (for before that time, Kingdomes with honours limited, were hereditary.) And the *Grecians* built Nauies, and became more seriously addicted to the affaires of the Sea. The *Corinthians* are said to haue been the

B first that changed the forme of shipping, into the neerest to that which is now in vse; and at *Corinth* are reported to haue beene made the first Gallies of all *Greece*. Now it is well knowne, that *Aminocles* the Ship-wright of *Corinth*, built 4. Ships at *Samos*. And from the time that *Aminocles* went to *Samos*, vntill the end of this present Warre, are at the most but 300. yeeres. And the most ancient nauall Battaile that we know of, was fought betweene the * *Corinthians* and the *Corcyreans*, and from that Battaile to the same time, are but 260. yeeres. For *Corinth* seated on an

C *Isthmus*, had beene alwaies a place of Traffique; because the *Grecians* of old, from within and without *Peloponnesus*, trading by Land more then by Sea, had no other intercourse one to another, but thorow the *Corinthians* Territory. And was also wealthy in money, as appeares by the Poets, who haue surnamed this Towne the Rich. And after the *Grecians* had commerce also by Sea, then likewise hauing furnished themselues with a Nauy, they scowred the Sea of Pirates, and affording Traffique both by Sea and Land, mightily increased their City in reuenue of money. After

D this, the *Ionians* in the times of *Cyrus*, first King of the *Persians*, and of his Sonne *Cambyses*, got together a great Nauie, and making warre on *Cyrus*, obtained for a time the dominion of that part of the Sea that lyeth on their owne Coast. Also *Polycrates*, who in the time of *Cambyses*, Tyrannized in *Samos*, had a strong Nauy, wherewith he subdued diuers of the Ilands; and amongst the rest, hauing wonne *Rhenea*, hee consecrated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*. The * *Phocæans* likewise, when they were building the City of *Marseilles*, ouercame the *Carthaginians* in a fight

E at Sea.

These were the greatest Nauies extant, and yet euen these

The difference betweene Tyranny, and regall Authority.

At *Corinth* were made the first *Traimes*, or Gallies of three tire of Oares, one aboue another.

* By this it appeares, that *Thucydides* out-lived the whole Warre.

* By *Periander*, the Tyrant of *Corinth*, for the slaughter of his Sonne *Lycophron*. *Herod.* in *Thalia*.

The meanes of the wealth of *Corinth*.

Corinth surnamed the Rich.

The *Ionians* had a Nauy in *Cyrus* his time.

Polycrates Tyrant of *Samos*, had a Nauy in the time of *Cambyses*.

* The *Phocæans* in the time of *Tarquinius*, came into the Mouth of *Tyber*, entred into amity with the *Romans*, and thence went and built *Marseilles* amongst the Savage Nations, of the *Ligurians*, and *Gauls*. *Iustia.* l. 42.

* Medes and Persians used
these, promiscuously the Me-
dan Monarchy, being trans-
lated to the Persians.
* Of the Corinthians, Io-
nians, and Phocians.

Egina.

The Shipping of Greece
very meane before this
Warre.

The causes why the Gre-
cians neuer ioyned their
forces in any great
action.

The Ionians kept downe
by the Persian.

these, though many Ages after the time of *Troy*, consisted A
as it seemes, but of a few Gallies, and were made vp with
Vessels of fiftie Oares, and with long Boates, as well as
chose of former times. And it was but a little before the
* Median Warre, and death of *Darius*, successor of *Cambyses*
in the Kingdome of *Persia*, that the Tyrants of *Sicily*, and
the *Corcyreans* had of Gallies any number. For these * last,
were the onely Nauies worth speaking of, in all *Greece*,
before the invasion of the *Medes*. And the People of
Aegina, and the *Athenians* had but small ones, and the most
of them consisting but of fifty Oares apiece; and that so B
lately, as but from the time, that the *Athenians* making
Warre on *Aegina*, and withall expecting the comming of
the *Barbarian*, at the perswasion of *Themistocles*, built those
Ships, which they vsed in that Warre; and these also,
not all had Decks.

Such were then the Nauies of the *Greekes*, both ancient
and moderne. Neuertheless, such as applyed themselves
to navall businesse, gained by them no small power, both
in reuenue of money, and in dominion ouer other people.
For with their Nauies (especially those men that had not C
sufficient Land, where they inhabited, to maintaine them-
selues) they subdued the *Ilands*. But as for Warre by
Land, such as any State might acquire power by, there
was none at all. And such as were, were onely betweene
Borderer and Borderer. For the *Grecians* had neuer yet
gone out with any Army to conquer any Nation far from
home; because the lesser Cities, neither brought in their
Forces to the great ones, as Subiects, nor concurred as E-
quals, in any common Enterprize; but such as were neigh-
bours, warred against each other, hand to hand. For the D
Warre of old, betweene the *Chalcideans* and the *Eretrians*,
was it, wherein the rest of *Greece* was most divided, and in
league with either partie.

As others by other meanes were kept backe from grow-
ing great, so also the *Ionians* by this, That the *Persian* Af-
fares prospering, *Cyrus* and the *Persian* Kingdome, after the
defeat of *Craesus*, made warre vpon all that lyeth from the
Riuer *Haly* to the Sea side, and so subdued all the Citties
which they possessed in the Continent & *Darius* afterward,
when he had ouercome the *Phaenissian* Fleet, did the like E
vnto them in the *Ilands*.

And

A And as for the Tyrants that were in the *Grecian* Cities, who forecalted onely for themselves, how, with as much safety as was possible, to looke to their owne persons, and their owne Families, they refused for the most part in the Cities, and did no Action worthy of memory, vntill it were against their neighbours: for, as for the Tyrants of *Sicily*, they were already arrived at greater power. Thus was *Greece* for a long time hindered, that neither ioynctly it could doe any thing remarkable, nor the Cities singly be aduentrous.

B But after that the *Tyrants both of *Athens*, and of the rest of *Greece*, where Tyrannies were, were the most, and last of them (excepting those of *Sicily*, put downe by the *Lacedæmonians*, (for *Lacedæmon*, after it was built by the *Doreans* that inhabited the same, though it hath bin longer troubled with seditions, then any other Citie we know, yet hath it had for the longest time, good Laws, and bin also alwaies free from Tyrants. For it is vnto the end of this Warre, 400. yeeres, and somewhat more, that the *Lacedæmonians* haue vsed one and the same gouernment: and thereby be-

C ing of power themselves, they also ordered the Affaires in the other Cities) [I say] after the dissolution of Tyrannies in *Greece*, it was not long before the Battaille was fought by the *Medes*, against the *Athenians*, in the Fields of *Marathon*. And in the tenth yeere againe after that, came the *Barbarian, with the *great Fleet into *Greece*, to subdue it. And *Greece* being now in great danger, the leading of the *Grecians* that leagued in that Warre, was giuen to the *Lacedæmonians*, as to the most potent State. And the *Athenians*, who had purposed so much before, and

D already stowed their necessities, at the comming in of the *Medes*, went *a ship-board, and became Sea-men. When they had ioynctly beaten backe the *Barbarian*, then did the *Grecians*, both such as were revolted from the King, and such as had in common made Warre vpon him, not long after, deuide themselves into Leagues, one part with the *Athenians*, and the other with the *Lacedæmonians*; these two Citties appearing to bee the mightiest; for this had the power by Land, and the other by Sea. But this Confederation lasted but a while: for after-

E afterwards, the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*, being at *variance, warred each on other, together with their severall

* Pisistratus and his sones.

The *Lacedæmonians* put downe the Tyrants through all *Greece*.

* Xerxes.

* A Fleet of 1200. Gallies, and 1000. Hulks of the round manner of building. *Corn. Nepos* in vita Themistocles.

* The *Athenians* being admonished by the Oracle, for their safety against the *Medes*, to put themselves within Walls of wood: Themistocles interpreting the Oracle, they went into their Gallies.

All *Greece* deuided into two Leagues, the *Lacedæmonians* and their League, and the *Athenians* and their League.

* This variance began thus, That *Cimon* having bene sent for to aide the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Helles*, was sent backe with 100 *Athenians*, out of distrust the *Lacedæmonians* had of his forward spirit: wherby the *Athenians* took for aduantage.

Confederates. And the rest of *Greece*, where any discord ^A chanced to arise, had recourse presently to one of these. In so much, that from the Warre of the *Medes* to this present Warre, being continually [exercised,] sometimes in peace, sometimes in Warre, either one against the other, or against revolted Confederates, they arrived at this Warre, both well furnished with Military provisions, and also expert, because their practice was with danger.

The *Lacedæmonians* governed not their Confederates so, as to make them Tributaries, but onely drew them by faire meanes to embrace the * *Oligarchy*, convenient to their ^B owne Policy. But the *Athenians*, having with time, taken into their hands the Gallies of all those that stood out, (except the *Cbians* and *Lesbians*) * reigned over them, and ordained euery of them to pay a certaine tribute of money. By which meanes, their * owne particular provision was greater in the beginning of this Warre, then when in their flourishing time, the League betweene them and the rest of *Greece* remaining whole, it was as the most.

Such then I finde to haue beene the state of things past, hard to be beleueed, though one produce prooffe for euery ^C particular thereof. For Men receiue the report of things, though of their owne Countrey, if done before their owne time, all alike, from one as from another, without examination.

For the vulgar sort of *Athenians* thinke, that *Hipparchus* was the Tyrant, and slaine by *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*; and know not that *Hippias* had the gouernment, as being the eldest sonne of *Pisistratus*, and that *Hipparchus* and *Thesalus* were his brethren; and that *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton*, suspecting that some of their Complices had that day, and at that instant, discovered vnto *Hippias* somewhat of their ^D treason, did forbear *Hippias*, as a man forewarned, and desirous to effect somewhat, though with danger, before they should be apprehended, lighting on *Hipparchus*, slew him, neere the Temple called *Leocorium*, whilest he was setting forth the * *Panathenaicall* Show. And likewise diuers other things now extant, and which Time hath not yet involved in oblivion, haue beene conceiued amisse by other *Grecians*; as that the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, in giving their suffrages, had not * single, but double Votes. And that * *Pitanate* was a band of Souldiers, so called ^E there, whereas there was neuer any such. So impatient of labour

The manner how the *Lacedæmonians* dealt with their Confederates.

* The government of the Few, that is to say, of the Nobility. The manner how the *Athenians* handled their Confederates.

* Hence it is, that through all this History, Subjects and Confederates are taken for the same thing, especially with the *Athenians*. * Of the People of *Athens* it selfe, excluding their Confederates.

Digression, to shew how negligently men receiue the fame of things past, by the example of their error touching the Story of *Hippias* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, which it seemes he willingly mentions, both heere and heereafter, on light occasion.

* *Panathenaica*, were Solemnities instituted by *Theseus*, in memory of that he had drawn together all the *Athenians* that lived dispersed in *Attica*, into the citie of *Athens* *Pauli*, in *Arcad*.

* *Lucan*, seemeth to retaine the same error, in *Harmodius*.

* A Tribe of the *Lacedæmonians*.

A labour are the most men, in the search of truth, and embrace soonest, the things that are next to hand.

Now he, that by the Arguments heere adduced, shall frame a Iudgement of the things past, and not beleue rather, that they were such as the Poets haue sung, or Prose-writers haue composd, more delightfully to the eare, then conformably to the truth, as being things not to bee disprooued, and by length of time, turned for the most part into the nature of Fables without credit; but shall thinke them heere searched out, by the most euident signes
B that can be, and sufficiently too, considering their antiquity; hee, I say, shall not erre. And though men alwaies iudge the present Warre wherein they liue, to be greatest; and when it is past, admire more those that were before it; yet if they consider of this Warre, by the Acts done in the same, it will manifest it selfe to bee greater, then any of those before mentioned.

What particular persons haue spoken, when they were about to enter into the Warre, or when they were in it, were hard for mee to remember exactly, whether they
C were speeches which I haue heard my selfe, or haue received at the second hand. But as any man seemed, to mee, that knew what was neereft to the * summe of the truth, of all that hath beene vttered, to speake most agreeably to the matter still in hand, so haue I made it spoken heere. But of the Acts themselues done in the Warre, I thought not fit to write all that I heard from all Authors, nor such as I my selfe did but thinke to bee true; but onely those whereat I was my selfe present; and those of which with all diligence I had made particular enquire. And
D yet euen of those things, it was hard to know the certainty, because such as were present at every Action, spake not all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the Parts, or as they could remember.

To heare this History rehearsed, for that there bee inserted in it no Fables, shall bee perhaps not delightfull: But hee that desires to looke into the truth of things done, and which (according to the condition of humanity) may bee done againe, or at least, their like, hee shall finde enough heerein, to make him thinke it profitable: And it
E is compiled rather for an * EVERLASTING POSSESSION, then to be * rehearsed for a Prize.

The diligence of the Author in the enquire of the truth of what he wrote: both touching the Orations, and the Actions.

* To the analogie and finishe of what was to be said: so that though he used not their words, yet he used the arguments that best might serue to the purpose, which at any time was in hand.

The vse of this History.

* *κίερα ἐς αἰῶν.*

* Both Poets and Historiographers of old, recited their Histories to captate glory. This emulation of glory in their writings, he calleth *αἰῶνα ποτα*.

The greatall of the
Warre.

Nerev made
the.

* 2. *namely* See, viz. at
Salamis, and the other at
Mysale in Ionia. And 2. by
Land, one at Thermopylae,
and the other at Plataea.

Earthquakes, Eclipses,
Famine, Pestilence, con-
stants of this Warre.

Negropont.

* By the Athenians.

The causes of the Warre.
Feare necessitates the
Warre in the Lacedaemo-
nians.

The first pretext.

Dyrhachium. Du-
razzo.

Now the Gulfe of
Venice, called so from
his an *Illyrian*.

Illyria now *Slavonia*,
and *Dalmatia*.

* *Inhabitants* of *Cor-
cyra*, now *Corfu*.

* *Corcyra* was a Colony
of *Corinth*. and *Epidam-
nus* of *Corcyra*.

The greatest Action before this, was that against the A
* *Medes*, and yet that, by * two Battels by Sea, and as many
by Land, was soone decided. But, as for this Warre, it both
lasted long, and the harme it did to *Greece*, was such, as the
like, in the like space, had never beene seene before. For nei-
ther had there ever bin so many Cities expugned, and made
desolate, what by the *Barbarians*, and what by the *Greekes*
warring on one another, (and some Cities there were, that
when they were taken, changed their inhabitants,) nor so
much banishing and slaughter, some by the Warre, some
by sedition, as was in this. And those things which con- B
cerning former time, there went a fame of, but in fact
rarely confirmed, were now made credible: As Earth-
quakes, general to the greatest part of the World, and
most violent withall; Eclipses of the Sunne, oftner then
is reported of any former time; Great droughts in some
places, and thereby Famine; and that which did none
of the least hurt, but destroyed also its part, the Plague.
All these Evils entred together with this Warre, which
began from the time that the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*
brake the League, which immediately after the Conquest C
of * *Eubaea*, had beene concluded betweene them for thirty
yeeres. The Causes why they brake the same, and
their Quarrels, I have therefore set downe first, because no
man should bee to seeke, from what ground so great a
Warre amongst the *Grecians* could arise. And the truest
Quarrell, though least in speech, I conceiue to bee the
growth of the *Athenian* power, which putting the *Laceda-
monians* into feare, necessitated the Warre. But the Causes
of the breach of the League, publickly voyced, were
these. D

EPIDAMNVS is a Citie situate on the right hand
to such as enter into the *Ionian* Gulfe, bordering vp-
on it, are the *Taulantijs*, *Barbarians*, a people of *Illyria*.
This was planted by the * *Coregyreans*, but Captaine of the
Colony, was one *Phalius*, the sonne of *Heratoclidus* a *Corin-
thian*, of the lineage of *Hercules*, and according to an an-
cient Custome, called to this charge out of the * *Metropo-
litan* Citie; besides that the Colony it selfe, consisted in
part, of *Corinthians*, and others of the *Dorique* Nation. In E
processe of time, the Citie of *Epidamnus*, became great and
populous;

A populous; and hauing for many yeeres together beene annoyed with sedition, was by a Warre, as is reported, made vpon them by the confining *Barbarians*, brought low, and deprived of the greatest part of their power. But that which was the last accident before this Warre, was, that the Nobility, forced by the Commons to fly the Cittie, went and ioyned with the *Barbarians*, and both by Land and Sea, robbed those that remained within. The *Epidamnians* that were in the Towne, oppressed in this manner, sent their Ambassadors to * *Corcyra*, as being their Mother Cittie, praying the *Corcyraens* not to see them perish, but to reconcile vnto them, those whom they had driven forth, and to put an end to the *Barbarian* Warre. And this they intreated in the forme of * *Suppliants*, sitting downe in the Temple of *Iuno*. But the *Corcyraens*, not admitting their *supplication*, sent them away againe, without effect. The *Epidamnians* now despairing of reliefe from the *Corcyraens*, and at a stand how to proceed in their present affaires, sending to *Delphi*, enquired at the *Oracle*, whether it were not best to deliuer vp their Citie into the hands of the *Corinthians*, as of their Founders, and make tryall what ayde they should obtaine from thence. And when the *Oracle* had answered, *That they should deliuer it, and take the Corinthians for their Leaders*, they went to *Corinth*, and according to the advice of the *Oracle*, gaue their Citie to them, and declared how the first Founder of it was a *Corinthian*, and what answer the *Oracle* had giuen them, intreating their helpe, and that they would not stand by, beholding their destruction. And the *Corinthians* undertooke their defence, not onely for the equity of the cause, (as thinking them no lesse their owne, then the *Corcyraens* Colonie) but also for hatred of the *Corcyraens*, who being their Colony, yet contemned them, and allowed them not their due honour in publique meetings, nor in the distribution of the Sacrifice, began at a *Corinthian*, as was the custome of other Colonies; but being equall to the richest *Gracians* of their time, for store of money, and strongly furnished with ammunition of Warre, had them in contempt. Also they stuck not sometimes to boast how much they excelled in shipping; and E that *Corcyra* had beene once inhabited by the * *Phaeaces*, who flourished in glory of nauall affaires; which was al-

* *Corfu*.

* Either the *Epidamnians*, had offended the *Corcyraens*, or too mannerly to themselves, to take Sanctuary, not only for crimes, but for obnoxious and inexcusable, tacitly disclaiming all other helpe, save that of the Gods, and those to whom they made supplication. The *Epidamnians* neglected by their Mother Citie, *Corcyra*, procure the protection of the *Corinthians*.

* By Homer this Ile is called *Phzacia*.

The *Corinthians* send inhabitants to *Epidamnus*.

The *Corcyreans* angry at the aydes sent by the *Corinthians*, make Warre on *Epidamnus*.

* *Quædam*. Divers occasions force men from their Country. Sentence of Law which is commonly called Banishment. Prescription, when the Sentence is death, for which cause they fly into banishment: But those that are here meant, are such as in Seditions being the weaker Faction, fly for feare of being murdered, which I call here, banished men; or might call them perhaps better Outlawes or Fugitives, but neither of them properly. The *Flourentines*, and other places of Italy, that were or are Democraticall, wherein such banishment can onely happen, call it properly *Fuorileggi*.

The *Corcyreans* besiege *Epidamnus*.

The *Corinthians* send an Armie to relieue it.

to the cause, why they the rather prouided themselves of a Naue; and they were indeed not without power that way; for when they began this Warre, they had 120. Gallies. The *Corinthians* therefore hauing all these criminations, against them, relieved *Epidamnus* willingly, not only giuing leaue to whosoever would, to goe and dwell there; but also sent thither a Garrison of *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and of their owne Citizens; which succours, for feare the *Corcyreans* should haue hindred their passage by Sea, marched by Land to *Apollonia*. The *Corcyreans* vnderstanding that new inhabitants, and a Garrison were gone to *Epidamnus*, and that the Colonie was deliuered to the *Corinthians*, were vexed extremely at the same; and sayling presently thither, with 25. Gallies, and afterwards with another Fleet, in an insolent manner commanded them, both to recall those whom they had banished, (for these * banished men of *Epidamnus*, had beene now at *Corcyra*, and pointing to the Sepulchers of their Ancestors, and claiming kindred, had intreated the *Corcyreans* to restore them) and to send away the Garrison and Inhabitants sent thither by the *Corinthians*. But the *Epidamnians* gaue no care to their commandements. Whereupon, the *Corcyreans* with forty Gallies, together with the banished men, (whom they pretended to reduce) and with the *Illyrians*, whom they had ioyned to their part, warred vpon them; and hauing laid Siege to the Citty, made Proclamation, that such of the *Epidamnians* as would, and all strangers, might depart safely, or otherwise, were to bee proceeded against as Enemies. But when this prevailed not, the place being an *Isthmus*, they enclozed the Citty in on euery side. The *Corinthians*, when newes was brought from *Epidamnus*, how it was besieged, presently made ready their Armie, and at the same time caused a Proclamation to bee made, for the sending thither of a Colony, and that such as would goe, should haue equall and like priuiledges, with those that were there before: and that such as desired to bee sharers in the same, and yet were vnwilling to goe along in person, at that present, if they would contribute 50. *Corinthian* Drachmaes, might stay behind. And they were very many, both that went, and that laid downe their siluer. Moreouer, they sent to the *Megareans*, for feare of being stopped in their passage by the *Corcyreans*, to ayde them

A them with some Gallies, who accordingly furnished out 8. the Citizens of *Pale* in *Cephalonia*, 4. They also required Gallies of the *Epidaurians*, who sent them 5. the Citizens of *Hermione*, 1. the *Træzenians*, 2. the *Leucadians*, 10. the *Ambraciotes*, 8. Of the *Thebans* and *Phliassians* they required money; of the *Eleans*, both money, & empty Gallies; and of the *Corinthians* themselves, there were ready 30. Gallies, and 3000. * men of Armes. The *Corcyraans*, advertised of this preparation, went to *Corynth*, in company of the Ambassadors of the *Lacedæmonians*, & of the *Sycionians*, whom they took with them,

B and required the *Corinthians* to recall the Garrison and Inhabitants, which they had sent to *Epidamnus*, as being a City; they said, wherewith they had nothing to do; or if they had any thing to alledge, they were content to haue the cause iudicially tryed, in such Citties of *Peloponnesus*, as they should both agree on, and they then should hold the Colonie, to whom the same should be adiudged. They said also, That they were content to referre their cause to the Oracle at *Delpbi*: that Warre they would make none, but if they must needs haue it, they should by the violence of them, be forced in their owne defence, to seeke out * better friends then those whom they already had. To this the *Corinthians* answered, that if they would put off with their Fleet, and dismisse the *Barbarians* from before *Epidamnus*, they would then consult of the matter: for before they could not honestly doe it. Because whilest they should bee pleading the case, the *Epidamnians* should be suffering the misery of a Siege. The *Corcyraans* replied to this, That if they would call backe those men of theirs already in *Epidamnus*, that then they also would doe, as the *Corinthians* had required them; or otherwise, they were content to let the men on both sides stay where they were, and to suspend the Warre, till the cause should be decided. The *Corinthians* not assenting to any of these propositions, since their Gallies were manned, and their Confederates present, hauing defyed them first by a Herald, put to Sea with 75. Gallies, and * 2000. men of Armes, and set sayle for *Epidamnus*, against the *Corcyraans*. Their Fleet was commanded by *Aristeus*, the sonne of *Pollicas*, *Callicrates*, the sonne of *Callias*, and *Timarchus*, the sonne of *Timarches*: and the Land Forces by *Archetimus*, the sonne of *Eurytimus*, and *Ifarebidas* the sonne of

D

*Cephalonia.** *ὄπλιται*, Men in armour.The *Corcyraans* offer to stand to Arbitrement.

* Meaning the Athenians.

The *Corinthians* vnwilling to accept it, and not without cause.The *Corinthian* Fleet.

* Either heere or before, it is likely the number hath bene mis-written: for a little before hee says they had made ready 3000.

I/archus.

* A Haven famous afterwards, for the Battell betwixt Augustus Caesar, and Marcus Antonius.

The *Corcyraean* Fleet.

* It is said likewise, that the *Corcyraeans* had in all 120 Gallies, which number agrees with this 80. that fought, and the 40. that maintained the Siege.

The *Corcyraeans* have the victory at Sea, and on the same day take the City.

* Second Turning, particularly turning the backs. Trophies, At moments, in remembrance of having made the Enemy turne their backs. These were done in this time, now out of date.

Santa Maura, now an Island, then a Peninsula.

The *Corcyraean* Masters of the Sea.

The *protis*, part of *Albania*.

The *Corinthians* prepare a greater Naue.

Nearchus. After they were come as farre as * *Actium*, in the Territory of *Anactorium*, (which is a Temple of *Apollo*, and ground consecrated vnto him in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*) the *Corcyraeans* sent a Herauld to them, at *Actium*, to forbid their comming on, and in the meane time manned out their Fleet, and hauing repaired, and made fit for seruice their old Gallies, and furnished the rest with things necessary, shipped their Munition, and went aboard. The Herauld was no sooner returned from the *Corinthians*, with an answer not inclining to peace, but hauing their Gallies already manned and furnished, to the number of 80. Sayle, (for * forty attended alwayes the Siege of *Epidamnus*) they put to Sea, and arranging themselves, came to a Battell: In which the *Corcyraeans* were cleereely Victors; and on the part of the *Corinthians*, there perished 15. Gallies. And the same day it happened likewise, that they that besieged *Epidamnus*, had the same rendred vnto them, with Conditions, That the Strangers therein found, should be ransomed, and the *Corinthians* kept in bonds, till such time as they should be otherwise disposed of. The Battell being ended, the *Corcyraeans*, after they had set vp their * Trophie in *Leucimna*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, slew their other prisoners, but kept the *Corinthians* still in bonds. After this, when the *Corinthians* with their vanquished Fleet, were gone home to *Corinth*, the *Corcyraeans*, Masters now of the whole Sea in those parts, went first, and wasted the Territory of *Leucas*, a *Corinthian* Colonie, and then sayled to *Cyllene*, which is the Arsenall of the *Eleans*, and burnt it, because they had, both with money and shipping, giuen ayde to the *Corinthians*.

And they were Masters of those Seas, and infested the Confederates of *Corinth*, for the most part of that yeere; till such time as in the beginning of the Summer following, the *Corinthians* sent a Fleet and Souldiers vnto *Actium*, the which for the more safe keeping of *Leucas*, and of other Citties their friends, encamped about *Chimerium* in *Theprotis*: and the *Corcyraeans*, both with their Fleet and Land Souldiers, lay ouer against them in *Leucimna*. But neither part stirred against the other, but after they had lyen quietly opposite all the Summer, they retyred in Winter, both the one side and the other to their Cities.

All this yeere, as well before as after the Battaile, the *Corinthians*

- A *Corinthians* being vexed at the Warre with the *Corcyraens*, applyed themſelues to the building of Gallies, and to the preparing of a Fleet, the ſtrongelt they were able to make, and to procure Mariners out of *Peloponneſus*, and all other parts of *Greece*. The *Corcyraens* hauing intelligence of their preparations, beganne to feare, and (becauſe they had neuer beene in League with any *Grecian* Citty, nor were in the Roll of the Confederates, either of the *Athenians*, or *Lacedaemonians*) thought it beſt now, to ſend to *Athens*, to ſee if they could procure any ayde from thence.
- B This being perceiued by the *Corinthians*, they alſo ſent their Ambaſſadours to *Athens*, leſt the addition of the *Athenian* Nauy, to that of the *Corcyraens*, might hinder them from carrying the Warre as they deſired. And the Aſſembly at *Athens* being met, they came to pleade againſt each other; and the *Corcyraens* ſpake to this effect.

Both *Corcyraens* and *Corinthians* ſend their Ambaſſadours to *Athens*.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambaſſadours of CORCYRA.

- C **M**EN of *Athens*, It is but Juſtice, that ſuch as come to implore the ayde of their neighbours, (as now doe wee) and cannot pretend by any great benefit or League, ſome precedent merit; ſhould before they goe any further, make it appeare, principally, that what they ſeek conſerret profit, or if not ſo, yet is not prejudiciall at leaſt, to thoſe that are to grant it: and next, that they will bee conſtantly thankfull for the ſame. And if they cannot doe this; then not to take it ill, though their ſuite bee rejected. And the *Corcyraens* being fully perſwaded that they can make all this appeare on their owne parts, haue therefore ſent vs hither, deſiring you to aſcribe them to the number of your Confederates. Now ſo it is, that we haue had a Cuſtome, both vnreaſonable in reſpect of our Suite to you, and alſo for the preſent vnprofitable to our owne eſtate. For, hauing euertill now, beene vnwilling to admit others into League with vs, we are now not onely ſuiters for League to others, but alſo leſt deſtitute by that meanes, of friends in this our Warre with the *Corinthians*. And that which before wee thought wiſdome, namely, not to enter with others into League, becauſe wee would not at the diſcretion of others enter into danger, wee now finde to haue beene our weakneſſe, and imprudence. Wherefore, though alone wee repulſed the *Corinthians*, in the late Battell by Sea, yet ſince they are ſet to inuade vs with greater preparation, out of *Peloponneſus*, and the reſt of
- D 2
- Greece

Greece; and seeing with our owne single power we are not able to goe **A**
 through; and since also the danger, in case they subdue vs, would bee
 very great to all Greece, it is both necessary that wee seeke the suc-
 cours, both of you, and of whomsoever else wee can; and we are also to
 be pardoned, though we make bold to crosse our former custome of not
 hauing to doe with other men, proceeding not from malice, but error of
 iudgement. Now if you yeeld vnto vs, in what wee request, this co-
 incidence (on our part) of need, will on your part bee honourable, for
 many reasons. First, in this respect, that you lend your helpe to such
 as haue suffered, and not to such as haue committed the iniustice.
 And next, considering that you receiue into League, such as haue at **B**
 stake their whole fortune, you shall so place your benefit, as to haue a
 testimony of it, if euer any can be so indeleble. Besides this, the grea-
 test Nauie but your owne, is ours: Consider then, what rarer hap,
 and of greater grieue to your enemies, can befall you, then that that
 power, which you would haue prized aboue any money, or other requi-
 tall, should come voluntarily, and without all danger or cost, present
 it selfe to your hands; bringing with it reputation amongst most men;
 a gratefull minde from those you defend; and strength to your selues.
 All which haue not happened at once to many. And few there bee of
 those that sue for League, that come not rather to receiue strength, **C**
 and reputation, then to conserre it. If any heere thinke, that the
 Warre wherein wee may doe you seruice, will not at all bee, bee is in
 an error, and seeth not, how the Lacedæmonians, through feare
 of you, are already in labour of the Warre; and that the Corin-
 thians, gracious with them, and enemies to you, making way for
 their Enterprize, assault vs now, in the way to the invasion of you
 heereafter, that wee may not stand amongst the rest of their common
 Enemies, but that they may be sure before-hand, either to weaken vs,
 or to strengthen their owne estate. It must therefore be your part, we
 offering, and you accepting the League, to beginne with them, and to **D**
 anticipate plotting, rather then to counterplot against them. If they
 object iniustice, in that you receiue their Colonie, henceforth let them
 learne, that all Colonies, so long as they receiue no wrong from their
 Mother Citie, so long they honour her; but when they suffer iniurie
 from her, they then become alienate: for they are not sent out to be the
 Slaues of them that stay, but to be their equals. That they haue done
 vs the iniurie, is manifest; for when wee offered them a iudiciall tryall
 of the Controversie, touching Epidamnus, they chose to prosecute
 their quarrell, rather by Armes then Iudgement. Now let that which
 they haue done vnto vs, who are their kindred, serue you for some Ar. **E**
 gument, not to bee seduced by their demands, and made their instru-
 men s

Aments before you bee aware. For hee liues most secure, that hath fewest benefits bestowed by him vpon his Enemies, to repent of. As for the Articles betweene you and the Lacedæmonians, they are not broken by receiuing vs into your League, because wee are in League with neither partie. For there, it is said, That whoſoener is Confederate of neither party, may haue acceſſe lawfully to either. And ſure it were very vnreaſonable, that the Corinthians ſhould haue the libertie to man their Fleet out of the Cities comprised in the League, and out of any other parts of Greece, and not the leaſt out of * places in your Dominion; and wee bee denyed both the League now propounded, and alſo, all other helpe from whence ſoener. And if they inpute it to you as a fault, that you grant our request; wee ſhall take it for a greater, that you grant it not. For therein you ſhall reject vs, that are invaded, and bee none of your Enemies; and them, who are your Enemies, and make the inuaſion, you ſhall not onely not oppoſe, but alſo ſuffer to raiſe vnlawfull Forces in your Dominions; Whereas you ought in truth, either not to ſuffer them to take vp Mercenaries in your States, or elſe to ſend vs ſuccours alſo; in ſuch manner as you ſhall thinke good your ſelues; but eſpecially by taking vs into your League, and ſo aiding vs. Many commodities, as wee ſaid in the beginning, wee ſhew vnto you, but this

C for the greateſt, that whereas they are your Enemies; (which is manifeſt enough) and not weake ones, but able to hurt thoſe that ſtand vp againſt them, wee offer you a Nauall, not a Terreſtriall League; and the want of one of theſe, is not as the want of the other: Nay rather, your principall aime, if it could be done, ſhould bee, to let none at all haue ſhipping but your ſelues; or at leaſt, if that cannot bee, to make ſuch your friends, as are beſt furniſhed therewith. If any man now thinke thus, that what we haue ſpoken, is indeed profitable, but feares if it were admitted, the League were thereby broken: let that man conſider, that his feare ioyned with ſtrength, will make his Enemies

D feare, and his confidence, hauing (if hee reject vs) ſo much the leſſe ſtrength, will ſo much the leſſe be feared. Let him alſo remember, that hee is now in conſultation, no leſſe concerning Athens, then Corcyra; wherein hee forecaſteth none of the beſt, (conſidering the preſent eſtate of affaires) that makes a queſtion, whether againſt a Warre at hand, and onely not already on foot, hee ſhould ioyne vnto it, or not, that City which with moſt important advantages, or diſadvantages, will be friend or enimie. For it lyeth ſo conveniently for ſayling into Italy, and Sicily, that it can both prohibit any Fleet to come to Peloponneſus from thence, and convoy any comming from Peloponneſus, thither: and is alſo for diuers other uſes moſt commodious. And to comprehend all in briefe, conſider whether wee bee to bee abandoned,

* A Cephalonia.

dened, or not, by this. For Greece having but three Navies of any **A** account, yours, ours, and that of Corinth, if you suffer the other two to ioyne in one, by letting the Corinthians first seaze vs, you shall haue to fight by Sea at one time, both against the Corcyraëans and the Peloponnesians; whereas by making League with vs, you shall with your Fleet augmented, haue to deale against the Peloponnesians alone.

Thus spake the Corcyraëans, and after them, the Corinthians, thus.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

B

THe Corcyraëans in their Oration having made mention not onely of your taking them into League, but also, that they are wronged, and vniustly warred on; it is also necessarie for vs first to answer concerning both those points, and then afterwards to proceed to the rest of what we haue to say, to the end you may fore-know, that ours are the safest demands for you to embrace, and that you may vpon reason reject the needy estate of those others. Whereas they alledge in defence of their refusing to enter League with other Cities, **C** that the same hath proceeded from modesty, the truth is, that they tooke vp that Custome, not from any vertue, but meere wickednesse; as being vniwilling to call any Confederate for a witnesse of their euill actions, and to bee put to blush by calling them. Besides, their City being by the scituation sufficient within it selfe, giueth them this point, that when they doe any man a wrong, they themselves are the Iudges of the same, and not men appointed by consent. For going seldome forth against other Nations, they intercept such, as by necessity are driven into their Harbour. And in this consisteth their goodly pretext, for not admitting Confederates, not because they would not bee content to **D** accompany others in doing euill, but because they had rather doe it alone; that where they were too strong, they might oppresse; and when there should bee none to obserue them, the lesse of the profit might be shared from them, and that they might escape the shame when they tooke any thing. But if they had beene honest men, (as they themselves say they are) by how much the lesse they are obnoxious to accusation, so much the more meanes they haue, by giuing, and taking what is due, to make their honesty appeare. But they are not such, neither towards others, nor towards vs. For being our Colony, they haue not onely beene euer in reuol; but now they also make warre vpon vs, and say they were not **E** sent out to be injured by vs; but we say againe, that wee did not send them

A them forth to bee scorned by them, but to haue the leading of them, and to bee regarded by them, as is fit. For our other Colonies both honour and loue vs much, which is an argument, seeing therest are pleased with our actions, that these haue no iust cause to bee offended alone; and that without some manifest wrong, wee should not haue had colour to warre against them. But say wee had beene in an error, it had beene well done in them, to haue giuen way to our passion, as it had beene also dishonourable in vs, to haue insulted ouer their modesty. But through pride and wealth, they haue done vs wrong, both in many other things, and also in this, that Epidamnus being ours, which whilest it was vexed with Warres, they neuer claimed, as soone as wee came to relieue it, was forcibly seized by them, and so holden. They say now, that before they tooke it, they offered to put the cause to tryall of Iudgement: But you are not to thinke, that such a one will stand to Iudgement, as hath advantage, and is sure already of what hee offereth to pleade for; but rather bee that before the tryall, will admit equality in the matter it selfe, as well as in the pleading: whereas contrarily these men, offered not this specious pretence of a Iudiciall tryall, before they had besieged the Citty, but after, when they saw wee meant not to put it

C vp. And now hither they bee come, not content to haue beene faulty in that businesse themselves, but to get in you, into their confederacy? no; but into their conspiracy; and to receiue them in this name, that they are enemies to vs. But they should haue come to you then, when they were most in safety; not now, when we haue the wrong, and they the danger; and when you, that neuer partaked of their power, must impart vnto them of your ayde; and hauing beene free from their faults, must haue an equall share from vs of the blame. They should communicate their power before-hand, that meane to make common the issue of the same; and they that share not in the

D crimes, ought also to haue no part in the sequels of them. Thus it appeares that wee come for our parts, with arguments of equity and right; whereas the proceedings of these other, are nothing else but violence and rapine. And now we shall shew you likewise, that you cannot receiue them in point of Iustice. For although it bee in the Articles, that the Cities written with neyther of the parties, may come in, to whether of them they please; yet it holds not for such as doe so, to the detriment of eyther; but onely for those that hauing revolted from neither part, want protection, and bring not a Warre with them in stead of peace to those (if they bee wise) that receiue them.

E For you shall not onely be Auxiliaries vnto these; but to vs, in stead of Confederates, Enemies. For if you goe with them,

it followes, they must defend themselves, not without you. You should A
 doe most uprightly, to stand out of both our wayes; and if not that,
 then to take our parts against the Corcyreans, (for betweene the
 Corinthians and you, there are Articles of peace, but with the Cor-
 cyreans you neuer had so much as a Truce) and not to constitute a
 new Law of receiving one anothers Rebels. For neither did we giue
 our votes against you, when the Samians revolted, though the rest of
 Peloponnesus was diuided in opinion: But plainly alledged, That
 it was reason, that euery one should haue liberty to proceed against their
 owne revolting Confederates. And if you shall once receiue and ayde
 the doers of wrong, it will bee seene, that they will come ouer as fast B
 from you to vs; and you shall set vp a Law, not so much against vs,
 as against your selues. These are the points of Iustice wee had to shew
 you, conformable to the Law of the Grecians. And now wee come to
 matter of aduice, and claime of fauour; which (being not so much your
 enemies as to hurt you, nor such friends as to surcharge you) wee say,
 ought in the present occasion, to bee granted vs by way of requitall: For
 when you had want of Long Barques against the Aeginetæ, a little
 before the Median War, you had 20. lent vnto you by the Corinthi-
 ans; which benefit of ours, and that other against the Samians, when
 by vs it was, that the Peloponnesians did not ayd them, was the cause C
 both of your victory against the Aeginetæ, and of the punishment of
 the Samians. And these things were done for you in a season, when
 men, going to fight against their enemies, neglect all respects, but of
 victory. For euen a mans Domesticke affaires are ordered the worse,
 through eagerneesse of present contention. Which benefits considering,
 and the yonger sort taking notice of them from the elder, be you pleased
 to defend vs now in the like manner. And haue not this thought, that
 though in what wee haue spoken there bee equity; yet, if the Warre
 should arise, the profit would be found in the contrary. For vtility fol-
 loweth those actions most, wherein we doe the least wrong; besides D
 that the likelihood of the Warre, wherewith the Corcyreans frightening
 you, goe about to draw you to iniustice, is yet obscure, and not worthy
 to moue you to a manifest and present hostility with the Corinthians;
 but it were rather fit for you indeed, to take away your former iealousies
 concerning the* Megareans. For the last good turne done in sea-
 son, though but small, is able to cancell an accusation of much greater
 moment. Neither suffer your selues to be drawne on, by the greatnesse
 of the Navy which now shall bee at your seruice by this League; for to
 doe no iniurie to our equals, is a firmer power, then that addition of
 strength, which (pust vp with present shewes) men are to acquire with E
 danger. And since wee bee come to this, which once before wee said at
 Lacedæmon,

* Thus which was done against
 the Corinthians, by the A-
 thenians that ayded Mega-
 ra, is related afterwards
 in this first Booke.

A Lacedæmon, that euery one ought to proceed, as hee shall thinke good, against his owne Confederates, wee claime that liberty now of you; and that you that haue beene helped by our votes, will not hurt vs now by yours, but render like for like; remembring, that now is that occasion, wherein hee that aydeth vs, is our greatest friend; and hee that opposeth vs, our greatest enemy. And that you will not receiue these Corcyreans into League against our wills, nor defend them in their iniuries. These things if you grant vs, you shall both doe as is fit, and also advise the best for the good of your owne affaires.

B This was the effect of what was spoken by the *Corinthians*.

Both sides hauing beene heard, and the *Athenian* people twice assembled; in the former Assembly, they approued no lesse of the reasons of the *Corinthians*, then of the *Corcyreans*; but in the latter, they changed their mindes; not so, as to make a League with the *Corcyreans*, both offensive and defensive, that the Friends and Enemies of the one, should be so of the other, (for then, if the *Corcyreans* should haue required them to goe against *Corinth*, the Peace had

A League defensive made
betwene the *Athenians*
and *Corcyreans*.

C beene broken with the *Peloponnesians*) but made it onely defensive, that if any one should iuvade *Corcyra* or *Athens*, or any of their Confederates, they were then mutually to asist one another. For they expected, that euen thus, they should grow to Warre with the *Peloponnesians*, and were therefore vnwilling to let *Corcyra*, that had so great a Nauie, to fall into the hands of the *Corinthians*; but rather, as much as in them lay, desired to breake them one against another; that if need required, they might haue to doe with the *Corinthians*, and others that had Shipping,

D when they should be weakned to their hands. And the Island seemed also to lye conveniently for passing into *Italy*, and *Sicily*. With this minde the people of *Athens* receiued the *Corcyreans* into League; and when the *Corinthians* were gone, sent tenne Gallies not long after to their ayde. The Commanders of them were *Lacedæmonius* the sonne of *Cimon*, *Diotimus*, the sonne of *Strombichus*, and *Proteas*, the Sonne of *Epictas*; and had order not to fight with the *Corinthians*, vnlesse they invaded *Corcyra*, or offered to land there, or in some other place of theirs. Which if they

They ayde *Corcyra* with
tenne Gallies.

E did, then with all their might to oppose them. This they forbade; because they would not breake the Peace

E

con-

concluded with the *Peloponnesians*. So these Gallies arrived at *Corcyra*.

The Corinthian Fleet.

The *Corinthians*, when they were ready, made towards *Corcyra* with 150. Saile; (viz.) of the *Eleans*, 10. of the *Megareans*, 12. of the *Leucadians*, 10. of the *Ambraciotes*, 27. of the *Anactorians*, 1. and 90. of their owne. The Commanders of these, were men chosen out of the said severall Cities, for the feuerall parts of the Fleet which they sent in; & ouer those of *Corinth*, was *Xenocleides*, the son of *Euticles*, with 4. others. After they were all come together, vpon the Coast of the Continent ouer against *Corcyra*, they sayled from *Leucas*, and came to *Cheimerium*, in the Countrey of *Thesprotis*. In this place is a Hauen, and about it, further from the Sea, the Cittie of *Ephyre*, in that part of *Thesprotis*, which is called *Eleatis*; and neere vnto it, disbogueth into the Sea the Lake *Acherusa*, and into that (hauing first passed through *Thesprotis*) the Riuer *Achiron*, from which it taketh the Name. Also the Riuer *Thyanis* runneth heere, which divideth *Thesprotis* from **Cestrine*, betwixt which two Riuers, ariseth this Promontory of *Cheimerium*. To this part of the Continent came the *Corinthians*, and encamped. The *Corcyreans* vnderstanding that they made against them, hauing ready 110. Gallies vnder the conduct of *Miciades*, *Aesimides*, and *Eurybatu*, came and encamped in one of the Islands called *Sybota*. And the tenne Gallies of *Athens* were also with them. But their Landforces staid in the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and with them 1000. men of Armes of the **Zacynthians* that came to ayde them. The *Corinthians* also had in the Continent the aydes of many *Barbarians*, which in those quarters haue beene euermore their friends. The *Corinthians*, after they were ready, and had taken aboard three dayes prouision of victuall, put off by night from *Cheimerium*, with purpose to fight; and about breake of day, as they were sayling, descryed the Gallies of the *Corcyreans*, which were also put off from *Sybota*, and comming on to fight with the *Corinthians*. Assoone as they had sight one of another, they put themselves into order of Battail. In the right *wing of the *Corcyreans* were placed the Gallies of *Athens*; and the rest being their owne, were diuided into three Commands, vnder the three Commanders, one vnder one. This was the order of the *Corcyreans*. The *Corinthians* had in their

* Cestrine the Territory of Cestrina, part of Chaonia.

The Corcyrean Fleet.

The Corinthians set forward.

* xdesas, The Gallies went all one way, in a row, and the right wing were first that saw one the right hand from the middle, and the left wing, those on the left hand.

A their right wing the Gallies of *Megara*, and of *Ambracia*; in the middle, other their Confederates in order, and opposite to the *Athenians*, and right wing of the *Corcyreans*, they were themselves placed, with such Gallies as were best of Sayle, in the left. The * Standard being on either side lift vp, they ioyned Battell; hauing on both parts, both many men of Armes, and many Archers and Slingers, but after the old fashion, as yet somewhat vnskilfully appointed. The Battell was not so artificially as cruelly fought; neere vnto the maner of a fight at Land. For after they had

Megara.

* *Standard*, A Picture or Image hold up, as the Eagle among the Romanes.

The Battell.

B once runne their Gallies vp close aboard one of another; they could not for the number and throng, beeasily gotten asunder againe, but relyed for the victory, especially vpon their men of Armes, who fought where they stood, whilst the Gallies remained altogether without motion. Passages through each other they made none, but fought it out with courage and strength, rather then with skill: inso-much as the Battell was in euery part, not without much tumult and disorder. In which the *Athenian* Gallies, being alwaies, where the *Corcyreans* were oppressed, at hand, kept the enemies in feare, but yet began no assault, because their Commanders stood in awe of the prohibition of the *Athenian* people. The right wing of the *Corinthians* was in the greatest distresse; for the *Corcyreans* with twenty Gallies, had made them turne their backes, and chased them disperfed, to the Continent; and sayling to their very Campe, went aland, burnt their abandoned Tents, and tooke away their Baggage; so that in this part the *Corinthians* and their Confederates were vanquished, and the *Corcyreans* had the victory. But in the left wing, where

D the *Corinthians* were themselves, they were farre superiour; because the *Corcyreans* had twenty Gallies of their number, which was at first lesse then that of the *Corinthians*, absent in the chase of the Enemy. And the *Athenians*, when they saw the *Corcyreans* were in distresse, now ayded them manifestly, whereas before, they had abstained from making assault vpon any. But when once they fled out-right, and that the *Corinthians* lay sore vpon them, then euery one fell to the businesse, without making difference any longer: and it came at last to this necessity, E that they undertooke one another, *Corinthians*, and *Athenians*.

The *Corinthians* haue the better.

The *Athenians* and *Corinthians* fight.

The *Corinthians*, when their enemies fled, staid not to A
fasten the Hulses of the Gallies they had sunke, vnto
their owne Gallies, that so they might tow them after;
but made after the men, rowing vp and downe, to kill, ra-
ther then to take aliue; and through ignorance (not know-
ing that their right wing had beene discomfited) slew al-
so some of their owne friends. For the Gallies of eyther
side being many, and taking vp a large space of Sea, after
they were once in the medly, they could not easily dis-
cerne who were of the Victors, and who of the vanquish-
ed party. For this was the greatest Nauall Battell, for B
number of Ships, that euer had beene before, of *Grecians*
against *Grecians*. When the *Corinthians* had chased the *Cor-
cyreans* to the shore, they returned to take vp the broken
Gallies, and bodies of their dead, which for the greatest
part they recouered, and brought to *Sybota*, where also lay
the Land-forces of the *Barbarians*, that were come to ayde
them. This *Sybota* is a desert Hauen of *Thesprotia*. When
they had done, they re-vnited themselues, and made againe
to the *Corcyreans*; and they likewise, with such Gallies
as they had fit for the Sea, remaining of the former Bat- C
tell, together with those of *Athens*, put foorth to meete
them, fearing lest they should attempt to land vpon their
Territory. By this time the day was farre spent, and the
*Song which they vsed to sing when they came to charge,
was ended, when suddenly the *Corinthians* beganne to row
a Sterne: for they had descryed twenty *Athenian* Gallies,
sent from *Athens* to second the former tenne; for feare lest
the *Corcyreans* (as it also fell out) should bee ouercome,
and those tenne Gallies of theirs bee too few to defend
them. When the *Corinthians* therefore had sight of these D
Gallies, suspecting that they were of *Athens*, and more in
number then they were, by little and little they fell off.
But the *Corcyreans* (because the course of these Gallies
was vnto them more *out of sight) descryed them not,
but wondred why the *Corinthians* rowed a Sterne; till at
last some that saw them, said they were Enemies; and
then retired also the *Corcyreans*. For by this time it was
darke, and the *Corinthians* had turned about the heads of
their Gallies, and dissolued themselues. And thus were
they parted, and the Battell ended in night. E

The *Corcyreans* lying at *Leucimna*, these twenty *Athenian*
Gallies,

Syllabes of the Continent,
a Hauen.

* *Psalm*, a Hymne, to Mars
in the beginning of Fight: to
Apollo after the victory.

A supply of 20. Saile
from *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* fall off.

* (*viz.*) more behind their
backes.

A Gallies, vnder the command of *Glaucon*, the sonne of *Leagrus*, and *Androcides*, the sonne of *Leogorus*; passing through the middest of the floating Carkasses, and wrecke, soone after they were descryed, arriued at the Campe of the *Corcyraens* in *Leucinna*. The *Corcyraens* at first, (being night) were afraid they had beene Enemies, but knew them afterwards; so they anchored there.

The next day, both the thirty Gallies of *Athens*, and as many of *Corcyra* as were fit for seruice, went to the Haue in *Syбота*, where the *Corinthians* lay at Anchor, to see if they would fight. But the *Corinthians*, when they had put off from the Land, and arranged themselves in the wide Sea, stood quiet, not meaning of their owne accord to beginne the Battell; both for that they saw the supply of fresh Gallies from *Athens*, and for many difficulties that happened to them, both about the safe custody of their Prisoners aboard, and also for that beeing in a desert place, their Gallies were not yet repaired; but tooke thought rather how to goe home, for feare lest the *Athenians*, hauing the Peace for already broken, in that they had fought against each other, should not suffer them to depart. They therefore thought good to send afore vnto the *Athenians*, certaine men, without priuiledge of Heralds, for to sound them, and to say in this manner:

Men of *Athens*, You doe vniustly to beginne the Warre, and violate the Articles: For whereas wee goe about to right vs on our Enemies, you stand in our way, and beare Armes against vs. If therefore you bee resolved to binder our going against *Corcyra*, or whatsoeuer place else wee please, dissolue the Peace, and laying hands first vpon vs that are heere, use vs as Enemies.

D Thus said they: and the *Corcyraens*, as many of the Armie as heard them, cryed out immediately, to take and kill them. But the *Athenians* made answer thus:

Men of *Peloponnesus*, Neither doe wee beginne the Warre, nor breake the Peace; but wee bring ayde to these our Confederates, the *Corcyraens*: if you please therefore to goe any whither else, wee hinder you not; but if against *Corcyra*, or any place belonging vnto it, we will not suffer you.

When the *Athenians* had giuen them this answer, the *Corinthians* made ready to goe home, and set vp a Trophie in *Syбота* of the Continent. And the *Corcyraens* also, both tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of the dead, which carried

The *Corcyraens* offer Battell againe.

The *Corinthians* expostulate with the *Athenians*, to sound their purpose.

The answer of the *Athenians*.

The *Corinthians* goe home. Both the *Corcyraens* and *Corinthians* challenge the victory, and both set vp Trophies.

every way by the Waues, and the Wind that arose the A night before, came driuing to their hands; and, as if they had had the victory, set vp a Trophie likewise in *Sybota* the Islands. The victory was thus challenged on both sides, vpon these grounds: The *Corinthians* did set vp a Trophie, because in the Battell they had the better all day, hauing gotten more of the wrecke and dead bodies, then the other, and taken no lesse then 1000. Prisoners, and sunke about 70. of the Enemies Gallies. And the *Coreyraens* set vp a Trophie, because they had sunke 30. Gallies of the *Corinthians*, and had, after the arriual of the *Athenians*, re- B couered the wrecke and dead bodies, that droue to them, by reason of the Wind; and because the day before, vpon sight of the *Athenians*, the *Corinthians* had rowed a Sterne, and went away from them: and lastly, for that when they went to *Sybota*, the *Corinthians* came not out to encounter them. Thus each side claimed victory.

The *Corinthians* in their way home, take *Anactorium*, and keepe 200. of the best men prisoners, being *Coreyraens*, and rre them well.

The *Corinthians* in their way homeward, tooke in *Anactorium*, a Towne seated in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, by deceit; (this Towne was common to them, and to the *Coreyraens*) and hauing put into it *Corinthians* C onely, departed, and went home. Of the *Coreyraens* 800. that were seruants, they sold; and kept prisoners 250. whom they vsed with very much fauour, that they might bee a meanes, at their returne, to bring *Coreyra* into the power of the *Corinthians*; the greatest part of these, being principall men of the Citie. And thus was *Coreyra* deliuered of the Warre of *Corinth*, and the *Athenian* Gallies went from them. This was the first Cause, that the *Corinthians* had of Warre against the *Athenians*; namely, because they had taken part with the *Coreyraens* in a Battell by D Sea, against the *Corinthians*, with whom they were comprized in the same Articles of Peace.

The second pretext of the Warre.

Psida suspected.

Psida commanded to give hostages, and to pull downe part of their Wall,

P R E S E N T L Y after this, it came to passe, that other differences arose betweene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*, to induce the Warre. For whilest the *Corinthians* studied to bee reuenged, the *Athenians*, who had their hatred in ieaousie, commanded the Citizens of *Psida*, a Citie seated in the *Isthmus* of *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but confederate and tributary to the *Athenians*, to E pull downe that part of the Wall of their Citie, that stood

A flood towards *Pallene*, and to giue them Hostages, and also to send away, and no more receiue the *Epidemurgi*, (Magistrates so called) which were sent vnto them yeere by yeere, from *Corinth*; fearing lest through the perswasion of * *Perdiccas*, and of the *Corinthians*, they should reuolt, and draw to reuolt with them their other Confederates in *Thrace*. These things against the *Potidaens*, the *Athenians* had precontriued, presently after the Nauall Battell fought at *Corcyra*. For the *Corinthians* and they were now manifestly at difference; and *Perdiccas*, who before had bene their Confederate and friend, now warred vpon them. And the cause why hee did so, was, that when his Brother *Philip* and *Derdas* ioyned in Armes against him, the *Athenians* had made a League with them. And therefore being afraid, hee both sent to *Lacedemon*, to negotiate the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and also reconciled himselfe to the *Corinthians*, the better to procure the reuolt of *Potidaea*; and likewise he practised with the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and with the *Botticans*, to reuolt with them. For if hee could make these confining Cities his Confederates, with the helpe of them, hee thought his Warre would bee the easier. Which the *Athenians* perceiuing, and intending to preuent the reuolt of these Cities, gaue order to the Commanders of the Fleet, (for they were now sending thirty Gallies, with a thousand men of Armes, vnder the command of *Archestratus*, the sonne of *Lycomedes*, and tenne others into the Territories of *Perdiccas*) both to receiue Hostages of the *Potidaens*, and to demolish their Walles; and also to haue an eye to the neighbouring Cities, that they reuolted not. The *Potidaens* hauing sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, to try if they could perswade the people not to make any alteration amongst them; by other Ambassadors, whom they sent along with the Ambassadors of *Corinth* to *Lacedemon*, dealt with the *Lacedemonians* at the same time, if need required, to be ready to reuenge their quarrell. When after long sollicitation at *Athens*, and no good done, the Fleet was sent away against them, no lesse then against *Macedonia*; and when the Magistrates of *Lacedemon* had promised them, if the *Athenians* went to *Potidaea*, to invade *Attica* then

E at last they reuolted, and together with them, the *Chalcideans* and *Botticans*, all mutually sworne in the same Conspiracy.

* King of Macedonia.

The Athenians giue order to the Generals they were sending against *Perdiccas*, to secure their Cities in those parts.

The *Potidaens* seeke the protection of the *Lacedemonians*.

The reuolt of *Potidaea*, *Bottica*, and *Chalcide*, from the *Athenians*.

piracy. For *Perdiccas* had also perswaded the *Chalcideans*,^A to abandon and pull downe their maritime Townes, and to goe vp and dwell at *Olynthus*, and that one City to make strong: And vnto those that remoued, gaue part of his owne, and part of the Territorie of *Macedonia*, about the Lake *Bolbe*, to liue on, so long as the Warre against the *Athenians* should continue. So when they had demolished their Cities, and were gone vp higher into the Countrey, they prepared themselves to the Warre.

The *Athenian* Fleet, finding *Potidea* and other Cities already lost, goe into *Macedonia*.

The *Athenian* Gallies, when they arriued in *Thrace*, found *Potidea* and the other Cities, already reuolted. And^B the Commanders of the Fleet conceiuing it to be impossible, with their present forces, to make Warre both against *Perdiccas* and the Townes reuolted, set saile againe for *Macedonia*, against which they had beene at first sent out, and there staying, ioyned with *Philip*, and the brothers of *Derdas*, that had invaded the Countrey from aboue.

The *Corinthians* send their Forces to *Potidea* to defend it.

In the meane time, after *Potidea* was reuolted, and whilest the *Athenian* Fleet lay on the Coast of *Macedonia*, the *Corinthians*, fearing what might become of the Citie, and making the danger their owne, sent vnto it, both of^C their owne Citie, and of other *Peloponnesians*, which they hired, to the number of 1600. men of Armes, and 400. * light armed. The charge of these was giuen to *Aristæus*, the sonne of *Adimantus*, for whose sake most of the Voluntaries of *Corinth* went the Voyage: (for hee had beene euer a great Fauourer of the *Potideans*.) And they arriued in *Thrace*, after the reuolt of *Potidea*, forty dayes.

* Archers, drapers, and the like, that wore not Armour on their bodies, and were called *Epheboi*, naked.

The newes of the reuolt of these Cities, was likewise quickly brought to the *Athenian* people; who hearing withall of the Forces sent vnto them, vnder *Aristæus*, sent forth against the places reuolted, 2000. men of Armes, and 40. Gallies, vnder the Conduct of *Callias*, the Sonne of *Calliades*. These comming first into *Macedonia*, found there the former thousand, (who by this time had taken *Therme*, and were now besieging the City of *Pydna*;) and staying, helped for a while to besiege it with the rest. But shortly after, they tooke composition; and hauing made a * necessary League with *Perdiccas*, (vrged thereto by the affaires of *Potidea*, and the arriuall there of *Aristæus*) departed from *Macedonia*. Thence comming to *Berrhæa*, they attempted to take it: but when they could not doe it, they^E turned

The *Athenians* send forces against *Potidea*.

Therme, after called *Thesalonica*, now *Salonichi*.

* or scarce manageable.

Verias.

A turned backe, and marched towards *Potidea* by Land. They were of their owne number 3000. men of Armes, besides many of their Confederates; and of *Macedonians* that had serued with *Philip* and *Pausanias* 600. Horse-men. And their Gallies, 70. in number, sayling by them along the Coast, by moderate Iournies, came in three dayes to *Gigonus*, and there encamped.

The *Potideans* and the *Peloponnesians* vnder *Aristau*, in expectation of the comming of the *Athenians*, lay now encamped in the *Isthmus*, neere vnto *Olynthus*, and had the

B Market kept for them without the Citie: and the leading of the Foot, the Confederates had assigned to *Aristau*, and of the Horse, to *Perdiccas*: (for hee fell off againe presently from the *Athenians*, and hauing left *Iolau* Gouvernour in his place, tooke part with the *Potideans*.) The purpose of *Aristau* was, to haue the body of the Armie with himselfe within the * *Isthmus*, and therewith to attend the comming on of the *Athenians*, and to haue the *Chalcideans* and their Confederates without the *Isthmus*, and also the 200. Horse vnder *Perdiccas*, to stay in *Olynthus*, and

C when the *Athenians* were past by, to come on their backs, and to encloze the Enemy betwixt them. But *Callias* the *Athenian* Generall, and the rest that were in Commission with him, sent out before them their *Macedonian* Horsemen, and some few of their Confederates to *Olynthus*, to stop those within from making any sally from the Towne, and then dislodging, marched on towards *Potidea*. When they were come on as far to as the *Isthmus*, and saw the Enemy make ready to fight, they also did the like, and not long after, they ioyned Battell. That wing wherein was *Aristau*

D himselfe, with the chosen men of the *Corinthians* and others, put to flight that part of their Enemies that stood opposite vnto them, and followed execution a great way. But the rest of the Army of the *Potideans* and *Peloponnesians* were by the *Athenians* defeated, and fled into the Citie. And *Aristau*, when hee came backe from the Execution, was in doubt what way to take, to *Olynthus*, or to *Potidea*. In the end, hee resolued of the shortest way, and with his Souldiers about him, ranne as hard as hee was able into *Potidea*, and with much adoe got in at the Peere, through

E the Sea, cruelly shot at, and with the losse of a few, but safety of the greatest part of his company. Assoone as

The *Athenians* and those with *Aristau*, prepare themselves for Battell.

* The *Isthmus* of *Pallene*, where they were.

The Victory falleth to the *Athenians*.

the Battell beganne, they that should haue seconded the *A Potideans* from *Olynthus*, (for it is at most but 60. Furlongs off, and in sight) aduanced a little way to haue ayded them; and the *Macedonian* Horse opposed themselves likewise in order of Battell, to keepe them backe. But the *Athenians* hauing quickly gotten the Victory, and the Standards being taken downe; they retyred againe, they of *Olynthus*, into that Citie; and the *Macedonian* Horsemen, into the Armie of the *Athenians*. So that neither side had their Caualtery at the Battell. After the Battell, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and gaue truce to the *Potideans*, B for the taking vp of the bodies of their dead. Of the *Potideans* and their friends, there dyed somewhat lesse then 300. and of the *Athenians* themselves 150. with *Callias*, one of their Commanders.

The *Athenians* beginne to besiege *Potidea*.

Presently vpon this, the *Athenians* raised a Wall before the City, on the part towards the *Isthmus*, which they kept with a Garrison, but the part to *Pallene*-ward, they left vnwalled. For they thought themselves too small a number, both to keepe a guard in the *Isthmus*, and withall to goe ouer and fortifie in *Pallene*, fearing lest the *Potideans* C and their Confederates should assault them when they were deuided. When the people of *Athens* vnderstood that *Potidea* was vnwalled on the part toward *Pallene*, not long after they sent thither 1600. men of Armes, vnder the Conduct of *Phormio*, the Sonne of *Asopius*: who arriuing in *Pallene*, left his Gallies at *Aphyria*, and marching easily to *Potidea*, wasted the Territory as hee passed through. And when none came out to bid him Battell, hee raised a Wall before the Citie, on that part also that looketh towards *Pallene*. Thus was *Potidea* on both sides D strongly besieged; and also from the Sea, by the *Athenian* Gallies, that came vp and rode before it.

The *Athenians* send *Phormio* with 6000. men of Armes, to *Potidea*.

Potidea straightly besieged on all sides.

Aristeu, seeing the Citie enclosed on euery side, and without hope of safety, saue what might come from *Peloponnesus*, or some other vnexpected way, gaue aduice to all but 500. taking the opportunity of a Wind, to goe out by Sea, that the prouision might the longer hold out for the rest; and of them that should remaine within, offered himselfe to bee one. But when his counsell tooke not place, being desirous to settle their businesse, and make E the best of their affaires abroad, hee got out by Sea, vn-

The aduice of *Aristeu*, to carry all the people but 500. men out of the City, that their victuall might better hold out, refused.

Aristeu getteth out of the City, and is seene of the *Athenians*.

seene

A scene of the *Athenian* Guard, and slaying amongst the *Chalcideans*, amongst other actions of the Warre, laid an Ambush before *Sermyla*, and slew many of that Citie, and solicited the sending of ayd from *Peloponnesus*. And *Phormio*, after the Siege laid to *Potidea*, hauing with him his 1600. men of Armes, wasted the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*, and some small Townes he tooke in.

These were the Quarrels betweene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*. The *Corinthians* quarrelled the *Athenians*, for besieging *Potidea*, and in it, the men of *Corinth* and

B *Peloponnesus*. The *Athenians* quarrelled the *Peloponnesians*; for causing their confederate and tributary City to reuolt; and for that they had come thither, and openly fought against them in the behalfe of *Potidea*. Neuerthelesse the Warre brake not openly forth as yet, and they yet abstained from Armes; for this was but a particular action of the *Corinthians*.

C **B** V T when *Potidea* was once besieged, both for their mens sakes that were within, and also for feare to lose the place, they could no longer hold. But out of hand, they procured of their Confederates to goe to *Lacedæmon*; and thither also they went themselues, with clamours and accusations, against the *Athenians*, that they had broken the League, and wronged the *Peloponnesians*. The *Aegineta*, though not openly by Ambassadors, for feare of the *Athenians*, yet priuily intligated them to the Warre as much as any; alledging that they were not permitted to gouerne themselues according to their owne Laws, as by the Articles they ought to haue beene So the D *Lacedæmonians* hauing called together the Confederates, and whosoever else had any iniustice to lay to the charge of the *Athenians*, in the ordinary * Councell of their owne State commanded them to speake. Then presented euery one his accusation; and amongst the rest, the *Megareans*, besides many other their great differences, laid open this especially, That contrary to the Articles, they were forbidden the *Athenian* Markets and Hauens. Last of all, the *Corinthians*, when they had suffered the *Lacedæmonians* to be incensed first by the rest, came in, and said as followeth.

E

F 2

THE

And slaying in *Chalcidea*, slew certaine of the City of *Sermyla*, by ambusment.

Phormio wasteth the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*.

The solicitation of the Warre by the *Corinthians*, and other Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Complaints exhibited against the *Athenians* in the Councell of *Sparta*.

* Of the Ephori, &c. those that had the Souerainety, that is to say, before the Aristocratick.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

MEn of Lacedæmon, your own fidelity, both in matter of estate & conuersation, maketh you the lesse apt to belecue vs, when we accuse others of the contrary. And heereby you gaine indeed a reputation of equity, but you haue lesse experience in the affaires of Forraine States. For although we haue oftentimes foretold you, that the Athenians would doe vs a mischief; yet from time to time when we told it you, you neuer would take informatiō of it; but haue suspected rather, that what we spake, hath proceeded from our owne priuate differences. And you haue therefore called hither these Confederates, not before wee had suffered, but now, when the euill is already vpon vs. Before whom, our speech must bee so much the longer, by how much our obiections are the greater, in that wee haue both by the Athenians beene iniured, and by you neglected. If the Athenians lurking in some obscure place, had done these wrongs vnto the Grecians, wee should then haue needed to proue the same before you, as to men that knew it not. But now what cause haue wee to vse long discourse, when you see already that some are brought into seruitude, and that they are contriuing the like against others, and especially against our Confederates; and are themselves, in case Warre should be made against them, long since prepared for it? For else they would neuer haue taken Corcyra, and holden it from vs by force, nor haue besieged Potidæa, whereof the one was most commodious for any action against Thrace; and the other had brought vnto the Peloponnesians a most faire Nauie. And of all this, you are your selues the authors, in that you suffered them, vpon the end of the Persian Warre, to fortifie their Citie, and againe afterwards to raise their Long Walles, whereby you haue hitherto deprived of their liberty, not onely the States by them already subdued, but also your owne Confederates. For not he that bringeth into slavery, but he that being able to hinder it, neglects the same, is most truly said to doe it; especially if they assume the honour to be the esteemed Deliuerers of Greece, [as you doe.] And for all that, we are hardly yet come together, and indeed not yet, with any certaine resolution what to doe. For the question should no haue beene put, Whether, or not, wee haue receiued iniurie, but rather, in what manner we are to repaire it. For they that doe the wrong, hauing consulted vpon it before-hand, vse no delay at all, but come vpon them whom they meane to oppresse, whilst they be yet irresolute. And we know, not onely that the Athenians haue incroached vpon

A upon their neighbours, but also by what wayes they haue done it. And as long as they thinke they carry it closely, through your blindnesse, they are the lesse bold. But when they shall perceiue that you see, and will not see, they will then presse vs strongly indeed. For (Lacedaemonians) you are the onely men of all Greece, that sitting still, defend others, not with your Forces, but with promises; and you are also the onely men, that loue to pull downe the power of the Enemy, not when it beginneth, but when it is doubled. You haue indeede a report to bee sure; but yet it is more in fame that, then in fact. For we our selues know, that the Persian came against Peloponnesus, from the

B utmost parts of the Earth, before you encountred him, as became your State. And also now you coninue at the Athenians, who are not as the Medes, sawre off, but hard at hand; choosng rather to defend your selues from their inuasion, then to inuade them; and by hauing to doe with them when their strength is greater, to put your selues vpon the chance of Fortune. And yet wee know, that the Barbarians own error, and (in our Warre against the Athenians) their owne ouersights, more then your assistance, was the thing that gaue vs victory. For the hope of your ayde, hath bene the destruction of some, that relying on you, made no preparation for themselves by other meanes. Yet

C let not any man thinke that we speak this out of malice, but only by way of expostulation: for expostulation is with friends that erre, but accusation, against enemies that haue done an iniurie. Besides, if there bee any that may challenge to exprobrate his neighbour, we thinke our selues may best doe it, especially on so great quarrels as these, whereof you neither seeme to haue any feeling, nor to consider what manner of men, and how different from you in euery kinde the Athenians bee, that you are to contend withall: For they loue inuasion, and are swift to devise, and also to execute what they resolute on. But you on the contrary are onely apt to saue your owne; not devise any thing

D new, nor scarce to attaine what is necessary. They againe are bold beyond their strength, adventurous aboue their owne reason, and in danger hope still the best: Whereas your actions are euer beneath your power, and you distrust euen what your iudgement assures; and being in a danger, neuer thinke to bee deliuered. They are stirrers, you studiers: they loue to bee abroad, and you at home the most of any. For they make account by being abroad to adde to their estate; you, if you should goe forth against the State of another, would thinke to impayre your owne. They, when they overcome their enemies, aduance the farthest, and when they are overcome by

E their enemies, fall off the least; and as for their Bodies, they vse them in the seruice of the Common-wealth, as if they were none of their owne;

but their minds, when they would serue the State, are right their owne. **A**
 Vnlesse they take in hand what they haue once aduised on, they account
 so much lost of their owne. And when they take it in hand, if they ob-
 taine any thing, they thinke lightly of it, in respect of what they looke
 to winne by their prosecution. If they faile in any attempt, they doe
 what is necessary for the present, and enter presently into other hopes.
 For they alone, both haue and hope for at once, whatsoeuer they con-
 ceine, through their celerity in execution of what they once resolue on.
 And in this manner they labour and toyle, all the dayes of their lines.
 What they haue, they haue no leasure to enioy, for continuall getting
 of more. Nor Holiday esteeme they any, but whereon they effect some **B**
 matter profitable; nor thinke they ease with nothing to doe, a lesse tor-
 ment, than laborious businesse. So that, in a word, to say they are
 men, borne neither to rest themselves, nor suffer others, is to say the
 truth. Now notwithstanding, (men of Lacedæmon) that this
 Citie, your Aduersary, bee such, as wee haue said; yet you still delay
 time; not knowing, that those onely are they, to whom it may suffice
 for the most part of their time to sit still, who (though they vse not
 their power to doe iniustice) yet bewray a minde vnlikely to swallow
 injuries; but placing equity belike in this, that you neither doe any
 harme to others, nor receiue it, in defending of your selues. But this is **C**
 a thing, you hardly could attaine, though the States about you were of
 the same condition. But (as we haue before declared) your Customes
 are in respect of theirs antiquated, and of necessity (as it happeneth in
 Artes) the new ones will preuaile. True it is, that for a City lining
 for the most part in peace, vnchanged customes are the best; but for
 such as bee constrained to vndergoe many matters, many deuices will
 be needfull. Which is also the reason, why the Athenian Customes,
 through much experience, are more new to you, then yours are to them.
 Here therefore giue a Period to your slacknesse, and by a speedy inva-
 sion of Attica, as you promised, relieue both Potidæa, and the rest: **D**
 lest otherwise you betray your friends and kindred to their cruellest ene-
 mies; and lest wee and others, be driuen through despaire, to seeke out
 some other League. Which to doe, were no iniustice, neither against
 the Gods, Iudges of mens Oathes, nor against Men, the bearers of
 them. For not they breake the League, who being abandoned, haue re-
 course to others; but they that yeeld not their assistance, to whom they
 haue sworne it. But if you meane to follow the businesse seriously,
 wee will stay; for else, wee should doe irreligiously, neither
 should wee finde any other, more conformable to our manners, then
 your selues. Therefore deliberate well of these points, and take **E**
 such a course, that Peloponnesus may not by your leading,
 fall

A fall into worse estate, then it was left unto you by your Progenitors.

Thus spake the *Corinthians*.

The *Athenian* Ambassadors (who chanced to bee residing in *Lacedemon*, vpon their businesse) when they heard of this Oration, thought it fit to present themselves before the *Lacedemonians*, not to make Apologie for what they were charged with by the other Cities, but to shew in generall, that it was not fit for them in this case to take any sudden resolution, but further time to consider. Also they desired to lay open the power of their City, to the elder sort, for a remembrance of what they knew already; and to the yonger, for an information of what they knew not: supposing, that when they should haue spoken, they would encline to quietnesse, rather then to Warre. And therefore they presented themselves before the *Lacedemonians*, saying, That they also, if they might haue leaue, desired to speake in the Assembly; who willed them to come in: And the *Athenians* went into the Assembly, and spake to this effect,

The *Athenian* Ambassadors, residing in *Lacedemon*, vpon their businesse, desire to present answer to the Oration of the *Corinthians*.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of *ATHENS*.

THough our Ambassage was not to this end, that wee should argue against our Confederates, but about such other Affaires as the Citie was pleased to employ vs in; yet hauing heard of the great exclamation against vs, wee came into the Court, not to make answer to the criminations of the Cities (for to pleade before you here, were not to pleade before the Iudges either of them or vs) but to the end you may not be drawne away, to take the worst resolution, at the perswasion of the Confederates, in matters of so great importance. And withall, touching the summe of the Oration made against vs, to informe you, that what wee possesse, wee haue it iustly, and that our Citie deserueth reputation. But what neede wee now to speake of matters long past, confirmed more by hearsay, then by the eyes of those that are to heare vs relate them? But our actions against the Persian, and such as you your selves know as well as wee, those, though it bee tedious to heare them euery objected, wee must of necessity recite. For when wee did them, we hazarded our selues for some benefit, of which you as had your parts in the substance, so must wee haue ours (if that be any benefit) in the

com-

commemoration. And wee shall make recitall of them, not by way of de- A
 precation, but of protestation, and declaration of what a Citty (in case
 you take ill advice) you haue to enter the list withall. Wee therefore
 say, that wee not onely first and alone, hazarded Battell against the
 Barbarian in the Fields of Marathon, but also afterwards, when
 hee came againe, beeing unable to resist him by Land, imbarqued
 our selues, euery man that was able to beare Armes, and gaue him
 Battell amongst the rest, by Sea, at Salamis; which was the cause
 that kept him backe from sailing to Peloponnesus, and laying it waste
 Citty after Citty: for against so many Gallies, you were not able to
 giue each other mutuall succour. And the greatest prooffe of this is B
 the Persian himselfe, who when his Fleet was ouercome, and that hee
 had no more such Forces, went away in haste, with the greatest part of
 his Armie. Which being so, and euident, that the whole State of the
 Grecians, was imbarqued in their Fleet, we conferred to the same,
 the three things of most aduantage; namely, the greatest number of
 Gallies, the most prudent Commander, and the most likely courage.
 (For of 400. Gallies in the whole, our owne were few lesse then two
 thirds) and for Commander, Themistocles, who was the principall
 cause that the Battell was fought in the * streight, whereby he cleerely
 saued the whole businesse, and whom, though a Stranger, you your C
 selues haue honoured for it, more then any man that came vnto you;
 and a forwardnesse wee shewed, more adventurous then any other, in
 this, that when none of them had ayded vs by Land before, and the rest
 of the Cities, as farre as to our owne, were brought into seruitude, wee
 were neuerthelesse content, both to quit our Citty, and lose our goods,
 and euen in that estate, not to betray the Common Cause of the Confe-
 derates, or diuided from them, to bee vnusefull, but to put our selues
 into our Nauie, and vndergoe the danger with them, and that
 without passion against you, for not hauing formerly defended vs in the
 like manner. So that we may say, that wee haue no lesse conferred D
 a benefit vpon you, then wee receiued it from you. You came indeed to
 ayde vs, but it was from Cities inhabited, and to the end you might
 still keepe them so; and when you were afraid, not of our danger,
 but your owne: Whereas wee, coming from a Citty no more in
 * being, and putting our selues into danger, for a Citty, hopelesse euer
 to bee againe; saued both you (in part) and our selues. But if wee
 had ioyned with the Persian, fearing (as others did) to haue our Ter-
 ritories wasted; or afterwards, as men lost, durst not haue put our
 selues into our Gallies, you must not haue fought with him by Sea, be-
 cause your Fleet had beene too small, but his affaires had succeeded E
 as hee would himselfe. Therefore (men of Lacedæmon) we deserue
 not

* Of Salamis.

* The Athenians, at the
 coming in of the Persian,
 when they put themselves into
 their Gallies, left their Citty
 to the Army of the Persians
 by Land, and sent their wives
 and children into Egina,
 mis and Texena.

A not so great envie of the Grecians, for our courage at that time, and for our prudence; and for the dominion wee hold, as wee now undergoe. Which dominion wee obtained not by violence, but because the Confederates, when your selues would not stay out the reliques of the Warre against the Barbarians, came in, and intreated vs to take the command, of their owne accord. So that at first wee were forced to aduance our Dominion to what it is, out of the nature of the thing it selfe; as chiefly for feare, next for honour, and lastly for profit. For when wee had the ennie of many, and had reconquered some that had already revolted, and seeing you were no more our friends, as you had
 B beene, but suspected and quarelled vs, wee held it no longer a safe course, laying by our power, to put our selues into your danger. For the reuolts from vs, would all haue beene made to you. Now it is no fault for men in danger, to order their affaires to the best. For you also (men of Lacedæmon) haue command ouer the Cities of Peloponnesus, and order them to your best advantage: and had you,
 * when the time was, by staying it out, beene enuied in your Command, as wee know well, you would haue beene no lesse beaui to the Confederates, then wee, you must haue beene constrained to rule imperiously, or to haue falne into danger. So that, though ouercome by three the
 C greatest things, honour, feare, and profit, wee haue both accepted the dominion deliuered vs, and refuse againe to surrender it, wee haue therein done nothing to be wondered at, nor beside the manner of men. Nor haue wee beene the first in this kinde, but it hath beene euer a thing fixed, for the weaker to be kept vnder by the stronger. Besides, we tooke the gouernment vpon vs, as esteeming our selues worthy of the same; and of you also so esteemed, till hauing computed the commodity, you now fall to allegation of equiuty; a thing which no man that had the occasion to atchieue anything by strength, euer so farre preferred, as to diuert him from his profit. Those men are worthy of
 D commendation, who following the naturall inclination of man, in desiring rule ouer others, are iuster, then for their power they need. And therefore if another had our power, we thinke it would best make appeare our owne moderation; and yet our moderation hath vnderferuedly incurred contempt, rather then commendation. For though in pleas of Couenants with our Confederates, when in our owne City we haue allowed them triall, by Lawes equall both to them and vs, the Iudgement hath beene giuen against vs, we haue then neuer thelesse beene reputed contentious. None of them considering that others, who in other places haue dominion, and are toward their subiect States lesse moderate
 E then wee, yet are neuer vpbraid for it. For they that haue the power to compell, need not at all to goe to Law. And yet these men hauing

* That is, when Pausanias, King of Lacedæmon, pursuing the Reliques of the Persian warre, through his pride and insolent Command, procured the hatred of the Confederates to secure, as the Lacedæmonian State calling him home, they put to death under the leading of the Athenians.

bee used to converse with vs upon equall termes, if they lose any A
 thing which they thinke they should not, eyther by sentence, or by the
 power of our gouernment, they are not thankfull for the much they re-
 taine, but take in worse part the little they forgoe, then if at first, lay-
 ing Law aside, wee had openly taken their goods by violence. For in
 that kinde also, they themselues cannot deny, but the weaker must giue
 way to the stronger. And men, it seemes, are more passionate for in-
 iustice, then for violence. For that, coming as from an equall, seemeth
 rapine; and the other, because from one stronger, but necessity. There-
 fore when they suffered worse things vnder the Medes dominion, they
 bore it, but thinke ours to bee rigorous. And good reason; for to men B
 in subiection, the present is euer the worst estate. Insomuch as you
 also, if you should put vs downe, and reigne your selues, you would soone
 finde a change of the loue, which they beare you now for feare of vs, if
 you should doe againe, as you* did for a while, when you were their
 Commanders against the Medes. For not onely your owne instituti-
 ons are different from those of others, but also when any one of you
 comes abroad [with charge,] he neither useth those of yours, nor yet
 those of the rest of Greece. Deliberate therefore of this a great while, as
 of a matter of great importance; and do not upon the opinions and cri-
 minations of others, procure your owne trouble. Consider before you C
 enter, how vnexpected the chances, of Warre bee: for a long Warre
 for the most part endeth in calamity, from which we are equally far off,
 and whether part it will light on, is to be tryed with vncertainty. And
 men when they goe to Warre, vse many times to fall first to action, the
 which ought to come behind, and when they haue already taken harme,
 then they fall to reasoning. But since we are neither in such error our
 selues, nor doe finde that you are; wee advise you, whilst good counsell
 is in both our elections, not to breake the peace, nor violate your Oathes;
 but according to the Articles, let the controuersie bee decided by Iudge-
 ment; or else wee call the Gods you haue sworne by to witnesse, that if D
 you beginne the Warre, we will endeuour to reuenge our selues the same
 way that you shall walke in before vs.

Thus spake the Athenians:

After the Lacedaemonians had heard both the complaints
 of the Confederates against the Athenians, and the Athenians
 Answer, they put them euery one out of the Court, and
 consulted of the business amongst themselues. And the
 opinions of the greatest part concurred in this, That the
 Athenians had done vniustly, & ought speedily to be warred
 on: But Archidamus their King, a man reputed both wise E
 and temperate, spake as followeth.

* Meaning the Imperious
 and tyrannicall command
 of Pausanias.

The Lacedaemonians a-
 mongst themselues take
 counsell how to proceed.

A

THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

MEN of Lacedæmon, both I my selfe haue the experience of many Warres, and I see you of the same age with mee, to haue the like; in so much as you cannot desire this Warre, either through inexperience (as many doe) nor yet as apprehending it to bee profitable or safe: And whosoever shall temperately consider the Warre wee now deliberate of, will finde it to bee no small one. For though in respect of the Peloponnesians, and our neighbour States, we haue equall strength, and can quickly bee vpon them; yet against men, whose Territory is remote, and are also expert Seamen, and with all other things excellently furnished, as money, both private and publicke, Shipping, Horses, Armes, and number, more then any one part of Greece besides; and that haue many Confederates, paying them Tribute; against such I say, why should we lightly vndertake the Warre? And since wee are unfurnished, whereon relying, should we make such haste to it? On our Nauie? But therein we are too weake. And if we will provide and prepare against them, it will require time. On our money? But therein also we are more too weake; for neither hath the State any, nor will private men readily contribute. But it may be, some rely on this, that wee exceed them in Armes, and multitude of Souldiers, so that we may waste their Territories with incursions. But there is much other Land vnder their dominion, and by Sea they are able to bring in whatsoeuer they shall stand in need of. Again, if wee assay to alienate their Confederates, wee must ayde them with Shipping, because the most of them are Ilanders. What a Warre then will this of ours bee? For vlesse we haue the better of them in Shipping, or take from them their reuenue, whereby their Nauie is maintained, we shall doe the most hurt to our selues. And in this case to let fall the Warre againe, will be no honour for vs, when we are chiefly thought to haue begun it. As for the hope, that if we waste their Countrey, the Warre will soone be at an end; let that neuer lift vs vp: for I feare we shall transmit it rather to our children. For it is likely the Athenians haue the spirit not to be slaues to their earth, nor as men without experience, to be astonished at the Warre. And yet I doe not aduise that wee should stupidly suffer our Confederates to bee wronged, and not apprehend the Athenians in their plots against them; but onely, not yet to take vp Armes, but to send and expostulate with them, making no great shew neither of war, nor of sufferance: and in this meane time to make our provision, and make friends both of Greeks & Barbarians,

such as in any place wee can get, of power either in shipping or money (nor are they to be blamed, that being laid in wait for, as wee are by the Athenians, take vnto them, not Grecians only, but also Barbarians for their safety) and withall to set forth our owne. If they listen to our Ambassadours, best of all; if not, then two or three yeeres passing ouer our heads, being better appointed, wee may warre vpon them, if we will. And when they see our preparation, and heare words that import no lesse, they will perhaps relent the sooner; especially, hauing their grounds vnhurt, and consulting vpon commodities extant, and not yet spoiled. For wee must thinke their Territorie to bee nothing but an Hostage, and so much the more, by how much the better husbanded. The which wee ought therefore to spare as long as wee may, lest making them desperate, we make them also the harder to expugne. For if vnfurnished as wee bee, at the instigation of the Confederates, we waste their Territory, consider if in so doing, we doe not make the Warre both more dishonourable to the Peloponnesians, and also more difficult. For though accusations, as well against Cities, as private men, may bee cleared againe, a warre for the pleasure of some, taken vp by all, the successe whereof cannot bee foreseene, can hardly with honour be letten fall againe. Now let no man thinke it cowardise, that being many Cities, we goe not presently, and invade that one City; for of Confederates that bring them in money, they haue more then wee; and Warre is not so much Warre of Armes, as Warre of Money, by meanes whereof Armes are vsfull; especially when it is a Warre of Land-men, against Sea-men. And therefore let vs first prouide our selues of money, and not first raise the Warre, vpon the perswasion of the Confederates. For wee that must be thought the causes of all euents, good or bad, haue also reason to take some leasure, in part to foresee them. As for the slacknesse and procrastination, wherewith wee are reproached by the Confederates, bee neuer asbamed of it; for the more haste you make to the Warre, you will bee the longer before you end it, for that you goe to it vnprouided. Besides, our Citie hath beene euer free, and well thought of. And this which they obiekt, is rather to be called a Modesty proceeding vpon iudgement. For by that it is, that we alone, are neither arrogant vpon good successe, nor shrink so much as others in aduersity. Nor are wee, when men prouoke vs to it with praise, through the delight thereof, moued to vndergoe danger, more then wee thinke fit our selues; nor when they sharpen vs with reprehension, doth the smart thereof

A thereof a lot the more preuaile vpon vs. And this modesty of ours, maketh vs both good Souldiers, and good Counsellours: good Souldiers, because shame begetteth modesty, and valour is most sensible of shame; good Counsellours, in this, that wee are brought vpon more simply, then to disesteeme the Lawes, and by seuerity, more modestly then to disobey them. And also in that, that wee doe not, like men exceeding wise in things needlesse, finde fault brauely with the preparation of the Enemy, and in effect not assault him accordingly; but doe thinke our neighbours cogitations like our owne, and that the euents of Fortune cannot be discerned by a speech; and doe therefore alwayes so
 B furnish our selues really against the enemy, as against men well advised. For we are not to build our hopes vpon the ouersights of them, but vpon the safe foresight of our selues. Nor must wee thinke that there is much difference betweene man and man, but him onely to bee the best, that hath beene brought vpon amongst the most difficulties. Let vs not therefore cast aside the institutions of our Ancestours, which wee haue so long retained to our profit; nor let vs, of many mens liues, of much money, of many Cities, and much honour, hastily resolue in so small a part of one day, but at leasure; the which wee haue better commodity then any other to doe, by reason of our power. Send to the
 C thenians, about the matter of Potidæa, send about that wherein the Confederates say they are iniured; and the rather, because they bee content to referre the cause to Iudgement: And one that offereth himselfe to Iudgement, may not lawfully be invaded, as a doer of iniurie, before the iudgement be giuen; and prepare withall for the Warre; so shall you take the most profitable counsell for your selues, and the most formidable to the Enemy.

Thus spake Archidamus.

But Sthenelaidas, then one of the Ephori, stood vp last of all, and spake to the Lacedæmonians in this manner:

D

THE ORATION OF STHENELAIDAS.

FOr my part, I vnderstand not the many words vsed by the Athenians; for though they haue beene much in their owne praises, yet they haue said nothing to the contrary, but that they haue done iniury to our Confederates, and to Peloponnesus. And if they carried themselues well against the Medes, when time was, and now ill against vs, they deserue a double punishment, because they are not good
 E as they were, and because they are euill, as they were not. Now are we the same we were, and meane not (if we be wise) either to conmine

at the wrongs done to our Confederates, or deferre to repaire A them; for the harms they suffer, is not deferred. Others haue much money, many Gallies, and many Horses; and wee haue good Confederates, not to be betrayed to the Athenians, nor to bee defended with words; (for they are not hurt in words) but to be ayded with all our power, and with speed. Let no man tell mee, that after wee haue once receiued the iniurie, wee ought to deliberate. No, it belongs rather to the doers of iniurie, to spend time in consultation. Wherefore (men of Lacedæmon) decree the Warre, as becommeth the dignity of Sparta; and let not the Athenians grow yet greater, nor let vs betray our Confederates, but in the name of B the Gods, proceed against the doers of iniustice.

Hauiug thus spoken, being himselfe Ephore, hee put it to the question in the Assembly of the Lacedæmonians; and saying afterwards, that hee could not discern whether was the greater cry (for they vsed there to giue their votes *vinâ voce*, and not with * Balles) and desiring that it might bee euident that their minds were enclined most to the Warre, he put it vnto them againe, and said, To whosoever of you it seemeth that the Peace is broken, and that the Athenians haue done vniuistly, let him arise, and goe yonder. And withall he shewed C them a certaine place: And to whomsoever it seemeth otherwise, let him goe to the other side. So they arose, and the Roome was diuided; wherein farre the greater number were those, that held the Peace to bee broken.

Then calling in the Confederates, they told them, that for their owne parts, their sentence was, That the Athenians had done them wrong; But yet they desired to haue all their Confederates called together, and then to put it to the question againe, that if they would, the Warre might bee decreed by Common consent. This done, their Confederates went home, and so did also D afterwards the Athenians, when they had dispatched the businesse they came about. This Decree of the Assembly, that the Peace was broken, was made in the foureteenth yeere of those thirty yeeres, for which a Peace had bene formerly concluded, after the actions past in Eubœa.

Negroponte.

The true cause of this Warre being the same the Lacedæmonian had of the power of Athens, the Author digresseth, to shew how that power grew first vp.

THE LACEDAEMONIANS gaue Sentence, that the Peace was broken, and that Warre was to bee made, not so much for the words of the Confederates, as for feare the Athenian greatnesse should still E encrease: For they saw that a great part of Greece was false

A false already into their hands. Now the manner how the *Athenians* came to the administration of those affaires, by which they so raised themselves, was this :

After that the *Medes*, overcome by Sea and Land, were departed, and such of them as had escaped by Sea to * *Mycale*, were there also utterly overthrowne, *Leotychides* King of the *Lacedæmonians*, then Commander of the *Grecians* at *Mycale*, with their Confederates of *Peloponnesus*, went home : But the *Athenians* with their Confederates of *Ionis*, and the *Helleſpont*, as many as were already revolted from the * King, staid behinde, and besieged *Sestos*, holden then by the *Medes*, and when they had layne before it all the Winter, they tooke it, abandoned by the *Barbarians* ; and after this they set sayle from the *Helleſpont*, euery one to his owne Citie. And the * body of the *Athenians*, as soone as their Territory was cleere of the *Barbarians*, went home also, and fetcht thither their Wiues and Children, and such goods as they had, from the places where they had bin put out to keep, and went about the reparation of their City & Walles. For there were yet standing some pieces of the circuit of their Wall, and likewise a few houses, (though the most were downe) which the principall of the *Persians* had reserved for their owne lodgings. The *Lacedæmonians* hearing what they went about, sent thither their Ambassadors, partly because they would themselves haue bene glad, that neyther the *Athenians*, nor any other had had Walles ; but principally, as incited thereto by their Confederates, (who feared not only the greatnesse of their Nauie, which they had not before, but also their courage shewed against the *Persians*) and entreated them, not to build their Walles, but rather to ioyne with them, in pulling downe the Walles of what Cities soeuer without *Peloponnesus* had them yet standing : Not discouering their meaning, and the ieaiousie they had of the *Athenians* ; but pretending this, that if the *Barbarian* returned, hee might finde no fortified Citie, to make the Seate of his Warre, as hee did of *Thebes* : and that *Peloponnesus* was sufficient for the all, whereinto to retire, and from whence to withstand the Warre. But the *Athenians*, by the aduice of *Themistocles*, when the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors had so said, E dismissed them presently with this Answer, That they would presently send Ambassadors about the businesse they

The means by which the *Athenians* came to haue the command of the common Forces of *Greece* against the *Persians*, by which they raised their Empire.

* A Promontorie in Asia the last, where the remnant of *Xerxes* that was defeated, the same day that his Land-forces were also defeated by *Paulanias* at *Platæa* with the slaughter of *Myrdanios* their General, and almost their whole Armie of 300000. men.

The *Athenians* returned to their City.

* To restore, the State. That is, they made *Athens* againe the Seate of their government, where as before it was in the *Acce* and *Campe* still remaining.

They reparaire their Citie, and wall it.

The *Lacedæmonians* aduise them to the contrary for their owne ends, pretending the Common good.

Themistocles aduiseeth them to build on.

His subtilty in deluding
the *Lacedæmonians*.

The building hastened.

Themistocles goeth to *Lacedæmon*: Ambassadour.

He adviseth the *Lacedæmonians* to send Ambassadours, to see if the Wall went vp, or not.

He sendeth Letters to *Athenians* secretly, to haue those Ambassadours stayed, till the returne of himselfe and his fellows from *Lacedæmon*.

And hearing that the Wall was finished, he iustifieth it.

they spake of, to *Lacedæmon*. Now *Themistocles* willed A them to send himselfe to *Lacedæmon* for one, and that as speedily as they could; but such as were chosen Ambassadours with him, not to send away presently, but to stay them till the Wall was so rayfed, as to fight vpon them from a sufficient height; and that all the men in the Citie, in the meane time, both they, and their Wiues and Children, sparing neither priuate nor publike edifice, that might aduance the worke: but pulling all downe whatsoever, should helpe to raise it. When hee had thus instructed them, adding, that hee would himselfe doe the B rest at *Lacedæmon*, he tooke his Iourney. And when hee came to *Lacedæmon*, he went not to the State, but delaying the time, excused himselfe; and when any of those that were in Office, asked him why hee did not present himselfe to the State, answered, That he stayed for his fellow-Ambassadours, who vpon some busynesse that fell out, were left behind, but he expected them very shortly, and wondered they were not come already. Hearing this, they gaue credit to *Themistocles*, for the loue they bore him; but when others comming thence, auerred plainly, that the Wall went vp, and that C it was come to good height already, they could not then choose but belieue it. *Themistocles*, when hee saw this, wished them not to bee led by reports, but rather to send thither some of their owne, such as were honest men, and hauing informed themselues, would relate the truth. Which they also did. And *Themistocles* sendeth priuily to the *Athenians*, about the same men, to take order for their stay, with as little apparence of it as they could, and not to D dismisse them, till their owne Ambassadours were returned. (For by this time were arriued those that were ioy-
ned with him, namely, *Abronychus*, the sonne of *Lyficles*, and *Aristides*, the sonne of *Lyfymachus*, and brought him word that the Wall was of a sufficient height.) For hee feared lest the *Lacedæmonians*, when they knew the truth, would refuse to let them goe. The *Athenians* therefore kept there those Ambassadours, according as it was written to them to doe. *Themistocles* comming now to his audience before the *Lacedæmonians*, said plainly, That the Citie of Athens was already walled, and that sufficiently, for the defence of those within: And that if it shall please the *Lacedæmonians*, E vpon any occasion to send Ambassadours vnto them, they were to
send

A send thenceforward, as to men that understood what conduced both to their owne, and also to the common good of all Greece. For when they thought it best to quit their Cities, and put themselves into their Gallies, he said they were bold to doe it, without asking the aduice of them. And in Common Counsell, the aduice of the Athenians was as good as the aduice of them: And now at this time their opinion is, that it will bee best, both for themselves in particular, and for all the Confederates in common, that their Citie should bee walled. For that in strength vnequall, men cannot alike and equally aduise for the common benefit of Greece. Therefore (said hee) eyther must all the

B Confederate Cities bee vnwalled, or you must not thinke amisse of what is done by vs. The Lacedemonians when they heard him, though they made no shew of being angry with the Athenians, (for they had not sent their Ambassadors to forbid them, but by way of aduice, to admonish them not to build the Wall; besides they bare them affection then, for their courage shewne against the Medes) yet they were inwardly offended, because they missed of their will. And the Ambassadors returned home of either side, without complaint. Thus the Athenians quickly raised

C their Wall, the structure it selfe making manifest the haste vsed in the building. For the Foundation consisteth of stones of all sorts; and those in some places vnwrought; and as they were brought to the place. Many Pillars also taken from * Sepulchers, and polished Stones were piled together amongst the rest. For the circuit of the City was set euery way further out, and therefore hastening, they tooke alike whatsoeuer came next to hand. Themistocles likewise perswaded them to build vp the rest of * Peiræus, (for it was begun in the yeere that himselfe was * Archon of Athens) as conceiuing the place both beautifull, in that it had three naturall Hauens; and that beeing now

D Sea-men, it would very much conduce to the enlargement of their power. For hee was indeede the first man that durst tell them, that they ought to take vpon them the command of the Sea, and withall presently helped them in the obtaining it. By his counsell also it was, that they built the Wall of that breadth about Peiræus, which is now to be seene. For two Carts carrying stones, met, and passed vpon it one by another. And yet within
E it, there was neither Rubbish nor Morter, [to fill it vp,] but it was made all of great stones, cut square, and bound

H

together

The Lacedemonians dislike their dislike.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

* The wall of Athens made of Chappels & Tombs. Cor. Nepos, in vita Themist.

* This was before a Village, and now made the Athenian Arsenall.

* The Gouverneur of the Citie for that yeere.

Themistocles author to the Athenians of assuming the dominion of the Sea, and of fortifying Peiræus.

The reason why *Themistocles* was most addicted to affaires by Sea.

Pausanias sent General of the *Grecians*, to pursue the reliques of the *Persian* Warre.

* *Constantinople*.

Pausanias growing insolent, the *Ionians* offended, desired the protection of the *Athenians*.

* The *Ionians* were all Colonies of the people of *Athens*.

Pausanias sent for home, to answer to certaine accusations.

In his absence, the *Grecians* give the *Athenians* the leading of them.

together with Iron and Lead. But for height, it was raised A
but to the halfe at the most of what he had intended. For
hee would haue had it able to hold out the Enemie, both
by the height and breadth; and that a few, and the lesse
seruiceable men might haue sufficed to defend it, and the
rest haue serued in the Nauie. For principally hee was
addicted to the Sea, because (as I thinke) he had obserued;
that the Forces of the King had easier access to invade
them by Sea, then by Land; and thought that *Piræus*
was more profitable then the City aboue. And often-
times hee would exhort the *Athenians*, that in case they B
were oppressed by Land, they should goe downe thither,
and with their Gallies, make resistance against what
Enemie soeuer. Thus the *Athenians* built their Wallles,
and fitted themselues in other kinds, immediately vpon
the departure of the *Persians*.

In the meane time was *Pausanias* the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, sent from *Lacedæmon*, Commander of the *Grecians*, with
twenty Gallies out of *Peloponnesus*. With which went al-
so 30. Saile of *Athens*, besides a multitude of other Confe-
derates, and making Warre on *Cyprus*, subdued the greatest C
part of the same; and afterwards, vnder the same Com-
mander, came before * *Byzantium*, which they besieged, and
wonne.

But *Pausanias* being now growne insolent, both the rest
of the *Grecians*, and specially the *Ionians*, who had newly
recovered their liberty from the King, offended with him,
came vnto the *Athenians*, and requested them for * consan-
guinities sake to become their Leaders, and to protect
them from the violence of *Pausanias*. The *Athenians* ac-
cepting the motion, applyed themselues both to the de- D
fence of these, and also to the ordering of the rest of the
affaires there, in such sort as it should seeme best vnto
themselues. In the meane time the *Lacedæmonians* sent for
Pausanias home, to examine him of such things as they had
heard against him. For great crimes had beene laid to
his charge by the *Grecians* that came from thence; and his
gouernment was rather an imitation of Tyranny, then
a Command in Warre. And it was his hap to bee called
home at the same time, that the Confederates, all but the
Souldiers of *Peloponnesus*, out of hatred to him, had turned E
to the *Athenians*. When he came to *Lacedæmon*, though
he

A he were censured for some wrongs done to priuate men, yet of the greatest matters he was acquit, especially of Medizing, the which seemed to bee the most euident of all. Him therefore they sent Generall no more, but *Dorcis*, and some others with him, with no great Army; whose command the Confederates refused, and they finding that, went their wayes likewise. And after that, the *Lacedemonians* sent no more; because they feared lest such as went out, would proue the worse for the State, (as they had seene by *Pausanias*;) and also because they desired to be rid of the *Persian* Warre, conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee sufficient Leaders, and at that time, their friends.

Pausanias acquit, but sent Generall no more.

The *Grecians* refuse the command of *Dorcis*, sent from *Sparta* to be their Generall.

When the *Athenians* had thus gotten the Command, by the Confederates owne accord, for the hatred they bare to *Pausanias*, they then set downe an order, which Cities should contribute money for this Warre against the *Barbarians*, and which, Gallies. For they pretended to reparaire the iniuries they had suffered, by laying waste the Territories of the King. And then first came vp amongst the *Athenians*, the Office of * *Treasurers of Greece*, who were receivers of the * *Tribute*, (for so they called this money contributed.) And the first Tribute that was taxed, came to * 460 Talents. The *Treasurie* was at * *Delos*, and their meetings were kept there, in the * *Temple*.

The *Athenians* asseesse their Confederates, for the sustaining of the Warre.

* *ἐκδοταίῳ*.

* *ὄβρις*.

The originall of the Tribute paid to the *Athenians*.

* 86250. pound sterling.
* Not at *Athens*, because they would not seeme to challenge a propriety in that money.
* Of *Apollo*.

Now vsing their authority at first, in such maner, as that the Confederates liued vnder their own Laws, and were admitted to Comon Councell; by the War, and administration of the common affaires of *Greece*, from the *Persian* War to this, what against the *Barbarians*, what against their own innouating Confederates, and what against such of the *Peloponnesians* as chanced alwaies in euery Warre to fall in, they effected those great matters following; which also I haue therefore written, both because this place hath beene pretermitted by all that haue written before me. (For they haue either compiled the *Grecian* acts before the invasion of the *Persians*, or that invasion only. Of which number is *Hellanicus*, who hath also touched them in his *Antique Historie*, but briefly, and without exact mention of the times;) and also because they carry with them a demonstration of how the *Athenian* Empire grew vp.

The History of the time betwene the *Persian* and *Peloponnesian* War, pretermitted by other Writers, briefly deliuered by *Thucydides*.

E And first, vnder the Conduct of *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, they tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, from the

The Steps of the *Athenians* toward their great Dominion.
The *Athenians* take *Eion*.

And Scyros.

And Carystus.

And Naxos, their Confederate, now Nisira.

The cause of revolts from the Athenians.

The Athenians defeat the Persian, upon the Riuer of Eurymedon.

They warre on Thasus.

Medes by siege, and carried away the Inhabitants Captiues. Then the Ile *Scyros*, in the *Aegean* Sea, inhabited by the *Dolopes*, the Inhabitants whereof they also carried away Captiues, and planted therein a Colony of their owne. Likewise they made Warre on the *Caristians*, (alone, without the rest of the *Eubæans*) and those also after a time, came in by composition. After this they warred on the reuolted *Naxians*, and brought them in by siege. And this was the first Confederate Citie, which contrary to the Ordinance, they deprived of their free estate; though afterwards, as it came to any of their turnes, they B did the like by the rest.

Amongst other causes of revolts, the principall was their failing to bring in their Tribute; and Gallies, and their refusing (when they did so) to follow the Warres. For the *Athenians* exacted strictly, and were grievous to them, by imposing a necessity of toyle, which they were neither accustomed nor willing to vndergoe. They were also otherwise not so gentle in their gouernment as they had beene, nor followed the Warre vpon equall termes, and could easily bring backe to their subiection, such as should revolt. And of this the Confederates themselues were the causes: for through this refusall to accompanie the Armie, the most of them, to the end they might stay at home, were ordered to excuse their Gallies with Monney, as much as it came to. By which meanes, the Nauy of the *Athenians* was increased at the cost of their Confederates, and themselues vnprouided, and without meanes to make Warre, in case they should reuolt. C

After this, it came to passe, that the *Athenians* and their Confederates, fought against the *Medes*, both by Land D and by Water, vpon the Riuer of *Eurymedon*, in *Pamphylia*; and in one and the same day, the *Athenians* had Victory in both; and tooke or sunke all the *Phœnician* Fleet, to the number of 200. Gallies. After this againe happened the revolt of *Thasus*, vpon a difference about the places of Trade, and about the Mines they possessed in the opposite parts of *Thrace*. And the *Athenians* going thither with their Fleet, ouerthrew them in a Battell at Sea, and landed in the Island; But hauing about the same time sent 10000. of their owne and of their Confederates people, E into the Riuer of *Strymon*, for a Colonie to be planted in a place

A place called then the *Nine-ways*, now *Amphipolis*. They wonne the said *Nine-ways*, which was held by the *Eidonians*; but advancing farther; towards the heart of the Countrey of *Thrace*, they were defeated at *Drabescus*, a Citie of the *Eidonians*, by the whole power of the *Thracians*, that were Enemies to this new-built Towne of the *Nine-ways*. The *Thasians* in the meane time, being overcome in diuers Battels, and besieged, sought ayde of the *Lacedæmonians*, and entreated them to divert the Enemy by an invasion of *Attica*: which, vnknowne to the *Athenians*, they

They take *Amphipolis*, and afterwards receiue a great overthrow at *Drabescus* in *Thrace*.

B promised to doe, and also had done it, but by an Earthquake that then happened, they were hindred. In which Earthquake, their * *Helotes*, and of neighbouring Townes the *Thuriæ*, and *Aebeans*, reuolted, and seized on *Ithome*. Most of these *Helotes* were the posterity of the ancient *Messenians*, brought into seruitude in former times; whereby also it came to passe, that they were called all *Messenians*. Against these had the *Lacedæmonians* a Warre now at *Ithome*. The *Thasians* in the third yeere of the Siege, rendered themselves to the *Athenians*, vpon condition to raze

The *Lacedæmonians* intending to invade *Attica*, are hindred by an Earthquake.

* The *Lacedæmonians* employed the captiues taken in warre, and their posterity, in husbandry, and other seruile workes, which was done by this kind of men, and they were called by them *Helotes*, because the first of them so employed, were Captiues of the Towne of *Helos* in *Laconia*.

Thasos rendered to the *Athenians*.

C their Walles; to deliuer vpon their Gallies; to pay both the money behinde, and for the future, as much as they were wont; and to quit both the Mines and the Continent. The *Lacedæmonians*, when the Warre against those in *Ithome* grew long, amongst other their Confederates, sent for aide to the *Athenians*; who also came with no small Forces, vnder the command of *Cimon*. They were sent for principally, for their reputation in murall assaults, the long continuance of the Siege, seeming to require men of ability in that kinde; whereby they might perhaps haue gotten the place by force. And

The *Lacedæmonians* send for ayde to the *Athenians*, in their Warre against *Ithome*.

D vpon this Iourney, grew the first manifest dissension betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, when they could not take the place by assault, fearing lest the audacious and innovating humour of the *Athenians*, whom withall they esteemed of a * contrary Race, might, at the perswasion of those in *Ithome*, cause some alteration, if they staid; dismissed them alone of all the Confederates, not discovering their ieaousie, but alledging, that they had no further need of their Seruice.

The first dissension betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*.

* The *Lacedæmonians* were *Dorians*, the *Athenians*, *Ionians*.

E vpon good cause, but onely as men suspected, made it a heynous matter; and conceiuing that they had better de-

The *Athenians* being had in suspition by the *Lacedæmonians*, ioyne with the *Argues*.

The *Holotes* in *Ithome*, after ten yeeres siege, compounded, and quit *Peloponnesus*.

The *Athenians* receive them, and place them in *Naupactus*.

* *Lepanto*.
Megara revolteth from the *Lacedaemonians* to the *Athenians*.

* The *Hauts* and *Arsenall* of *Megara*.

The *Athenians* send an *Armie* into *Egypt*, to ayde the *Rebels* against the King of *Persia*.

* *Cairo*.

The *Athenians* fight by Sea, against the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*.

serv'd at the *Lacedaemonians* hands, as soone as they were *Agon*; left the League which they had made with the *Lacedaemonians* against the *Persian*, and became Confederates with their Enemies the *Argives*; and then both *Argives* and *Athenians* tooke the same Oath, and made the same League with the *Thessalians*.

Those in *Ithome*, when they could no longer hold out, in the tenth yeere of the Siege, rendred the place to the *Lacedaemonians*, vpon condition of security to depart out of *Peloponnesus*, and that they should no more returne; and whosoever should bee taken returning, to bee the Slaue of him that should take him. For the *Lacedaemonians* had before beene warned by a certaine answer of the *Pythian Oracle*, to let goe the Suppliant of *Iupiter Ithometers*. So they came forth, they, and their Wiues, and their Children. And the *Athenians*, for hatred they bore to the *Lacedaemonians*, receiued them, and put them into * *Naupactus*, which Citie they had lately taken from the *Locrians* of *Ozole*. The *Megaraeans* also revolted from the *Lacedaemonians*, and came to the League of the *Athenians*, because they were holden downe by the *Corinthians*, with a Warre about the limits of their Territories. C Wherevpon *Megara* and *Pega* were put into the hands of the *Athenians*; who built for the *Megaraeans*, the long Walles, from the Citie to * *Nisea*, and maintained them with a Garrison of their owne. And from hence it was chiefly, that the vehement hatred grew of the *Corinthians* against the *Athenians*. Moreover, *Inarus*, the sonne of *Psammetichus*, an *African*, King of the *Africans* that confine on *Egypt*, making Warre from *Marea*, aboue *Pharus*, caused the greatest part of *Egypt* to rebell against the King *Artaxerxes*; and when hee had taken the gouernment of them D vpon himselfe, hee brought in the *Athenians* to asist him; who chancing to be then warring on *Cyrus*, with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, left *Cyrus*, and went to him. And going from the Sea, vp the Riuer of *Nilus*, after they had made themselves Masters of the Riuer, and of two parts of the Citie of * *Memphis*, assaulted the third part, called the *White-Wall*. Within were of the *Medes* and *Persians*, such as had escaped, and of the *Egyptians*, such as had not revolted amongst the rest. The *Athenians* came also with a Fleet to *Halias*, and landing E their Souldiers, fought by Land with the *Corinthians* and

Epidaurians.

- A** *Epidaurians*, and the *Corinthians* had the Victory. After this, the *Athenians* fought by Sea against the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians* at * *Cecryphalea*, and the *Athenians* had the Victory. After this againe, the Warre being on foot of the *Athenians*, against the *Aeginete*, a great Battell was fought betweene them by Sea, vpon the Coast of *Aegina*, the Confederates of both sides being at the same; in which the *Athenians* had the Victory; and hauing taken 70. Gallies, landed their Armie, and besieged the Citie, vnder the Conduct of *Leocrates*, the sonne of *Strabus*. After this, the
- B** *Peloponnesians* desiring to ayde the *Aeginete*, sent ouer into *Agina* it selfe three hundred men of Armes, of the same that had before ayded the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, and with other Forces, seized on the top of * *Geranea*. And the *Corinthians*, and their Confederates, came downe from thence, into the Territory of *Megara*; supposing that the *Athenians*, hauing much of their Armie absent in *Aegina*, and in *Egypt*, would be vnable to ayde the *Megareans*, or if they did, would be forced to rise from before *Aegina*. But the *Athenians* stirred not from *Aegina*, but those that remained at *Athen*, both yong and old, vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, went to *Megara*; and after they had fought with doubtfull victory, they parted asunder againe, with an opinion in both sides, not to haue had the worke in the Action. And the *Athenians* (who notwithstanding had rather the better) when the *Corinthians* were gone away, erected a Trophie. But the *Corinthians* hauing beene reviled at their returne, by the ancient men of the Citie, about 12. dayes after, came againe prepared, and set vp their Trophie likewise, as if the Victorie had beene theirs. Heere-
- D** vpon the *Athenians* sallying out of *Megara*, with a huge shout, both slew those that were setting vp the Trophie, and charging the rest, got the victory. The *Corinthians* being ouercome, went their way; but a good part of them, being hard followed, and missing their way, lighted into the inclosed ground of a priuate man, which fenced with a great Ditch, had no passage through: which the *Athenians* perceiuing, opposed them at the place by which they entred, with their men of Armes, and encompassing the ground with their light-armed Souldiers, killed those that
- E** were entred, with stones. This was a great losse to the *Corinthians*; but the rest of their Armie got home againe.
- About

After this, against the *Peloponnesians*.

* Some hard about *Peloponnesus* whose situation is not now knowne.
Then against the *Aeginete*.

The *Corinthians* ayde *Aegina*.

* A ridge of a Hill, lying before the entrance into the isthmus.

The *Corinthians* receive a great losse in *Megara*.

The Athenians build their long Wall, from both sides of the City to the Sea.

* The Doreans, the Mother Nation of the Lacedæmonians, inhabited a little Countrey on the North side of Phocis, called Doris, and Terapolis, from the foure Cities it contained; of which those here mentioned were three, and the fourth was Pindus.

* Gulfe of Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians fight with the Athenians at Tanagra.

The Athenians overthrow the Boetians at Oenophyta, [that is to say, the Vineyards] and subdue Boetia and Phocia.

About this time the Athenians began the building of their A long Wall, from the Citie downe to the Sea, the one reaching to the Hauen called *Phaleron*, the other to *Peiræus*. The *Phoceans* also making Warre vpon *Boeum*, *Cytinium*, and *Erineus*, Townes that belonged to the * *Doreans*, of whom the *Lacedæmonians* are descended, and hauing taken one of them, The *Lacedæmonians*, vnder the conduct of *Nicomedes*, the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, in the place of *Pleistonaetes*, sonne of King *Pausanias*, who was yet in minority, sent vnto the ayde of the *Doreans*, 1500. men of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates tenne thousand. B And when they had forced the *Phoceans* vpon composition to surrender the Towne they had taken, they went their wayes againe. Now, if they would goe home by Sea through the * *Crissæan Gulfe*, the *Athenians* going about with their Fleet, would bee ready to stop them; and to passe ouer *Geranea*, they thought vnwise, because the *Athenians* had in their hands *Megara*, and *Pegæ*: For *Geranea* was not onely a difficult passage of it selfe, but was also alwayes guarded by the *Athenians*. They thought good therefore to stay amongst the *Boetians*, and C to consider which way they might most safely goe through. Whilest they were there, there wanted not some *Athenians*, that priuily sollicitied them to come to the Citie, hoping to haue put the people out of gouernment, and to haue demolished the Long Wall, then in building. But the *Athenians*, with the whole power of their Citie, and 1000. *Argiues*, and other Confederates, as they could be gotten together, in all 14000. men, went out to meet them: for there was suspicion that they came thither to depose the *Democracie*. There also came to the D *Athenians* certaine Horsemen out of *Thessaly*, which in the Battell turned to the *Lacedæmonians*. They fought at *Tanagra* of *Boetia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* had the Victory, but the slaughter was great on both sides. Then the *Lacedæmonians* entring into the Territories of *Megara*, and cutting downe the Woods before them, returned home by the way of *Geranea* and the *Isthmus*. Vpon the two and sixtieth day after this Battell, the *Athenians*, vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, made a Iourney against the *Boetians*, and overthrew them at *Oenophyta*, and brought the Territories E of *Boetia* and *Phocia* vnder their obedience; and withall raz

zed

A zed the Walles of *Tanagra*, and tooke of the wealthiest of the *Locrians* of *Opus*, 100. Hostages; and finished also at the same time, their long Walles, at home. After this, *Argina* also yeelded to the *Athenians*, on these conditions, That they should haue their Walles pulled downe, and should deliuer up their Gallies, and pay their taxed tribute for the time to come. Also the *Athenians* made a Voyage about *Peloponnesus*, wherein they burnt the Arsenall of the *Lacedemonians* Nauie, tooke * *Chalcis*, a Citie of the *Corinthians*; and landing their Forces in *Sycionia*, ouercame in fight those that made head against them. All this while the *Athenians* stayed still in *Egypt*, and saw much variety of Warre. First the *Athenians* were Masters of *Egypt*. And the King of *Persia* sent one *Megabazus*, a *Persian*, with money to *Lacedemon*, to procure the *Peloponnesians* to invade *Attica*, and by that meanes to draw the *Athenians* out of *Egypt*. But when this tooke no effect, and money was spent to no purpose, *Megabazus* returned with the money he had left, into *Asia*. And then was *Megabazus* the sonne of *Zopirus*, a *Persian*, sent into *Egypt*, with great Forces, and comming in by Land, ouerthrew the *Egyptians* and their Confederates in a Battell, draue the *Grecians* out of *Memphis*, and finally inclosed them in the Ile of *Prosopis*; There hee besieged them a yeere and a halfe, till such time as hauing dreined the Channell, and turned the Water another way, he made their Gallies lye aground, and the Iland for the most part Continent; and so came ouer, and wonne the Iland with Land-Souldiers. Thus was the Armie of the *Grecians* lost, after sixe yeeres Warre; and few of many passing through *Africa*, saued themselues in *Cyrene*: but the most perished. So *Egypt* returned to the obedience of the King, except onely *Amyrtaeus*, that raigned in the *Fennes*, for him they could not bring in, both because the *Fennes* are great, and the people of the *Fennes*, of all the *Egyptians* the most warlike. But *Inarus*, King of the *Africans*, and Author of all this stirre in *Egypt*, was taken by treason, and crucified. The *Athenians* moreouer had sent fifty Gallies more into *Egypt*, for a supply of those that were there already; which putting in at *Mendesium*, one of the mouthes of *Nilus*, knew nothing of what had happened to the rest: and being assaulted from the Land by the Armie, and from the Sea by the *Phœnician* Fleet, lost the

I greatest

Argina yeelded to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* sayle round *Peloponnesus*, and waite it.

* A Citie of *Corinthians*, nere the River *Tuenas*.

The end of the *Athenians* Forces in *Egypt*.

A supply of *Athenians* going to *Egypt*, defeated by the forces of the King.

greatest part of their Gallies, and escaped home againe **A** with the lesser part. Thus ended the great expedition of the Athenians, and their Confederates into *Aegypt*.

The Athenians invade
Thessaly.

* Famous for the Battell be-
tweene Jul Cæsar, and Cn.
Pompeius.

Also *Orestes* the sonne of *Ecbecratidas*, King of the *Thessalians*, driven out of *Thessaly*, perswaded the Athenians to restore him: And the Athenians, taking with them the *Bæotians* and *Phocians*, their Confederates, made Warre against * *Pharsalus*, a Citie of *Thessaly*; and were Masters of the Field, as farre as they strayed not from the Armie, (for the *Thessalian* Horsemen kept them from straggling) but could not winne the Citie, nor yet performe any thing else **B** of what they came for, but came backe againe without effect, and brought *Orestes* with them. Not long after this, a thousand Athenians went aboard the Gallies that lay at *Pegæ*, (for *Pegæ* was in the hands of the Athenians) vnder the command of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, and sayled into *Sicyonia*, and landing, put to flight such of the *Sicyonians* as made head; and then presently tooke vp forces in *Achaæ*; and putting ouer, made Warre on *Oenias*, a Citie of *Acarnania*, which they besieged; neuerthelesse they tooke it not, but returned home. **C**

The Athenians vnder *Peri-
cles* besiege *Oenias*.

Truce for 5. yeere be-
tweene the Athenians and
Peloponnesians.

The Athenians warre on
Cyprus.

n dyeth.

The Holy Warre.

Three yeeres after this, was a Truce made betweene the *Peloponnesians* and *Athenians* for five yeeres; and the *Athenians* gaue over the *Grecian* Warre, and with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, vnder the conduct of *Cimon*, made Warre on *Cyprus*. Of these, there went 50. Sayle into *Aegypt*, sent for by *Amyrtæus*, that reigned in the *Fennes*, and the rest lay at the Siege of *Citium*. But *Cimon* there dying, and a Famine arising in the Armie, they left *Citium*, and when they had passed *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, fought at once both by Sea and Land, against **D** the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, & *Cilicians* and hauing gotten victory in both, returned home, and with them the rest of their Fleet, now come backe from *Aegypt*. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* tooke in hand the Warre, called the *Holy Warre*; and hauing wonne the Temple at *Delphi*, deliuered the possession thereof to the *Delphians*. But the Athenians afterward, when the *Lacedæmonians* were gone, came with their Armie, and regaining it, deliuered the possession to the *Phocians*. Some space of time after this, the Outlawes of *Bæotia*, being seized of *Orchomenus* and *Chæroneæ*, **E** and certaine other places of *Bæotia*, the Athenians made Warre

A Warre vpon those places, being their Enemies, with a thousand men of Armes of their owne, and as many of their Confederates as severally came in, vnder the conduct of *Tolmidas*, the sonne of *Tolmaus*. And when they had taken *Charonea*, they carried away the Inhabitants Captiues, and leauing a Garrison in the Citie, departed. In their returne, those Outlawes that were in *Orchomenus*, together with the *Locrians* of *Opus*, and the *Eubæan* Outlawes, and others of the same Faction, set vpon them at *Coronea*, and ouercomming the *Athenians* in Battell, some they slew, and some they tooke aliue. Wherevpon the *Athenians* relinquished all *Bæotia*, and made peace, with condition to haue their Prisoners released. So the Outlawes and the rest, returned, and liued againe vnder their owne Lawes. Not long after, revolted *Eubæa* from the *Athenians*; and when *Pericles* had already passed ouer into it with the *Athenian* Armie, there was brought him newes, that *Megara* was likewise revolted, and that the *Peloponnesians* were about to invade *Attica*, and that the *Megareans* had slaine the *Athenian* Garrison, except onely such as fled into *Nisæa*.

C Now the *Megareans*, when they revolted, had gotten to their ayd, the *Corinthians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Sicyonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* forthwith withdrew his Armie from *Eubæa*; and the *Lacedæmonians* afterward brake into *Attica*, and wasted the Countrey about *Eleusine*, and *Thriasium*, vnder the conduct of *Pleistoonax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, and came no further on, but so went away. After which the *Athenians* passed againe into *Eubæa*, and totally subdued it; the *Hestians* they put quite out, taking their Territory into their owne hands; but ordered the rest of

D *Eubæa*, according to composition made. Being returned from *Eubæa*, within a while after, they made a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, for thirty yeeres, & rendred *Nisæa*, *Achaia*, *Pegæ*, and *Træzene*, (for these places the *Athenians* held of theirs) to the *Peloponnesians*. In the sixth yeere of this Peace, fell out the Warre betweene the *Samians* and *Milesians*, concerning *Priene*; and the *Milesians* being put to the worse, came to *Athens*, and exclaimed against the *Samians*; wherein also certaine priuate men of *Samos* it selfe, tooke part with the *Milesians*, out of desire

E to alter the forme of *Gouernment*. Wherevpon the *Athenians* went to *Samos* with a Fleet of forty Gallies, and set

The *Athenians* recouer *Charonea*, taken by the *Bæotian* Outlawes.

The *Athenians* defeated at *Coronea* by the Outlawes, lose *Bæotia*.

Eubæa revolteth from the *Athenians*.

Megara revolteth.

Eubæa subdued by the *Athenians*.

Peace for 30. yeeres, betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*.

The *Athenians* warre vpon *Samos*.

Stalimene.

Sio. Miletus.

up the *Democratie* there, and tooke of the *Samians* 50. Boyes, A
 and as many men, for Hostages; which when they had
 put into *Lemnos*, and set a Guard vpon them, they came
 home. But certaine of the *Samians* (for some of them, not
 enduring the popular gouernment, were fled into the Con-
 tinent) entring into a League with the mightiest of them
 in *Samos*, & with *Pissuthnes*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, who then
 was Gouvernour of *Sardis*, and leuying about 700. auxiliary
 Souldiers, passed ouer into *Samos* in the euening, and first
 set vpon the popular Faction, and brought most of them
 into their power, and then stealing their Hostages out of B
Lemnos, they reuolted, and deliuered the *Athenian* Guard, and
 such Captaines as were there, into the hands of *Pissuthnes*,
 and withall prepared to make Warre against *Miletus*.
 With these also reuolted the *Byzantines*. The *Athenians*,
 when they heard of these things, sent to *Samos* 60. Gallies,
 16. whereof they did not vse, (for some of them went into
Caria, to obserue the Fleet of the *Phœnicians*, and some to
 fetch in succours from *Chiu* and *Lesbos*;) but with the 44.
 that remained, vnder the command of *Pericles* and 9. o-
 thers, fought with 70. Gallies of the *Samians*, (whereof C
 twenty were such as serued for transport of Souldiers,) as
 they were comming all together from *Miletus*; and the *A-*
thenians had the Victory. After this came a supply of
 forty Gallies more from *Athens*, and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*
 25. With these hauing landed their men, they ouerthrew
 the *Samians* in Battell, and besieged the City; which they
 enclosed with a triple Wall, and shut it vp by Sea with
 their Gallies. But *Pericles* taking with him 60. Gallies
 out of the Road, made haste towards *Caurus* and *Caria*,
 vpon intelligence of the comming against them of the *Phœ-*
nician Fleet. For *Stesagoras* with fise Gallies, was already D
 gone out of *Samos*, and others out of other places, to meete
 the *Phœnicians*. In the meane time, the *Samians* comming
 suddenly forth with their Fleet, and falling vpon the
 Harbour of the *Athenians*, which was vnfortified, sunke
 the Gallies that kept watch before it, and overcame the
 rest in fight; insomuch as they became Masters of the
 Sea neere their Coast, for about foureteene dayes together,
 importing and exporting what they pleased. But *Pericles*
 returning, shut them vp againe with his Gallies; and E
 after this, there came to him from *Athens* a supply of forty
 Sayle,

A Sayle, with * *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and twenty with *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*; and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, forty more. And though the *Samians* fought against these a small battell at Sea, yet unable to hold out any longer, in the ninth moneth of the Siege, they reidred the Citie vpon composition: *Namely, to demolish their Walles; to giue Hostages; to deliuer up their Navy; and to repay the money spent by the Athenians in the Warre, at dayes appointed.* And the *Byzantines* also yeelded, with condition to remaine subject to them, in the same manner as they had beene before their revolt.

* Not the Writer of the History.

Samos yeelded to the *Athenians*.

The businesse about *Corcyra* and *Podiceæ*, before related.

Betweene the *Perſian* and *Peloponneſian* Warre, ſixty yeeres.

Now not many yeeres after this, happened the matters before related, of the *Corcyreans* and the *Podiceans*, and whatſoeuer other interuenient pretext of this Warre. These things done by the *Gracians*, one against another, or against the *Barbarians*, came to passe all within the compasse of fiftie yeeres, at most, from the time of the departure of *Xerxes*, to the beginning of this present Warre: In which time, the *Athenians* both assured their *Gouernment* ouer the *Confederates*, and also much enlarged their own particular wealth. This the *Lacedæmonians* saw, & opposed not, saue now and then a little, but (as men that had euer before beene slow to Warre without necessity, and also for that they were hindred sometimes with domestique Warre) for the most part of the time stirred not against them; till now at last, when the power of the *Athenians* was advanced manifestly indeed, and that they had done iniury to their *Confederates*; they could forbear no longer, but thought it necessary to goe in hand with the Warre with all diligence, and to pull downe, if they could, the *Athenian* greatnesse. For which purpose, it was by the *Lacedæmonians* themselues decreed, That the Peace was broken, and that the *Athenians* had done vniustly. And also hauing sent to *Delphi*, and enquired of *Apollo*, whether they should haue the better in the Warre, or not; they receiued (as it is reported) this Answer: *That if they warred with their whole power, they should haue victory, and that himselfe would be on their side, both called and vncalled.*

The Oracle consulted by the *Lacedæmonians*, encouraged them to the Warre.

Now when they had assembled their *Confederates* again, they were to put it to the question amongst them, Whether they should make Warre, or not. And the *Ambassadors* of the seuerall *Confederates* comming in, and the Councell set

Consultation of the *Peloponneſians* in generall, whether they should enter into a Warre, or not.

aswell the rest spake what they thought fit, most of them **A** accusing the Athenians of iniurie, and desiring the Warre; as also the Corinthians, who had before intreated the Cities, every one severally to giue their Vote for the Warre, fearing lest *Potidea* should bee lost before helpe came, being then present, spake last of all to this effect.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of C O R I N T H.

Confederates, we can no longer accuse the Lacedæmonians, **B** they hauing both decreed the Warre themselves, and also assembled vs to doe the same. For it is fit for them who haue the command in a common League, as they are honoured of all before the rest; so also (administring their priuate affaires equally with others) to consider before the rest, of the Common businesse. And though as many of vs as haue already had our turnes with the Athenians, need not bee taught to beware of them; yet it were good for those that dwell vpon in the Land, and not as wee, in places of traffique on the Sea side, to know, that vnlesse they defend those below, they shall with a great deale the more difficulty, both carry to the Sea, the commodities of the **C** seasons, and againe more hardly receiue the benefits afforded to the inland Countries from the Sea; and also not to mistake what is now spoken, as if it concerned them not; but to make account, that if they neglect those that dwell by the Sea, the calamity will also reach vnto themselves; and that this consultation concerneth them no lesse then vs, and therefore not to bee afraid to change their Peace for Warre. For though it bee the part of discreet men to be quiet, vnlesse they haue wrong, yet it is the part of valiant men, when they receiue iniury, to passe from Peace into Warre, and after successe, from Warre to come againe to composition: and neither to swell with the good **D** successe of Warre, nor to suffer iniurie, through pleasure taken in the ease of Peace. For hee whom pleasure makes a Coward, if hee sit still, shall quickly lose the sweetnesse of the ease that made him so. And hee that in Warre, is made proud by successe, obserueth not, that his pride is grounded vpon vnfaithfull confidence. For though many things ill aduised, come to good effect, against Enemies worse aduised; yet more, thought well aduised, haue faile but badly out, against well-aduised enemies. For no man comes to execute a thing, with the same confidence hee premeditates it: for we deliuer opinions in safety, whereas in the Action it selfe, wee faile through feare. **E** As for the Warre at this time, wee raise it, both vpon iniuries done vs,

A vs. and vpon other sufficient allegations; and when we haue repaired our wrongs vpon the Athenians, we will also in due time lay it down. And it is for many reasons probable, that wee shall haue the victory. First, because wee exceed them in number: and next, because when wee goe to any action intimated, we shall be all of one * fashion. And as for a Nauie, wherein consisteth the strength of the Athenians, wee shall provide it, both out of euery ones particular wealth, and with the money at Delphi and Olympia. For taking this at interest, wee shall bee able to draw from them their forraigne Mariners, by offer of greater wages: for the Forces of the Athenians, are rather mercenarie then domestike. Whereas our owne power is lesse obnoxious to such accidents, consisting more in the persons of men then in money. And if wee ouercome them but in one Battell by Sea, in all probability they are totally vanquished. And if they hold out, wee also shall with longer time apply our selues to Nauall affaires. And when wee shall once haue made our skill equall to theirs, we shall surely ouermatch them in courage. For the valour that wee haue by nature, they shall neuer come vnto by teaching; but the experience which they exceed vs in, that must wee attaine vnto by industry. And the money wherewith to bring this to passe, it must be all our parts to contribute.

C For else it were a hard case, that the Confederates of the Athenians should not stick to contribute to their owne seruitude; and wee should refuse to lay out our money, to bee reuenged of our enenies, and for our owne preservation, and that the Athenians take not our money from vs, and euen with that doe vs mischiefe. Wee haue also many other wayes of Warre; as the reuolt of their Confederates, which is the principall meanes of lessening their reuenue; * the building of Forts in their Territorie, and many other things which one cannot now foresee. For the course of Warre is guided by nothing lesse then by the points of our account, but of it selfe contriueth most things vpon the occasion.

D Wherein, he that complies with it, with most temper, standeth the firme; and hee that is most passionate, oftene miscarries. Imagine wee had differences each of vs about the limits of our Territorie, with an equall aduersary; wee must vndergoe them. But now the Athenians are a match for vs all at once, and one Citie after another, too strong for vs. Insomuch that vnlesse wee oppose them ioyntly, and euery Nation and (it set to it vnanimously, they will ouercome vs asunder, without labour. And know, that to be vanquished (though it trouble you to heare it) brings with it no lesse then manifest seruitude: which, but to mention as a doubt, as if so many Cities could suffer vnder one, were very dishonourable to Peloponnesus. For it must then bee thought, that wee are either punished vpon merit, or else that

* All Land South-west, all of one manner of Arming and discipline.

* Though this be here said in the person of a Corinthian, yet it was neuer thought on by any of that side, till Alcibiades put it into their heads, when he reuolted from his Countrey.

that wee endure it out of feare, and so appeare degenerate from our A
 Ancestours; for by them the liberty of all Greece hath beene resto-
 red; whereas wee for our parts, assure not so much as our owne; but
 claiming the reputation of hauing deposed Tyrants in the seuerall Ci-
 ties, suffer a Tyrant Citie to be established amongst vs. Wherein we
 know not how we can auoyd one of these three great faults, Foolish-
 nesse, Cowardise, or Negligence. For certainly, you auoyde
 them not, by imputing it to that which hath done most men hurt, Con-
 tempt of the Enemy: for Contempt, because it hath made too
 many men miscarry, hath gotten the name of Foolishnesse. But to
 what end should wee object matters past, more then is necessary to the B
 busines in hand? wee must now by helping the present, labour for
 the future. For it is peculiar to our Countrey to attaine honour by
 labour; and though you be now somewhat aduanced in honour and po-
 wer, you must not therefore change the custome; for there is no reason
 that what was gotten in want, should be lost by wealth. But wee
 should confidently goe in hand with the Warre, as for many other cau-
 ses, so also for this, that both the God hath by his Oracle aduised vs
 thereto, and promised to bee with vs himselfe: and also for that the
 rest of Greece some for feare, and some for profit, are ready to take
 our parts. Nor are you they that first breake the Peace, (which C
 the God, in as much as hee doth encourage vs to the Warre, iudgeth
 violated by them) but you fight rather in defence of the same. For
 not hee breaketh the Peace, that taketh reuenge, but hee that is the
 first invader. So that, Seeing it will be euery way good to make the
 Warre, and since in common wee perswade the same; and seeing also
 that both to the Cities, and to priuate men, it will bee the most profita-
 ble course, put off no longer, neither the defence of the Potidæans,
 who are Doreans, and besieged (which was wont to bee contrary) by
 Ionians, nor the recovery of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians.
 For it is a case that admitteth not delay, when they are some of them D
 already oppressed: and others (after it shall be knowne wee met, and
 durst not right our selues) shall shortly after vndergoe the like. But
 thinke (Confederates) you are now at a necessity, and that this
 is the best advice. And therefore giue your Votes for the Warre, not
 fearing the present danger, but coueting the long Peace proceeding
 from it. (For though by warre groweth the confirmation of Peace, yet
 for loue of ease to refuse the warre, doth not likewise auoyde the
 danger. But making account, that a Tyrant Citie set vp in Greece,
 is set vp alike ouer all, and reigneth ouer some already, and the rest
 in intention, we shall bring it againe into order by the warre; and not E
 onely liue for the time to come out of danger our selues, but also deliuer
 the

A the already enbrall'd Grecians out of seruitude. Thus said the Corinthians.

The Lacedæmonians, when they had heard the opinion of them all, brought the * Balles to all the Confederates present, in order, from the greatest State to the least; And the greatest part gaue their Votes for the Warre. Now after the War was decreed, though it were impossible for them to goe in hand with it presently, because they were vnprovided, and euery State thought good without delay, seuerally to furnish themselues of what was necessary, yet there

B passed not fully a yeere in this preparation, before Attica was invaded, and the Warre openly on foot.

I N THE MEANE TIME, they sent Ambassadors to the Athenians, with certaine Criminations, to the end that if they would giue care to nothing, they might haue all the pretext that could bee, for raising of the Warre. And first the Lacedæmonians, by their Ambassadors to the Athenians, required them to * banish such as were vnder curse of the Goddesse Minerva, for Pollution of Sanctuary. Which Pollution was thus. There had

C beene one Cylon an Athenian, a man that had beene Victor in the Olympian exercises, of much Nobility and power amongst those of old time, and that had married the Daughter of Theagenes, a Megarian, in those dayes Tyrant of Megara. To this Cylon, asking counsell at Delphi, the God answered, That on the greatest Festiuall day, hee should seaze the Cittadell of Athens. Hee therefore hauing gotten Forces of Theagenes, and perswaded his Friends to the Enterprize, seazed on the Cittadell, at the time of the Olimpicke Holidayes in Peloponnesus, with intention to take vpon him the

D Tyranny: Esteeming the Feast of Iupiter to bee the greatest; and to touch withall on his Particular, in that he had beene Victor in the Olympian exercises. But whether the Feast spoken of, were * meant to be the greatest in Attica, or in some other place, neither did hee himselfe consider, nor the Oracle make manifest. For there is also amongst the Athenians the Diæa, which is called the greatest Feast of Iupiter Meilichius, and is celebrated without the City; wherein, in the confluence of the whole people, many men offered Sacrifices, not of liuing Creatures, but

E * such as was the fashion of the Natiues of the place. But hee, supposing hee had rightly vnderstood the Oracle, laid

K

hand

The Warre decreed by all the Confederates. * *Βάλλειν τὴν ψήφον.* The fashion it seemeth, as now in some places, to present a Ball or Vote, and a little Ball, or stone or beane, to him that gaue his Vote, to the end hee might put his Ball into the part of the Vote that was for affirmation or negation, as he saw cause.

The Lacedæmonians send Ambassadors to the Athenians, about expiation of Sacriledges, only to pick better quarrels for the Warre.

* Excommunication extending also to posterity.

* The Oracles were alwayes obscure, that euery man might be found to salue their credit; and whether they were the imposition of the Deuill, or of men, which is the more likely, they had no pretension, nor secure wise conclusion of the future.

* Images of liuing creatures, made of paste.

hand to the enterprife; and when the *Athenians* heard of A
it, they came with all their Forces out of the Fields, and
lying before the Cittadell, besieged it. But the time
growing long, the *Athenians* wearied with the Siege, went
most of them away, and left both the Guard of the Cit-
tadell, and the whole businesse to the nine *Archontes*,
with absolute authority to order the same, as to them
it should seeme good. For at that time, most of the af-
faires of the Common-weale were administred by those
9. *Archontes*. Now those that were besieged with *Cylon*,
were for want both of victuall and Water, in very cuill e- B
state; and therefore *Cylon*, and a Brother of his, fled priui-
ly out; but the rest, when they were pressed, and some of
them dead with famine, sate downe as *suppliants*, by the
* Altar that is in the Cittadell: And the *Athenians*; to
whose charge was committed the guard of the place, ray-
sing them, vpon promise to doe them no harme, put them
all to the Sword. * Also they had put to death some of
those that had taken Sanctuary at the Altars of the * *Se-*
uerer Goddeses, as they were going away. And from this,
the *Athenians*, both themselves and their posterity, were C
called * *accursed* and *(acrilegious persons)*. Heereupon the *A-*
thenians banished those that were vnder the curse: and *Cle-*
omenes, a *Lacedamonian*, together with the *Athenians*, in a
Sedition banished them afterwards againe: and not onely
so, but dis-enterred and cast forth the bodies of such of
them as were dead: Neuerthelesse there returned of them
afterwards againe; and there are of their race in the Citie
vnto this day. This Pollution therefore the *Lacedamonians*
required them to purge their Citie of. Principally for-
sooth, as taking part with the Gods; but knowing with- D
all, that *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanippus*, was by the Mo-
thers side one of that Race. For they thought, if *Pericles*
were banished, the *Athenians* would the more easily bee
brought to yeeld to their desire. Neuerthelesse, they ho-
ped not so much, that hee should bee banished, as to bring
him into the enuie of the Citie, as if the misfortune of
him, were in part the cause of the Warre. For being the
most powerfull of his time, and hauing the sway of the
State, hee was in all things opposite to the *Lacedemonians*,
not suffering the *Athenians* to giue them the least way, but E
inticing them to the Warre.

Contrariwise,

* The Government of Rulers
of the City.

* of Minerva.

* The *Lacedemonians*
that in the reign of Codrus
invaded Athens, and were
deposed, some of them being
entred the City, could not get
away, but sate at those Altars,
and were dignified safe, but
some of them staine as they
went home.

* *Athenian* *Seuer*, *Eumenides*,
* *Seuerer*, & *Mythical*.

Pericles was alwayes adverse
to the *Lacedemonians*.

A Contrariwise the *Athenians* required the *Lacedæmonians* to banish such as were guilty of breach of Sanctuary at *Tænarus*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, when they had caused their *Helors*, Suppliants in the Temple of *Neptune* at *Tænarus*, to forsake Sanctuary, slew them. For which cause, they themselves thinke it was, that the great Earthquake happened afterwards at *Sparta*.

The *Athenians* require the *Lacedæmonians* to expiate the violation of Sanctuary also on their parts.

Also they required them to purge their Citie of the pollution of Sanctuary, in the Temple of *Pallas Chalcidæa*, which was thus: After that *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* was recalled by the *Spartans*, from his charge in *Hellepont*, and hauing bin called in question by them, was absolved, though hee was no more sent abroad by the State, yet hee went againe into *Hellepont*, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, as a priuate man, without leaue of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the *Grecian* Warre, as hee gaue out, but in truth to negotiate with the King, as hee had before begunne, aspiring to the Principality of *Greece*. Now the benefit that hee had laid vp with the King, and the beginning of the whole businesse, was at first from this: When after his returne from *Cyprus* he had taken *Byzantium*, when he was there the first time, (which being holden by the *Medes*, there were taken in it, some neere to the King, and of his kindred) vnknowne to the rest of the Confederates, hee sent vnto the King those neere ones of his which hee had taken, and gaue out, they were runne away. This hee practised with one *Gongylus*, and *Eetrian*, to whose charge hee had committed both the Towne of *Byzantium*, and the Prisoners. Also he sent Letters vnto him, which *Gongylus* carried; wherein, as was afterwards knowne, was thus written.

The occasion and manner of the death of *Pausanias* in the Temple of *Iupiter Chalcidæa*.

Pausanias practiseth with the King of *Persia*, against the State of *Greece*.

The Letter of *Pausanias* to the King.

PAVSANIAS, Generall of the *Spartans*, being desirous to doe thee a courtesie, sendeth backe vnto thee these men, whom hee hath by Armes taken prisoners: And I haue a purpose, if the same seeme also good vnto thee, to take thy Daughter in marriage, and to bring *Sparta* and the rest of *Greece*, into thy subiection. These things I account my selfe able to bring to passe, if I may communicate my counsels with thee. If therefore any of these things doe like thee, send some trusty man to the Sea side, by whose mediation wee may conferre together.

These were the Contents of the Writing. *Xerxes* being pleased with the Letter, sends away *Artabazus* the sonne of *Pharnaces*, to the Sea side, with commandement to take the gouernment of the Prouince of *Dascylis*, and to dismisse *Megabates*; that was *Gouernour* there before: and withall, giues him a Letter to *Pausanias*, which hee commanded him to send ouer to him with speed to *Byzantium*, and to shew him the Seale, and well and faithfullly to performe, whatsoeuer in his affaires, he should by *Pausanias* be appointed to doe. *Artabazus*, after hee arriued, hauing in other things done as hee was commanded, sent ouer the Letter, wherein was written this answer. A
B

The Letter of *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*.

THVS saith King *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*: For the men which thou hast saued, and sent ouer the Sea vnto mee, from *Byzantium*, thy benefit is laid vpon in our House, indelebly registered for euer: And I like also of what thou hast propounded: And let neither night nor day make thee remisse in the performance of what thou hast promised vnto mee. Neither bee thou hindred by the expence of Gold and Silver, or multitude of Souldiers requisite, whithersoever it bee needfull to haue them come: But with *Artabazus*, a good man, whom I haue sent vnto thee, doe boldly both mine and thine owne businesse; as shall bee most fit, for the dignity and honour of vs both. C

Pausanias groweth proud vpon the receipt of these Letters.

Pausanias hauing receiued these Letters, whereas he was before in great authority, for his conduct at *Platea*, became now many degrees more eleuated; and endured no more to liue after the accustomed manner of his Countrey, but went apparelled at *Byzantium*, after the fashion of *Persia*; and when hee went through *Thrace*, had a Guard of *Medes* and *Aegyptians*, and his Table likewise after the *Persian* manner. Nor was hee able to conceale his purpose, but in trifles made apparant before-hand, the greater matters hee had conceiued of the future. Hee became moreouer difficult of access, and would bee in such cholericke passions toward all men indifferently, that no man might indure to approach him; which was also none of the least causes why the Confederates turned from him to the *Athenians*. When the *Lacedaemonians* heard of it, they called him D
E

A him home the first time. And when being gone out the second time without their command, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, it appeared that hee continued still in the same practices; and after hee was forced out of *Byzantium* by siege of the *Athenians*, returned not to *Sparta*, but newes came, that hee had seated himselfe at *Colone*, in the Countrey of *Troy*, practising still with the *Barbarians*, and making his abode there for no good purpose: Then the *Ephori* forbore no longer, but sent vnto him a publique Officer, with the * *Scytale*, commanding him not to depart from the Officer; and in case hee refused, denounced Warre against him. But he, desiring as much as he could to decline suspition, and beleuing that with money hee should bee able to discharge himselfe of his accusations, returned vnto *Sparta* the second time. And first he was by the *Ephori* committed to ward; (for the *Ephori* haue power to doe this to their King,) but afterwards procuring his enlargement, hee came forth, and exhibited himselfe to Iustice, against such as had any thing to alledge against him. And though the *Spartans* had against him no manifest prooffe, neither his enemies, nor the whole Citie, whereupon to proceed to the punishment of a man, both of the Race of their Kings, and at that present in great authority: for *Plistarchus* the Sonne of *Leonidas* being King, and as yet in minority, *Pausanias*, who was his Cousin german, had the ruination of him: yet by his licentious behauiour, and affectation of the *Barbarian* customes, hee gaue much cause of suspicion, that hee meant not to liue in the equality of the present State. They considered also, that hee differed in manner of life, from the discipline established: amongst other things, by this, that vpon the *Tripode* at *Delfi*, which the *Grecians* had dedicated, as the best of the spoile of the *Medes*, hee had caused to bee inscribed of himselfe in particular, this Elegiaque Verse:

P A U S A N I A S, Greeke Generall,
 Hauing the Medes defeated,
 To Phœbus in record thereof,
 This gift hath consecrated.

* *Scytale*, properly a Staffe; here, a sort of Letter, taken by the Lacedæmonians, in this manner; they had two round staves of one bignesse, whereof the State kept one, and the man whom they employed abroad, kept the other; and when they would write, they wrapped about it a small thong of Parchment; and having thereon written, tooke it off againe, and sent onely that thong, which wrapped likewise about the other staffe, the letters ioyned againe, and might be read. This seru'd in stead of Cypher. It seemes *Pausanias* retained his Staffe, from the time he had charge at *Byzantium*.

Pausanias his ambition, in dedication of the *Tripode* at *Delfi*.

Pausanias accused of practice with the Helotes.

**πρωθυια, taken both in good and bad sense, for a man with whom another man is in love.*

Hee sends Letters to the King, which are opened by the way.

Pausanias, by the arte of the Ephori, made to betray himselfe.

But the *Lacedemonians* then presently defaced that inscription of the *Tripode*, and engrafted thereon by name, all the Cities that had ioyned in the ouerthrow of the *Medes*, and dedicated it so. This therefore was numbered amongst the offences of *Pausanias*, and was thought to agree with his present designe, so much the rather, for the condition hee was now in. They had information further, that hee had in hand some practice with the *Helotes*: and so hee had: For hee promised them, not onely manumission, but also freedome of the Citie, if they would rise with him, and cooperate in the whole businesse. But neither thus, vpon some appeachment of the *Helotes*, would they proceed against him, but kept the custome which they haue in their owne cases, not hastily to giue a peremptory Sentence against a *Spartan*, without vquestionable prooffe. Till at length (as it is reported) purposing to send ouer to *Artabazus* his last Letters to the King, hee was bewrayed vnto them by a man of *Argilus*, in time past, his * *Minion*, and most faithfull to him: who being terrified with the cogitation, that not any of those which had beene formerly sent, had euer returned, got him a Seale like to the Seale of *Pausanias*, (to the end that if his iealousie were false, or that hee should need to alter any thing in the Letter, it might not bee discovered) and opened the Letter, wherein (as he had suspected the addition of some such clause) hee found himselfe also written downe to bee murdered. The *Ephori*, when these Letters were by him shewne vnto them, though they beleeued the matter much more then they did before, yet desirous to heare somewhat themselues from *Pausanias* his owne mouth; (the man being vpon designe gone to *Tanarus* into Sanctnary, and hauing there built him a little Roome with a partition, in which hee hid the *Ephori*; and *Pausanias* comming to him, and asking the cause of his taking Sanctuary,) they plainly heard the whole matter. For the man both expostulated with him, for what hee had written about him, and from point to point discouered all the practice: saying, that though hee had neuer boasted vnto him these and these seruices, concerning the King, hee must yet haue the honour, as well as many other of his seruants, to bee slaine. And *Pausanias* himselfe both confessed the same things, and also bade the man not

A to be troubled at what was past, and gaue him assurance to leaue Sanctuary, entreating him to goe on in his journey with all speed, and not to frustrate the businesse in hand.

Now the *Ephori*, when they had distinctly heard him, for that time went their way, and knowing now the certaine truth, intended to apprehend him in the Citie. It is said, that when hee was to-bee apprehended in the Street, hee perceiued by the countenance of one of the *Ephori* comming towards him, what they came for: and when

B another of them had by a secret becke signified the matter for good will, he ranne into the * Close of the Temple of *Pallas Chalciaea*, and got in before they ouertooke him. Now the * Temple it selfe was hard by, and entring into a House belonging to the Temple, to auoyd the iniurie of the open ayre, there staid. They that pursued him, could not then ouertake him: but afterwards they tooke off the rooffe and the doores of the house, and watching a time when hee was within, beset the House, and mured him vp, and leauing a Guard there, famished him. When

C they perceiued him about to giue vp the Ghost, they carried him as hee was, out of the House, yet breathing, and being out, hee dyed immediately. After hee was dead, they were about to throw him into the * *Cleada*, where they vse to cast in Malefactors: yet afterwards they thought good to bury him in some place thereabouts: But the Oracle of *Delfi* commanded the *Lacedaemonians* afterward, both to remoue the Sepulcher from the place where hee dyed, (so that helyes now in the entry of the Temple; as is euident by the inscription of the Pillar)

D and also (as hauing beene a Pollution of the Sanctuary,) to render two bodies to the Goddesse of *Chalcioea*, for that one. Whereupon they set vp two brazen Statues, and dedicated the same vnto her for *Pausanias*. Now the *Athenians* (the God himselfe hauing iudged this a Pollution of Sanctuary) required the *Lacedaemonians* to banish out of their Citie, such as were touched with the same.

At the same time that *Pausanias* came to his end, the *Lacedaemonians* by their Ambassadors to the *Athenians*, accused *Themistocles* for that hee also had medized together

E with *Pausanias*; hauing discovered it by proofes against *Pausanias*, and desired that the same punishment might be

like

He flyeth into Sanctuary

* *Aggr.* Both the Temple, & the ground consecrated, surroundeth the Temple, Altar, and edifices for the use of their Religion.

* *Aggr.* The Temple or Church of the Goddesse.

* *Cleada*, a pit nere Lacedaemon.

Themistocles in the same Treason.

* A kinde of banishment, wherein the Athenians were upon the seed of an Oyster the name of him they would banish: used principally against great men, whose power or faction they feared might breed alteration in the State: and was but for certaine yeeres. Themistocles, pursued by the Athenians and Peloponnesians, flyeth to Corcyra.

Thence is put over to the maine Land, and goeth to the King of the Molossians.

* Ἰωνία. Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, saies it was their daughter.

Thence he is conveyed to Pydna.

* The Aegean Sea.
* King of Macedonia.
* Of Persia.

In danger to be cast vpon the Athenians Fleet at Naxos, he maketh himselfe knowne to the Master of the Ship.

likewise inflicted vpon him. Whereunto consenting, (for A he was at this time in banishment by * Ostracisme, and though his ordinary residence was at Argos, hee trauelled to and fro in other places of Peloponnesus,) they sent certaine men in company of the Lacedaemonians, who were willing to pursue him, with command to bring him in, wherefoeuer they could finde him. But Themistocles hauing had notice of it before-hand, flyeth out of Peloponnesus into Corcyra, to the people of which Citie, he had formerly beene beneficiall. But the Corcyreans alleaging that they durst not keep him there, for feare of displeasing both the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians, conuey him into the opposite Continent: and being pursued by the men thereto appointed, asking continually which way hee went, hee was compelled at a streight, to turne in vnto Admetus, King of the Molossians, his enimie. The King himselfe beeing then from home, hee became a suppliant to his Wife, and by her was instructed, to take their * Sonne with him, and sit downe at the Altar of the House. When Admetus not long after returned, hee made himselfe knowne to him, and desired him, that though hee had opposed him C in some suite at Athens, not to reuenge it on him now, in the time of his flight: saying, that being now the weaker, he must needes suffer vnder the stronger; whereas noble reuenge is of equals, vpon equall termes: and that hee had beene his Aduersary but in matter of profit, not of life; whereas, if hee deliuered him vp (telling him withall, for what, and by whom hee was followed) hee deprived him of all meanes of sauing his life. Admetus hauing heard him, bade him arise, together with his Sonne, whom he held as he sate: which is the most sub-D misse supplication that is.

Not long after came the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians, and though they alledged much to haue him, yet hee deliuered him not, but sent him away by Land to Pydna, vpon the * other Sea (a City belonging to * Alexander) because his purpose was to goe to the * King: where finding a Ship bound for Ionia, hee imbarqued, and was carried by foule weather vpon the the Fleet of the Athenians, that besieged Naxos. Being afraid, hee discovered to the Master (for hee was vnknowne) who hee E was, and for what hee fled, and said, that vnlesse hee would

A would saue him, hee meant to say, that hee had hired him to carry him away for money. And that to saue him, there needed no more but this, to let none goe out of the Ship, till the weather serued to bee gone. To which if hee consented, hee would not forget to requite him according to his merit. The Master did so; and hauing lyen a day and a night at Sea, vpon the Fleet of the *Athenians*, he arriued afterward at *Ephesus*. And *Themistocles* hauing liberally rewarded him with money, (for hee receiued there, both what was sent him from his friends at *Athens*, and also what he had put out at *Argos*,) hee tooke his iourney vpw-
B wards, in company of a certaine *Persian* of the * *Low-Countries*, and sent Letters to the King *Artaxerxes*, the Sonne of *Xerxes*, newly come to the Kingdome, wherein was written to this purpose :

He arriueth at *Ephesus*.* The *Low-countries* of Asia lying to the *Aegean Sea*.His Letter to *Artaxerxes*.

I **T**HEMISTOCLES am comming vnto thee, who, of all the Grecians, as long as I was forced to resist thy Father that invaded mee, haue done your House the manifest damages; yet the benefitis I did him, were more, after once I with safety, hee with danger was to make retreat. And both a good turne is already due vnto mee, (writing here, how hee had forewarned him of the Grecians departure out of *Salamis*, and ascribing the then not breaking of the Bridge, falsely vnto himselfe.) and at this time to doe thee many other good seruices, I present my selfe, persecuted by the Grecians for thy friendship's sake. But I desire to haue a yeeres respite, that I may
D declare vnto thee the cause of my comming my selfe.

The King, as is reported, wondred what his purpose might bee, and commanded him to doe as he had said. In this time of respite, hee learned as much as hee could of the Language and fashions of the place; and a yeere after comming to the Court, he was great with the King, more then euer had beene any *Grecian* before; both for his former dignity, and the hope of *Greece*, which hee promised to bring into his subiection; but especially for
E the tryall hee gaue of his wisdom. For *Themistocles* was a man, in whom most truely was manifested the strength

The praise of *Themistocles*.

His death.

* There is another Citie of that name in Greece.

* Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, says that the King gave him these Cities w^{ch} in these words, Magnesia to finde him bread, Lampfacus wine, and Myus meat.

The Athenians by Ambassadors command the abrogation of the Act against the Megareans.

of naturall iudgement, wherein hee had something worthy admiration, different from other men. For by his naturall prudence, without the helpe of instruction before or after, he was both of extemporary matters, vpon short deliberation, the best discerner, and also of what for the most part would bee their issue, the best coniecturer. What hee was perfect in, hee was able also to explicate: and what hee was vnpractised in, he was not to seeke how to iudge of conueniently. Also hee foresaw, no man better, what was best or worst in any case that was doubtfull. And (to say all in few words) this man, by the naturall goodnesse of his wit, and quicknesse of deliberation, was the ablest of all men, to tell what was fit to bee done vpon a sudden. But falling sicke, hee ended his life: some say hee dyed voluntarily by Poyson, because hee thought himselfe vnable to performe what hee had promised to the King. His monument is in * *Magnesia* in *Asia*, in the Market place: for hee had the gouernment of that Countrey, the King hauing bestowed vpon him *Magnesia*, which yeelded him fifty Talents by yeere for his * bread; and *Lampfacus* for his Wine, (for this City was in those dayes thought to haue store of Wine,) and the City of *Myus* for his meate. His bones are said, by his Kindred to haue beene brought home by his owne appointment, and buried in *Attica*, vnknowne to the *Athenians*: for it was not lawfull to bury one there, that had fled for Treason. These were the ends of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, the most famous men of all the *Grecians* of their time. And this is that which the *Lacedemonians* did command, and were commanded, in their first Ambassage, touching the banishment of such as were vnder the curse.

AFTER THIS, they sent Ambassadors againe to *Athens*, commanding them to leuy the Siege from before *Potidea*, and to suffer *Egina* to bee free; but principally, and most plainly telling them, that the Warre should not bee made, in case they would abrogate the Act concerning the *Megareans*. By which Act, they were forbidden both the Fayres of *Attica*, and all Ports within the *Athenian* dominion. But the *Athenians* would not obey them, neither in the rest of their Commands,

nor

A nor in the abrogation of that Act; but recriminated the Megareans, for hauing tilled holy ground, and vnset-out with bounds: and for receiuing of their Slaues that reuolted. But at length, when the last Ambassadors from Lacedæmon were arriued, namely, *Rhamphias*, *Melesippus*, and *Ageander*, and spake nothing of that which formerly they were wont, but onely this, That the Lacedæmonians desire that there should be Peace, which may bee had, if you will suffer the Grecians to bee gouerned by their owne Lawes. The Athenians called an Assembly, and propounding their opinions amongst themselves, thought good, after they had debated the matter, to giue them an answer once for all. And many stood forth, and deliuered their mindes on eyther side, some for the Warre, and some, that this Act concerning the Megareans, ought not to stand in their way to Peace, but to bee abrogated. And *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*, the principall man, at that time, of all Athens, and most sufficient both for speech and action, gaue his aduice in such manner as followeth.

The last Ambassadors from Lacedæmon, required the Athenians to lay down their dominion.

The Athenians consulted what to answer.

C THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

MEN of Athens, I am still not onely of the same opinion, not to giue way to the Peloponnesians (notwithstanding,

I know that men haue not the same passions in the Warre it selfe, which they haue when they are incited to it, but change their opinions with the events) but also I see, that I must now aduise the same things, or very neere to what I haue before deliuered.

And I require of you, with whom my counsell shall take place, that

D if wee miscarry in ought, you will eyther make the best of it, as decreed by Common Consent, or if wee prosper, not to attribute it to your owne wisdom onely. For it falleth out with the euents of Actions, no lesse then with the purposes of man, to proceed with uncertainty: which is also the cause, that when any thing happeneth contrary to our expectation, wee vse to lay the fault on Fortune. That the Lacedæmonians, both formerly, and especially now, take counsell how to doe vs mischief, is a thing manifest. For whereas it is said, [in the Articles] that in our mutuall controuersies, we shall giue and receiue trials of Iudgement, and in the meane time, eyther

E side hold what they possesse, they neuer yet sought any such tryall themselves, nor will accept of the same offered by vs. They will

cleere themselves of their accusations, by Warre rather then by words: **A**
 and come hither no more now to expostulate, but to command. For they
 command vs to arise from before Potidæa, and to restore the Agi-
 netæ to the liberty of their owne Lawes, and to abrogate the Aet con-
 cerning the Megareans. And they that come last, command vs to
 restore all the Grecians to their liberty. Now let none of you con-
 ceive that wee shall goe to Warre for a trifle, by not abrogating the
 Aet concerning Megara, (yet this by them is pretended mist; and
 that for the abrogation of it, the Warre shall stay;) nor retaine a scrup-
 ple in your mindes, as if a small matter moued you to the Warre: for
 euen this small matter containeth the tryall and constancy of your re- **B**
 solution. Wherein if you giue them way, you shall hereafter bee com-
 manded a greater matter, as men that for feare will obey them like-
 wise in that. But by a stiffe deniall, you shall teach them plainly, to
 come to you heereafter on termes of more equality. Resolue therefore
 from this occasion, eyther to yeeld them obedience, before you receiue
 damage; or if wee must haue Warre; (which for my part I thinke is
 best,) be the pretence weighty or light, not to giue way, nor keepe what
 wee possesse, in feare. For a great and a little claime, imposed by e-
 quals vpon their neighbours, before Iudgement, by way of command,
 hath one and the same vertue to make subiect. As for the Warre, **C**
 how both wee and they be furnished, and why wee are not like to haue
 the worse, by hearing the particulars, you shall now vnderstand. The
 Peloponnesians are* men that liue by their labour, without money,
 eyther in particular, or in common stocke. Besides, in long Warres,
 and by Sea, they are without experience; for that the Warres which
 they haue had one against another, haue beene but short, through po-
 uerty; and* such men can neither man their Fleets, nor yet send out
 their Armies by Land very often; because they must bee farre from
 their owne wealth, and yet by that be maintained; and be besides bar-
 red the vse of the Sea. It must bee a* stocke of money, not forced **D**
 Contributions, that support the Warres, and such as liue by their
 labour, are more ready to serue the Warres with their bodies, then
 with their money. For they make account that their bodies will out-
 line the danger, but their money they thinke is sure to bee spent; espe-
 cially if the Warre (as it is likely) should last. So that the Pelopon-
 nesians and their Confederates, though for one Battell they bee able
 to stand out against all Greece besides, yet to maintaine a Warre a-
 gainst such as haue their preparations of another kinde, they are not
 able; in as much as not hauing one and the same counsell, they can
 speedily performe nothing vpon the occasion; and hauing equality of **E**
 vote, and being of severall* races, every one will presse his particular
 interest;

☞

* αὐτάρκτες.

* as liue by their labour.

* πολέμιοι.

* Of the Peloponnesians
 and their Confederates, some
 were Dorians, some Achæ-
 ans, some Iæonians.

A interest; whereby nothing is like to bee fully executed. For some will desire most to take reuenge on some enemie, and others to haue their estates least wasted; and being long before they can assemble, they take the lesser part of their time to debate the Common businesse, and the greater, to dispatch their owne priuate affaires. And euery one supposeth that his owne neglect of the Common estate, can doe little hurt, and that it will bee the care of some body else to looke to that, for his owne good: Not obseruing how by these thoughts of euery one in seuerall, the Common businesse is ioyntly ruined. But their greatest hindrance of all, will be their want of money, which being raised slowly, their actions must bee full of delay, which the occasions of warre will not endure. As for their fortifying here, and their Nauie, they are matters not worthy feare. For it were a hard matter for a Citie equall to our owne, in time of peace to fortifie in that manner, much lesse in the Countrey of an Enemie, and wee no lesse fortified against them. And if they had a Garrison bere, though they might by excursions, and by the receiuing of our Fugitiues, annoy some part of our Territory; yet would not that bee enough both to besiege vs, and also to hinder vs from sayling into their Territories, and from taking reuenge with our Fleet, which is the thing wherein our strength lyeth.

C For wee haue more experience in Land-service, by vse of the Sea, then they haue in Sea-service, by vse of the Land. Nor shall they attaine the knowledge of nauall affaires easily. For your selues, though falling to it immediately vpon the Persian warre, yet haue not attained it fully. How then should husbandmen, not Sea-men, whom also wee will not suffer to apply themselves to it, by lying continually vpon them with so great Fleets, performe any matter of value? Indeed, if they should bee opposed but with a few Ships, they might aduenture, encouraging their want of knowledge, with store of men; but awed by many, they will not stirre that way; and not applying themselves to it,

D will bee yet more vnskilfull, and thereby more cowardly. For knowledge of Nauall matters, is an Art as well as any other, and not to be attended at idle times, and on the by; but requiring rather, that whilest it is a learning, nothing else should bee done on the by. But say they should take the money at Olympia and Delphi, and therewith, at greater wages, goe about to draw from vs the Strangers employed in our Fleet; this indeed, if going aboard both our selues, and those that dwell amongst vs, wee could not match them, were a dangerous matter. But now, wee can both doe this, and (which is the principall thing) wee haue Steeresmen, and other necessary men for the

E service of a Ship, both more and better of our owne Citizens, then are in all the rest of Greece. Besides that, not any of these Strangers,

* ex τῷ παράγῃ.

* That is, of victory by Sea, where they were to be employed.

upon tryall, would bee found content to fly his owne Countrey, and A
 withall vpon lesse * hope of victory, for a few dayes increase of wa-
 ges, take part with the other side. In this manner, or like to this,
 seemeth vnto mee to stand the case of the Peloponnesians: Whereas
 ours is both free from what in theirs I haue reprehended, and hath ma-
 ny great aduantages besides. If they inuade our Territory by Land,
 wee shall inuade theirs by Sea. And when wee haue wasted part of
 Peloponnesus, and they all Attica, yet shall theirs bee the greater
 losse. For they, vnlesse by the sword, can get no other Territory in
 stead of that wee shall destroy: Whereas for vs, there is other Land,
 both in the Ilands, and Continent: For the dominion of the Sea is a B
 great matter. Consider but this: If we dwelt in the Ilands, whether
 of vs then were more inexpugnable? Wee must therefore now, draw-
 ing as neere as can bee to that imagination, lay aside the care of Fields
 and Villages, and not for the losse of them, out of passion, giue battell to
 the Peloponnesians, farre more in number then our selues; (for
 though wee giue them an ouerthrow, wee must fight againe with as
 many more: and if wee bee ouerthrowne, we shall lose the helpe of our
 Confederates, which are our strength; for when we cannot warre vp-
 on them, they will revolt) nor bewaile yee the losse of Fields or Houses,
 but of mens bodies: for men may acquire these, but these cannot ac- C
 quire men. And if I thought I should preuaile, I would aduise you to
 goe out, and destroy them your selues, and shew the Peloponnesians,
 that you will neuer the sooner obey them for such things as these. There
 be many other things that giue hope of victory, (* in case you doe not,
 whilst you are in this Warre, strue to enlarge your dominion, and vn-
 dergoe other voluntary dangers; for I am afraid of our owne errors,
 more then of their designs,) but they shall bee spoken of at another
 time, in prosecution of the warre it selfe. For the present, let vs send
 away these men with this Answer: That the Megareans shall
 haue the liberty of our Fayres and Ports, if the Lacedæmo- D
 nians will also make no banishment of vs nor of our Confe-
 derates, as of Strangers. For neither our Act concerning
 Megara, nor their banishment of Strangers, is forbidden in
 the Articles. Also, that we will let the Grecian Cities be
 free, if they were so when the Peace was made; and if the
 Lacedæmonians will also giue leaue vnto their Confederates,
 to vse their freedome, not as shall serue the turne of the
 Lacedæmonians, but as they themselues shall euery one
 thinke good. Also, that wee will stand to Iudgement ac-
 cording to the Articles, and will not beginne the Warre, E
 but bee reuenged on those that shall. For this is both iust,
 and

* Thucydides hath his mind here, upon the Defeat in Sicily, which fell out many yeeres after the death of Pericles. Whereby it seemes, he frameth his speech more to what Pericles might haue said, then to what he did say. Which also he profiteth in generall of his course in setting downe Speeches. Besides, he maketh Pericles here to as-
 sume point by point to the Oration of the Corinthians at Lacedæmon, as if hee had bene by, when it was deli-
 uered: and setteth the same man-
 ner in all opposit Orationes.

A and for the dignity of the City to answer. Neuerthelesse, you must know, that of necessity Warre there will bee; and the more willingly wee embrace it, the lesse pressing we shall haue our enemies; and that out of greatest dangers, whether to Cities or priuate men, arise the greatest honours. For our Fathers, when they vndertooke the Medes, did from lesse beginnings, nay abandoning the little they had, by wisdom rather then Fortune, by courage rather then strength, both repell the Barbarian, and aduance this State to the height it now is at. Of whom wee ought not now to come short, but rather to reuenge vs by all meanes vpon our enemies, and doe
B our best to deliuer the State vnimpayred by vs, to posterity.

Thus spake Pericles.

The Athenians liking best of his aduice, decreed as hee would haue them, answering the Lacedaemonians according to his direction, both in particular as hee had spoken, and generally, That they would doe nothing on command, but were ready to answer their accusations vpon equall termes, by way of arbitrement. So the Ambassadors went home, and after these, there came no more.

The Answer of the Athenian to the Ambassadors of Lacedaemon.

C These were the Quarels and differences on eyther side, before the Warre: which Quarels beganne presently vpon the businesse of Epidamnus and Corcyra. Neuerthelesse, there was still commerce betwixt them, and they went to each other without any Herald, though not without ieaousie. For the things that had passed, were but the confusioⁿ of the Articles, and matter of the Warre to follow.

FINIS.

REIGN OF
 CHARLES THE FIRST
 IN THE
 YEAR OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN
 1642
 BY
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 ESQ;
 A SERGEANT AT LAW
 OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE
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THE END



THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
THE HISTORY OF
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The entry of the Theban Souldiers into Plataea, by the Treason of some within. Their repulse and slaughter. The irruption of the Peloponnesians into Attica. The wasting of the Coast of Peloponnesus by the Athenian Fleet. The Publike Funerall of the first slaine. The second invasion of Attica. The Pestilence in the City of Athens. The Ambraciotes warre against the Amphilochi. Plataea assaulted. Besieged. The Peloponnesian Fleet beaten by Phormio, before the Straight of the Gulfe of Crissa. The same Fleet repaired, and re-inforced and beaten againe by Phormio, before Naupactus. The attempt of the Peloponnesians on Salamis. The fruitlesse expedition of the Thracians against the Macedonians. This in the first 3. yeeres of the Warre.

D **T**HE Warre between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians beginneth now, from the time they had no longer commerce one with another without a Herald, and that hauing once begun it, they warred without intermission. And it is written in order by Summers and Winters, according as from time to time the seuerall matters came to passe.

E The Peace, which after the winning of Eubaea, was
M concluded

THE FIRST YEERE
OF THE WARRE.

* Priestesse of Iuno. By
means whereof they reckon
their yeeres.

* The Athenians began
their yeeres about the Sum-
mer Solstice.

Plataea surprized by the
Thebans by Treason.

* Ποσειδάωνος. There were
11. of them small, and had
the absolute command of the
Boeotians in their Warres,
in ancient.

* ἡγεμονία τοῦ σώματος.

The Thebans execute not
the designe of the Tray-
tors.

But offer composition.

The Plataeans accept it.

The Plataeans take heart.

concluded for thirty yeeres, lasted foureteene yeeres; but **A**
in the fifteenth yeere, being the forty eighth of the Priest-
hood of * *Chrysis*, in *Argos*: *Æneas* being the *Ephore* at *Sparta*,
and *Pythadorus* *Archon* of *Athens*, hauing then * two moneths
of his gouernment to come, in the sixth moneth after the
Battell at *Poidaea* and in the beginning of the Spring, three
hundred and odde *Thebans*, led by *Pythangelus* the Sonne of
Philides, and *Diemporus*, the sonne of *Oenotiridas*, * *Boeotian*
Rulers, about the first Watch of the night, entred with
their Armes into *Plataea*, a Citie of *Boeotia*, and Confederate
of the *Athenians*. They were brought in, and the Gates **B**
opened vnto them, by *Nauclicides* and his Complices, men
of *Plataea*, that for their owne priuate ambition, intended
both the destruction of such Citizens as were their ene-
mies, and the putting of the whole City vnder the sub-
iection of the *Thebans*. This they negotiated with one
Eurymachus, the Sonne of *Leontiadas*, one of the most po-
tent men of *Thebes*. For the *Thebans* foreseeing the Warre,
desired to præoccupate *Plataea*, (which was alwayes at
variance with them) whilest there was yet Peace, and the
Warre not openly on foot. By which meanes, they more **C**
easily entred vndiscovered, there being no order taken be-
fore for a Watch. And * making a stand in their Armes
in the Market place, did not (as they that gaue them en-
trance would haue had them) fall presently to the busi-
nesse, and enter the Houses of their Aduersaries, but re-
solved rather to make fauourable Proclamation, and to in-
duce the Cities to composition and friendship. And the
Herald proclaimed, That if any man, according to the ancient
custome of all the *Boeotians*, would enter into the same league of
Warre with them, hee should come, and bring his Armes to **D**
theirs: supposing the Citie by this meanes, would easily
be drawne to their side. The *Plataeans*, when they perceiued
that the *Thebans* were already entred, and had surprized the
Citie, through feare, and opinion that more were entred
then indeed were, (for they could not see them in the
night) came to composition, and accepting the condi-
tion, rested quiet; and the rather, for that they had
yet done no man harme. But whilest that these things
were treating, they obserued that the *Thebans* were not
many, and thought that if they should set vpon them, **E**
they might easily haue the victory. For the *Plataean* Com-
mons

A mons were not willing to haue revolted from the *Athenians*. Wherefore it was thought fit to vndertake the matter; and they vnited themselues, by digging through the Common Wall, betweene house and house, that they might not be discovered as they passed the Streets. They also placed Carts in the Streets (without the Castell that drew them) to serue them instead of a Wall; and euery other thing they put in readinesse, as they feuerally seemed necessary for the present enterprize. When all things according to their meanes, were ready, they marched from

B their Houses, towards the enemies; taking their time whilest it was yet night, and a little before breake of day; because they would not haue to charge them, when they should bee emboldned by the light, and on equall termes, but when they should by night bee terrified, and inferiour to them in knowledge of the places of the Citie. So they forthwith set vpon them, and came quickly vp to hand-strokes. And the *Thebans* seeing this, and finding they were deceiued, cast themselues into a round figure, and beat them backe in that part where the assault was made:

C and twice or thrice they repulsed them: But at last, when both the *Platians* themselues charged them with a great clamour, and their Wiues also and Families shouted, and screeched from the Houses, and withall threw stones and Tyles amongst them; the night hauing beene also very wet, they were afraid, and turned their backs, and fled heere and there about the Cittie; ignorant for the most part, in the darke and durt, of the wayes out, by which they should haue beene saued (for this accident fell out vpon the change of the Moone)

D and pursued by such as were well acquainted with the wayes to keepe them in; insomuch as the greatest part of them perished. The Gate by which they entred, and which onely was left open, a certaine *Platian* shut vp againe, with the head of a Iaueline, which hee thrust into the Staple, in stead of a bolt: so that this way also their passage was stopped. As they were chased vp and downe the City, some climbed the Wall, and cast themselues out, and for the most part dyed; some came to a desert Gate of the City, and with a

E Hatchet giuen them by a Woman, cut the staple, and got forth vnseene: but these were not many: for the

And vnite themselues by digging through the Common Wall, of their Houses.

They assault the *Thebans*.

The *Thebans* fly, but cannot get out.

The *Thebans* penned vp
in a House, which they
entred into, by mistaking
the doore for the City
Gate.

They yeeld to discretion

The whole power of
Thebes came to rescue
their Fellowes.

The *Thebans* seeke to in-
tercept the *Plataeans* in
the Villages.

The *Plataeans* send to the
Thebans, to be gone, and
promise to release their
prisoners.

thing was soone discovered: others againe were slaine, A
dispersed in severall parts of the Citie. But the greatest
part, and those especially who had cast themselues before
into a Ring, happened into a great Edifice, adioyning
to the Wall, the doores whereof being open, they thought
had beene the Gates of the Citie, and that there had beene
a direct way through to the other side. The *Plataeans* see-
ing them now pend vp, consulted whether they should
burne them as they were, by firing the House, or else re-
solve of some other punishment. At length, both these,
and all the rest of the *Thebans* that were straggling in the B
Citie, agreed to yeeld themselues and their Armes to the
Plataeans, at discretion. And this successe had they that
entred into *Plataea*.

But the rest of the *Thebans*, that should with their
whole power haue beene there before day, for feare the
surprize should not succeed with those that were in, came
so late with their ayde, that they heard the newes of
what was done, by the way. Now *Plataea* is from *Thebes*,

70. Furlongs, and they marched the slowlier, for the
raine which had falne the same night. For the Riuer A C
Asopus was swolne so high, that it was not easily passable;

so that what by the foulness of the way, and what by
the difficulty of passing the Riuer, they arrived not, till
their men were already some slaine, and some taken priso-
ners. When the *Thebans* vnderstood how things had gone,
they lay in waite for such of the *Plataeans* as were without:
(for there were abroad in the Villages, both men, and
household stuffe, as was not vnlikely, the euill happening
vnexpectedly, and in time of peace;) desiring, if they
could take any Prisoners, to keepe them for exchange for D

those of theirs within, which (if any were so) were saued
aliue. This was the *Thebans* purpose. But the *Plataeans*,

whilest they were yet in Councell, suspecting that some
such thing would be done, and fearing their case without,

sent a Herald vnto the *Thebans*, whom they commanded
to say, That what they had already done, attempting to surprize
their Citie in time of Peace, was done wickedly, and to forbid

them to doe any iniury to those without, and that otherwise they
would kill all those men of theirs that they had aliue; which, if they
would withdraw their forces out of their Territory, they would E

againe restore vnto them. Thus the *Thebans* say, and that
the

A the *Plateans* did sweare it. But the *Plateans* confesse not that they promised to deliuer them presently, but vpon treaty, if they should agree, and deny that they swore it. Vpon this the *Thebans* went out of their Territory; and the *Plateans*, when they had speedily taken in whatsoeuer they had in the Countrey, immediately slew their Prisoners. They that were taken were 180. and *Eurymachus*, with whom the Traytors had practised, was one. When they had done, they sent a Messenger to *Athens*, and gaue truce to the *Thebans* to fetch away the bodies of their dead, and ordered the City as was thought conuenient for the present occasion.

The newes of what was done, comming straightway to *Athens*, they instantly laid hands on all the *Bæotians* then in *Attica*, and sent an Officer to *Platea*, to forbid their further proceeding with their *Theban* Prisoners, till such time as they also should haue aduised of the matter: for they were not yet aduertised of their putting to death. For the first Messenger was sent away when the *Thebans* first entred the Towne; and the second, when they were ouercome, and taken prisoners. But of what followed after, they knew nothing. So that the *Athenians* when they sent, knew not what was done, and the Officer arriuing, found that the men were already slaine. After this, the *Athenians* sending an Armie to *Platea*, victualled it, and left a Garrison in it, and tooke thence both the Women and Children, and also such men as were vnseruiceable for the Warre.

This action falling out at *Platea*, & the Peace now cleerly dissolued, the *Athenians* prepared themselues for Warre; so also did the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates; intending on either part to send Ambassadors to the * King, and to other *Barbarians*, wherefoeuer they had hope of succours; and contracting Leagues with such Cities as were not vnder their owne command. The * *Lacedæmonians*, besides those Gallies which they had in *Italy* and *Sicily*, of the Cities that tooke part with them there, were ordered to furnish, proportionably to the greatnesse of their seuerall Cities, so many more, as the whole number might amount to 500. Sayle, and to prouide a Summe of money assessed, and in other things not to stirre farther, but to receiue the *Athenians*, comming but with one Gally at once,

The *Thebans* goe off, and the *Plateans* fetch in their men and goods, and kill their prisoners.

The *Athenians* lay hands on such *Bæotians* as were in *Attica*.

They victuall *Platea*, and put a Garrison into it, and take out their vn-necessary people.

Preparation of both sides for the Warre.

* of Persia.

* The *Lacedæmonian* League, or *Lacedæmonian* party, not particularly that State.

once, till such time as the same should be ready. The *Athenians* on the other side, surprized their present Confederates, and sent Ambassadors to those places that lay about *Peloponnesus*, as *Coreyra*, *Cephalonia*, *Acarnania*, and *Zacynthus*, knowing that as long as these were their friends, they might with the more security make Warre round about vpon the Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

Neither side conceiued small matters, but put their whole strength to the Warre. And not without reason. For all men in the beginnings of enterprises, are the most eager. Besides, there were then in *Peloponnesus* many youngmen, B and many in *Athens*, who for want of experience, not unwillingly vndertooke the Warre. And not onely the rest of *Greece* stood at gaze, to behold the two principall States in Combate, but many * Prophecies were told, and many * sung by the Priests of the Oracles, both in the Cities about to warre, and in others.

There was also a little before this, an Earthquake in *Delos*, which in the memory of the *Grecians*, neuer shooke before; and was interpreted for, and seemed to bee a signe of what was to come afterwards to passe. And whatsoever C thing then chanced of the same nature, it was all sure to bee enquired after. But mens affections for the most part went with the *Lacedemonians*; and the rather, for that they gaue out, they would recouer the *Grecians* liberty. And euery man, both priuate and publike person, endeououred as much as in them lay, both in word and deede to asist them; and thought the businesse so much hindred, as himself was not present at it. In such passiō were most men against the *Athenians*; some for desire to be deliuered from vnder their gouernment, and others for feare of falling into D it. And these were the preparations and affections brought vnto the Warre.

But the Confederates of either party, which they had when they began it, were these: The *Lacedemonians* had all *Peloponnesus* within the Isthmus, except the *Argiues* and *Achaens*: (for these were in amity with both, saue that the *Pellenians* at first, onely of all *Achaia*, tooke their part; but afterwards all the rest did so likewise) and without *Peloponnesus*, the *Megareans*, *Locrians*, *Bæotians*, *Phocians*, *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and *Anætorians*. Of which the *Corinthians*, *Megareans*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciotes*, and E

Prophecies and Oracles preceding the Warre.

* *Δόξα* Prophecies in Verse.

* *ὕμνος*, Song. For these Prophecies which the Oracles deliuered by their Priests, were in verse, and were not called *Δόξα*, but *ῥήματα*.

The affections of the *Grecians* to ward: the combatant States.

The Confederates of the *Lacedemonians*.

A and *Leucadians* found Shipping. The *Bœotians*, *Phœacians*, and *Locrians*, *Horsemen*; and the rest of the Cities, *Footmen*. And these were the Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Athenian* Confederates were these: The *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Platæans*, the *Messenians* in *Naupactus*, most of the *Acaruanians*, the *Corcyreans*, *Zacynthians*, and other Cities their Tributaries amongst those Nations. Also that part of *Caria* which is on the Sea Coast, and the *Doreans* adioyning to them, *Ionians*, *Hellepont*, the Cities bordering on *Thrace*, all the Islands from *Peloponnesus* to *Crete* on the East, and all the rest of the *Cyclades*, except *Melos* and *Thera*.
B Of these the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and *Corcyreans* found Gallies; the rest *Footmen* and money. These were their Confederates, and the preparation for the Warre on both sides.

The Confederates of the Athenians.

The *Lacedæmonians*, after the businesse of *Platæa*, sent Messengers presently vp and downe *Peloponnesus*, and to their Confederates without, to haue in readinesse their Forces, and such things as should bee necessary for a Forraigne expedition, as intending the inuasion of *Attica*. And when they were all ready, they came to the Rendezuous in the *Isthmus*, at a day appointed, two thirds of the Forces of euery Citie. When the whole Army was gotten together, *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, General of the Expedition, called together the Commanders of the seuerall Cities, and such as were in authority, and most worthy to bee present, and spake vnto them as followeth.

The Lacedæmonian league meete in the *Isthmus*, inuade *Attica*.

THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

D **M**En of *Peloponnesus*, and Confederates, not onely our Fathers haue had many Warres, both within and without *Peloponnesus*, but wee our selues also, (such as are any thing in yeeres, haue beene sufficiently acquainted therewith; yet did wee neuer before set forth with so great a preparation as at this present. And now, not onely wee are a numerous and puissant Armye that inuade, but the State also is puissant, that is inuaded by vs. Wee haue reason therefore to shew our selues, neither worse then our Fathers, nor short of the opinion conceiued of our selues. For all
E Greece, is vp at this Commotion, obseruing vs: and through their hatred to the Athenians, doe wish that we may accomplish what soeuer

The Oration of Archidamus in the Councell of Warre, in the Army of the League.

whatsoever wee intend. And therefore though wee seeme to invade them with a great Army, and to haue much assurance, that they will not come out against vs, to battell, yet wee ought not for this, to march the lesse carefully prepared, but of euery City, as well the Captaine, as the Souldier, to expect alwayes some danger or other, in that part wherein bee himselfe is placed. For the accidents of Warre are vncertaine; and for the most part the Onset begins from the lesser number, and vpon passion. And oftentimes the lesser number, being afraid, hath beaten backe the greater with the more ease, for that through contempt they haue gone vnprepared. And in the Land of an Enemie, though the Souldiers ought alwaies to haue bold hearts, yet for action, they ought to make their preparations, as if they were afraid. For that will giue them both more courage to goe vpon the enemy, and more safety in fighting with him. But wee invade not now a Citie that cannot defend it selfe, but a Citie euery way well appointed. So that wee must by all meanes expect to be fought withall, though not now, because we be not yet there, yet hereafter, when they shall see vs in their Countrey, wasting and destroying their possessions: For all men, when in their owne fight, and on a sudden, they receiue any extraordinary hurt, fall presently into choler; and the lesse they consider, with the more stomach they assault. And this is likely to hold in the Athenians somewhat more then in others; for they thinke themselues worthy to haue the command of others, and to inuade and waste the territory of their neighbours, rather then to see their neighbours waste theirs. Wherefore, as being to Warre against a great Citie, and to procure, both to your Ancestours and your selues, a great fame, eyther good or bad, as shall bee the event; follow your Leaders in such sort, as aboue all things you esteeme of order and watchfulnesse. For there is nothing in the world more comely, nor more safe, then when many men are seene to obserue one and the same order.

Archidamus sends before him an Ambassadour to the Athenians,

And tryes all other meanes to right his Country, before Warre.

Archidamus hauing thus spoken, and dismissed the Councell, first sent Melesippus, the Sonne of Diacritus, a man of Sparta, to Athens, to try if the Athenians, seeing them now on their iourney, would yet in some degree remit of their obstinacy. But the Athenians neither receiued him into their Citie, nor presented him to the State: for the opinion of Pericles had already taken place, not to receiue from the Lacedæmonians neither Herald nor Ambassadour, as long as their Armie was abroad. Therefore they sent him backe without audience, with commandment to be out of their

A their borders the selfe-same day; and that hereafter if they would any thing with them, they should returne euery one to his home, and send their Ambassadors from thence. They sent with him also certaine persons, to conuoy him out of the Countrey, to the end that no man should conferre with him: who when hee came to the limits, and was to bee dismissed, vttered these words: *This day is the beginning of much euill vnto the Grecians: and so departed.*

B When hee returned to the Campe, Archidamus perceiuing that they would not relent, dislodged, and marched on with his Armie into their Territory. The *Bæotians* with their appointed part, and with Horsemen, ayded the *Peloponnesians*; but with the rest of their Forces, went and wasted the Territorie of *Plataea*.

C Whilest the *Peloponnesians* were comming together in the *Isthmus*, and when they were on their March, before they brake into *Attica*, *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, (who with nine others was Generall of the *Athenians*) when he saw they were about to breake in, suspecting that *Archidamus*, either of priuate courtesie, or by command of the *Lacedæmonians*, to bring him into ieaiousie (as they had before for his sake commanded the excommunication) might oftentimes leaue his Lands vntouched, told the *Athenians* before-hand in an Assembly, *That though Archidamus had beene his guest, it was for no ill to the State, and howsoeuer; if the Enemie did not waste his Lands and Houses, as well as the rest, that then hee gaue them to the Common wealth. And therefore desired That for this hee might not bee suspected.* Also hee aduised them concerning the businesse in hand, the same things hee had done before, *That they should make preparation for the Warre, and receiue their goods into the City; that they should not goe out to Battell, but come into the City, and guard it. That they should also furnish out their Navy, wherein consisted their power, and hold a carefull hand ouer their Confederates, telling them, how that in the money that came from these, lay their strength, and that the Victory in Warre consisted wholly in Counsell, and store of money. Further, hee bade them bee confident, in that there was yeerely comming in to the State, from the Confederates, for Tribute, besides other reuenue* * 600. Talents, and remaining yet then in the Citadell

E * 6000. Talents of siluer coine. (for the greatest summe there had beene, was * 10000. Talents, wanting 300. out of

The Ambassadors from Archidamus conuoyed backe without Contention.

Archidamus marcheth forward.

Pericles imagining Archidamus might spare his grounds, promiseth, if he did, to giue them to the State.

The speech of Pericles to the Assembly at Athens, touching the means of the Warre, &c.

The Treasure of the people of Athens.

* 600. Talents, if our money about 112500. pounds.

* 6000 Talents, if our money about 1125000. pounds.

* 9700. Talents, 1812750. pounds sterling.

which was taken that which had beene expended vpon A
the Gate-houses of the Cittadell, and vpon other build-
ings, and for the charges of Potidea.) Besides the uncony-
ned gold and siluer of priuate and publike Offerings; and all the dedicated
Vessels, belonging to the Shewes and Games, and the spoiles of the Per-
sian, and other things of that nature, which amounted to no lesse then
* 500. Talents. Hee added further, that much money might bee
had out of other Temples without the Citie, which they might vse;
And if they were barred the vse of all these, they might yet vse the
ornaments of gold about the * Goddesse herselfe; and said, that the I-
mage had about it, the weight of * 40. Talents of most pure Gold, and B
which might all bee taken off; but hauing made vse of it for their
safety, hee said, they were to make restitution of the like quantity
again. Thus hee encouraged them, touching matter of
money. Men of Armes he said they had 13,000. besides the 16,000.
that were employed for the guard of the Citie, and vpon the Walles,
(for so many at the first kept watch at the comming in of
the Enemy, young and old together, and Strangers that
dwelt amongst them, as many as could beare Armes.) For
the length of the Phalerian Wall, to that part of the cir-
cumference of the Wall of the City where it ioyned, was C
35. Furlongs; and that part of the circumference which
was guarded (for some of it was not kept with a Watch,
namely the part betweene the Long Walles and the Phaleri-
an) was 42. Furlongs: and the length of the Long-Walles
downe to Piræus, (of which there was a Watch onely on
the outmost) was 40. Furlongs: and the whole compasse
of Piræus, together with Munychia, was 60. Furlongs,
(whereof that part that was watched, was but halfe.) He
said further, they had of Horsemen, accounting Archers on horse-
backe, 1200, and 1600. Archers, and of Gallies fit for the Sea, D
300. All this and no lesse had the Athenians, when the in-
vasion of the Peloponnesians was first in hand, and when
the warre beganne. These and other words spake Pericles,
as hee vsed to doe, for demonstration, that they were
likely to outlast this Warre.

When the Athenians had heard him, they approued of
his words, and fetcht into the Citie their Wiues and Chil-
dren, and the furniture of their houses, pulling downe the
very Timber of the houses themselues. Their sheepe and
Oxen they sent ouer into Eubœa, and into the Islands ouer E
against them. Neuerthelesse this remouall, in respect
they

* 500. Talents. 93750.
pound.

* Minerua.

* The weight of 40. Talents
in gold, at 3. pound an ounce,
comes to 9000. pound.

The length of the walles
to which the Watchmen
were appointed.

Their Gallies.

The Athenians fetch in
their Wiues and Chil-
dren and substance into
the Citie.

A they had most of them beene accustomed to the Countrey life, grieved them very much.

This custome was from great antiquity, more familiar with the *Athenians*, then any other of the rest of *Greece*. For in the time of *Cecrops*, and the first Kings, downe to *Theseus*, the Inhabitants of *Attica* had their severall * Bourghes, and therein their * Common-Halles, and their Gouvernours; and, vnlesse they were in feare of some danger, went not together to the King for aduice, but euery City administred their owne affaires, and deliberated by themselves. And

B some of them had also their particular Warres, as the *E-leusinians*, who ioyned with *Eumolpus* against * *Eretheus*. But after *Theseus* came to the Kingdome, one who besides his wisdom, was also a man of very great power; hee not onely set good order in the Countrey in other respects, but also dissolued the Councils and Magistracies of the rest of the Townes; and assigning them all one Hall, and one Councell-house, brought them all to cohabite in the Citie that now is; and contrained them, enioying their owne as before, to * vse this one for their Citie, which (now,

C when they all paid their duties to it) grew great, and was by *Theseus* so deliuered to posterity. And from that time to this day, the *Athenians* keepe a holiday at the publique charge to the * Goddesse, and call it * *Synecia*. That which is now the Cittadell, and the part which is to the South of the Cittadell, was before this time the Citie. An argument whereof is this, That the Temples of the Gods are all set either in the Cittadell it selfe; or, if without, yet in that quarter. As, that of *Iupiter Olympius*, and of *Apollo Pythius*, and of *Tellus*, and of *Bacchus* in *Lymnae*, (in honour of

D whom, the old * *Bacchanals* were celebrated on the twelfth day of the moneth of * *Anthesterion*, according as the *Ionians*, who are deriued from *Athens*, doe still obserue them) besides other ancient Temples situate in the same part. Moreouer, they serued themselves with water for the best vses, of the Fountaine, which, now the *Nine-pipes*, built so by the Tyrants, was formerly, when the Springs were open, called *Callirœe*, and was neere. And from the old custome, before Marriages, and other holy Rites, they ordaine the vse of the same water to this day. And the

E Cittadell, from the ancient habitation of it, is also by the *Athenians* still called the Citie.

The *Athenians* accustomed ever to live in the Countrey.

* *Δῆμος*.

* *ἑστία*. *Civ. Guild-Houses*, places where the *Athenians* administered the State & where: were also courts, for common cause and service, were common diet, and where a Vestal was worshipped, and a light continually burned; from whence thence derive the name, making *ἑστία* & *ἑστία* quasi *ἑστία* *ἑστία*.

* *Κῆρυξ* of the *Athenians*. *Theseus* first brought the inhabitants of *Attica* to make *Athens* their capital Citie.

* Not that they must needs dwell in it, but make it the seat of the government, and pay their duties to it. This caused the Cite to grow such populous and potent, became now the whole Nation mixed into one Cite, made up of the Sea, which deniued they could not have done.

* *Μινέρυα*.

* *Κοιτίστας*.

* There were in *Athens* 3 *Bacchanals*; whereof one of *Bacchus* in *Lymnae* (that is, in the *Marisco*) was principall; another were the *Rural Bacchanals*, and the third the *City Bacchanals*. * This Month fell about our January, and was the second of their winter quarter.

The Athenians remoue
out of the Borough
Townes into the Citie,
vnwillingly.

^a Athens, Chappels, Ho-
bels gods.

Athen thronged with
the comming in of the
Country.

^b Men supposed to be gotten
betwene a Deity and a Mor-
tall, or such as exceed the
rest of men by many degrees
in Magnanimity.

^c Eleusium, a Temple
in Athens, used with great
religion.

^d Pelasgicum, a place by the
Citadell, where the Pelas-
gians once fortified them-
selves against the Athe-
nians, and for that cause
there was laid a curse upon
the habitation of it. Paul. in
Atticis.

An old Prophecy against
dwelling in the Pelasgion.

The Athenians make rea-
dy 100. Gallies to send
about Peloponnesus.

The Peloponnesians Armie
assault Genoe, a frontier
Towne of Attica, in vain.

The Athenians therefore had liued a long time, gouerned A
by Lawes of their owne in the Countrey Townes; and
after they were brought into one, were neuertheless (both
for the custome which most had, as well of the ancient
time, as since, till the Persian Warre, to liue in the Coun-
treys with their whole families; and also especially, for
that since the Persian Warre, they had already repayed
their Houses and furniture) vnwilling to remoue. It pres-
sed them likewise, and was heauily taken, besides their
Houses, to leaue the ^a things that pertained to their Re-
ligion, (which, since their old forme of gouernment, were B
become patriall,) and to change their manner of life, and
to bee no better then banished euery man his Citie. After
they came into Athens, there was habitation for a few, and
place of retire, with some friends or kindred. But the
greatest part seated themselues in the empty places of the
City, and in Temples, and in all the Chappells of the
^b Heroes, (sauiug in such as were in the Cittadell, and the
^c Eleusium, and other places strongly shut vp.) The ^d Pe-
lasgicum also, vnder the Cittadell, though it were a thing
accursed to dwell in it, and forbidden by the end of a verse C
in a Pythian Oracle, in these words, — *Best is the Pelasgi-
con empty*, was neuertheless for the present necessity in-
habited. And in my opinion, this Prophecie now fell out
contrary to what was lookt for. For the vnlawfull dwel-
ling there, caused not the calamities that befell the Citie,
but the Warre caused the necessity of dwelling there:
which Warre the Oracle not naming, foretold onely, that
it should one day bee inhabited vnfortunately. Many al-
so furnished the Turrets of the Walles, and whatsoever
other place they could any of them get. For when they D
were come in, the Citie had not place for them all: But
afterwards they had the Long-Walles diuided amongst
them, and inhabited there, and in most parts of Piræu.
Withall they applyed themselues to the businesse of the
Warre, leuying their Confederates, and making ready a
hundred Gallies to send about Peloponnesus. Thus were
the Athenians preparing.

The Armie of the Peloponnesians marching forward,
came first to Oenoe, a Towne of Attica, the place where
they intended to breake in; and encamping before it, pre- E
pared with Engines, and by other meanes, to assault the
Wall.

A Wall. For *Oenoe* lying on the Confines betweene *Attica* and *Boeotia*, was walled about, and the *Athenians* kept a Garrison in it for defence of the Countrey, when at any time there should bee Warre. For which cause they made preparation for the assault of it, and also spent much time about it otherwise.

And *Archidamus* for this was not a little taxed, as thought to haue bin both slow in gathering together the forces for the Warre, and also to haue fauoured the *Athenians*, in that he encouraged not the Army to a forwardnesse in it. And

Archidamus taxed of backwardnesse, and inuolunt to the *Athenians*.

B afterwards likewise, his stay in the *Isthmus*, and his slownesse in the whole iourney, was laid to his charge, but especially his delay at *Oenoe*. For in this time the *Athenians* retired into the Citie: whereas it was thought, that the *Peloponnesians* marching speedily, might but for his delay, haue taken them all without. So passionate was the Armie of *Archidamus*, for his stay before *Oenoe*. But expecting that the *Athenians*, whilest their Territory was yet unhurt, would relent, and not endure to see it wasted, for that cause (as it is reported) hee held his hand. But after, when they had as-

C faulted *Oenoe*, and tryed all meanes, but could not take it, and seeing the *Athenians* sent no Herald to them, then at length arising from thence, about 80. dayes after that which happened to the *Thebans* that entred *Plataea*, the Summer, and Corne being now at the highest, they fell into *Attica*; led by *Archidamus*, the sonne of *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*. And when they had pitched their Campe, they fell to wasting of the Countrey, first about *Eleusis*, and then in the plaine of *Thriasia*; and put to flight a few *Athenian* Horsemen, at the Brookes called

Archidamus with his Army entred into *Attica*.

D *Rheiti*. After this, leauing the *Ægaleon* on the right hand, they passed through *Cecropia*, till they came vnto *Acharnas*, which is the greatest towne in all *Attica*, of those that are called * *Demoi*; and pitching there, both fortified their Campe, and staid a great while wasting the Countrey thereabout.

And comes to *Acharnas*, and staves there long, cutting downe their Corne and Trees.
* Buttroughes.

Archidamus was said to haue staid so long at *Acharnas*, with his Armie in Battell array, and not to haue come downe all the time of his invasion, into the Champaigne, with this intention: Hee hoped that the *Athenians* slow-

The Designe of *Archidamus* staying so long at *Acharnas*.

E rising in number of young men, and better furnished for Warre, then euer they were before, would perhaps haue come

come

come forth againſt him, and not endured to ſee their fields A
cut downe and waſted; and therefore ſeeing they met him
not in *Thriaſia*, hee thought good to try if they would
come out againſt him lying now at *Acharnas*. Belides, the
place ſeemed vnto him commodious for the Army to lye
in; and it was thought alſo that the *Acharnans* beeing a
great piece of the Citie (for they were 3000. men of
Armes) would not haue ſuffered the ſpoiling of their
Lands, but rather haue vrged all the reſt to goe out and
fight. And if they came not out againſt him at this inua-
ſion, they might hereafter more boldly, both waſte the B
Champagne Countrey, and come downe euen to the
Wallies of the Citie. For the *Acharnans*, after they ſhould
haue loſt their owne, would not bee ſo forward to hazard
themſelues for the goods of other men: But there would
bee thoughts of Sedition in one towards another in the
Citie. Theſe were the cogitations of *Archidamus*, whileſt he
lay at *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians*, as long as the Armie of the Enemy lay
about *Eleuſis*, and the Fields of *Thrius*, and as long as they
had any hope it would come on no further, (remembring C
that alſo *Pliſtoanax* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, King of *Lacedae-
mon*, when 14. yeeres before this Warre, hee entred *Attica*
with an Armie of the *Peloponneſians*, as farre as *Eleuſis*, and
Thriaſia, retired againe, and came no further; for which
hee was alſo baniſhed *Sparta*, as thought to haue gone
backe for money) they ſtirred not. But when they ſaw
the Army now at *Acharnas*, but 60. Furlongs from the
Citie, then they thought it no longer to bee endured; and
when their Fields were waſted (as it was likely) in their
fight, (which the yonger ſort had neuer ſcene before, nor D
the elder, but in the *Perſian* Warre) it was taken for a hor-
rible matter; and thought fit, by all, eſpecially by the
youth, to goe out, and not to endure it any longer. And
holding Councels apart one from another, they were at
much contention, ſome to make a ſally, and ſome to hinder
it. And the Priests of the Oracles, giuing out Prophe-
cies of all kindes, euery one made the interpretation accor-
ding to the ſway of his owne affection. But the *Acharnans*
conceiuing themſelues to bee no ſmall part of the *Athenians*,
were they that whileſt their owne Lands were waſting, E
moſt of all vrged their going out. Inſomuch as the Citie
was

The *Athenians* hardly
containe themſelues
from going out to
fight.

A was euery way in tumult, and in choler against *Pericles*, remembring nothing of what hee had formerly admonished them; but reuiled him, for that being their Generall, hee refused to leade them into the Field, and imputing vnto him the cause of all their euill: but *Pericles* seeing them in passion for their present losse, and ill aduised, and being confident hee was in the right touching not sallying, assembled them not, nor called any Councell, for feare lest being together, they might vpon passion rather then iudgement commit some error: But looked to the guarding of the Citie, and as much as hee could, to keepe it in quiet. Neuerthelesse he continually sent out Horle-men, to keepe the Scowts of the Armie from entring vpon, and doing hurt to the Fields neere the Citie. And there happened at *Phrygi* a small Skirmish, between one troope of Horle of the *Athenians* (with whom were also the *Thessalians*) and the Horlemen of the *Bæotians*; wherein the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* had not the worse, till such time as the *Bæotians* were ayded by the comming in of their men of Armes, and then they were put to flight, and a few of the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* slaine; whose bodies notwithstanding they fetcht off the same day, without leaue of the Enemie: and the *Peloponnesians* the next day erected a Trophie. This ayde of the *Thessalians* was vpon an ancient League with the *Athenians*, and consisted of *Larissæans*, *Pharsalians*, *Parasians*, *Cranonians*, *Peirasians*, *Gyrtonians*, *Pheareans*. The Leaders of the *Larissæans*, were *Polymedes* and *Arjionus*, men of contrary factions in their Citie. Of the *Pharsalians*, *Meno*. And of the rest, out of the seuerall Cities, seuerall Commanders.

D The *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, dislodging from *Acharnas*, wasted certaine other Villages, betweene the Hills *Parnethus*, and *Brelissus*.

Whilest these were in *Attica*, the *Athenians* sent the hundred Gallies which they had prouided, and in them 1000. men of Armes, and 400. Archers, about *Peloponnesus*; the Commanders whereof were *Charcinus*, the sonne of *Xenotimus*; *Proteus*, the sonne of *Epicles*; and *Socrates*, the sonne of *Antigenes*: who thus furnished, weighed Anchor, and went their way.

E The *Peloponnesians*, when they had staid in *Attica* as long as their prouision lasted, went home through *Bæotia*, not the

A Skirmish betweene the *Athenian* and *Bæotian* Horle.

Archidamus remoues from *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians* send 100. Gallies to infest the Sea-Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

The *Peloponnesians* goe home.

the way they came in; but paſſing by *Oropus*, waſted the **A** Countrey (called *Peiraice* which is of the tillage of the *Oropians*, Subiects to the People of *Athens*; and when they were come backe into *Peloponneſus*, they diſbanded, and went euery man to his owne Citie.

The *Athenians* ſet by 1000 Talents and 100. Gallies, for defence againſt an inuaſion by Sea.

When they were gone, the *Athenians* ordained Watches both by Sea and Land, ſuch as were to continue to the end of the Warre. And made a Decree, to take out a thouſand Talents of the money in the Cittadell, and ſet it by, ſo as it might not bee ſpent, but the charges of the Warre bee borne out of other monies; and made it capitall for any **B** man to moue, or giue his vote for the ſtirring of this money, for any other uſe, but onely (if the Enemy ſhould come with an Armie by Sea to inuade the Citie) for neceſſity of that defence. Together with this money, they likewiſe ſet apart 100. Gallies, and thoſe to be euery yeere the beſt; and Captaines to be appointed ouer them, which were to bee employed for no other uſe then the money was, and for the ſame danger, if need ſhould require.

The *Athenians* aſſault *Methone*.

The *Athenians* that were with the 100. Gallies about *Peloponneſus*, and with them the *Corcyraens* with the ayde **C** of 50. Sayle more, and certaine others of the Confederates thereabout, amongſt other places which they infeſted in their courſe, landed at *Methone*, a Towne of *Laconia*, and aſſaulted it, as being but weake, and few men within. But it chanced that *Brasidas*, the ſonne of *Tellis*, a *Spartan*, had a Garrifon in thoſe parts, and hearing of it, ſuccoured thoſe of the Towne with 100. men of Armes: wherewith running through the *Athenian* Army, diſperſed in the Fields, directly towards the Towne, hee put himſelfe into *Methone*; and with the loſſe of few of his men in the paſſage, **D** hee ſaued the place, and for this aduenture, was the firſt that was praized at *Sparta*, in this Warre. The *Athenians* putting off from thence, ſailed along the Coaſt, and put in at *Pheia*, of *Eliu*, where they ſpent two dayes in waſting the Countrey, and in a Skirmiſh ouerthrew 300. choiſe men of the lower *Eliu*, together with other *Eleans* thereabouts, that came forth to defend it. But the Wind ariſing, and their Gallies being toſſed by the weather, in a harbourleſſe place, the moſt of them imbarqued, and ſayled about the Promontory called *Icthyſ*, into the Hauen **E** of *Pheia*. But the *Meffenians* and certaine others that could

Brasidas defendeth it.

They take *Pheia*, a Towne of *Eliu*.

not

A not get aboard, went by Land to the Towne of *Phia*, and rifled it: and when they had done, the Gallies that now were come about tooke them in, and leauing *Phia*, put forth to Sea againe: by which time a great Army of *Eleans* was come to succour it; but the *Athenians* were now gone away, and walling some other Territory.

About the same time the *Athenians* sent likewise thirty Gallies about * *Locris*, which were to serue also for a Watch about *Eubœa*. Of these, *Cleopompus* the sonne of *Clinis* had the conduct, and landing his Souldiers in diuers
B parts both wasted some places of the Sea-coast, and won the Towne of *Thronium*, of which hee tooke Hostages; and ouercame in fight at *Alope*, the *Locrians* that came out to ayde it.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* put the *Ægineta*, man, woman, and childe, out of *Ægina*, laying to their charge, that they were the principall cause of the present Warre. And it was also thought the safer course to hold *Ægina*, being adjacent to *Peloponnesus*, with a Colonie of their own people; and not long after they sent Inhabitants into the
C same. When the *Ægineta* were thus banished, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them *Thyrea* to dwell in, and the occupation of the Lands belonging vnto it, to liue on; both vpon hatred to the *Athenians*, and for the benefits receiued at the hands of the *Ægineta*, in the time of the Earthquake, and insurrection of their *Helotes*. This Territory of *Thyrea*, is in the border betweene *Argolica* and *Laconia*, and reacheth to the Sea side. So some of them were placed there, and the rest dispersed into other parts of *Greece*.

Also the same Summer, * on the first day of the Mo-
D neth, according to the Moone, (at which time it seemes onely possible) in the afternoone, happened an Eclipse of the Sunne; the which after it had appeared in the forme of a crescent, and withall some Starres had been discerned, came afterwards againe to the former brightnesse.

The same Summer also the *Athenians* made *Nymphodorus* the sonne of *Pythos*, of the Citie of *Abdera*, (whose Sister was married to *Sitalces*, and that was of great power with him) their * Host, though before they tooke him for an
E Enemy, and sent for him to *Athens*, hoping by his meanes to bring *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, into their League. This *Teres*, the Father of *Sitalces*, was the

O

first

* That *Locris* whose Citie is *Oposant* and where the *Locri Ozolæ* dwell.

The inhabitants of *Ægina* removed by the *Athenians*.

And receiued by the *Peloponnesians*.

Eclipse of the Sunne and Starres discerned, * *Pythia* xij. *Thymon*. The first day of the month, according to the Moone, in distinction of the *Moore*. *Cleopompus* though their yeere was *clawne*, yet was it not so exact, as that the *Moore* changed season the first day.

The *Athenians* seeke the fauour of *Sitalces*, King of *Thrace*, and *Perses*, King of *Macedonia*.

* That is, the man at whose house, *Sitalces* when any publick performances to be entertained, came from *Athens* to *Abdera*.

* See the Fable of Teres
and Procne in Ovids
Metam.

* King of Macedon.

Sadocus the Sonne of Si-
talces, King of Thrace,
made a Citizen of Athens
* The Warre about Potidea.

The Athenians take Solium
and Athens, and the Ile
of Cephalonia.

The Athenians invade Me-
saria.

first that advanced the Kingdome of the *Odryfians*, about A
the power of the rest of *Thrace*. For much of *Thrace* con-
sisteth of free States; And * *Teres* that tooke to wife
(out of *Athens*) *Procne* the Daughter of *Pandion*, was no
kinne to this *Teres*, nor of the same part of *Thrace*. But
that *Teres* was of the Citie of *Daulia*, in the Countrey now
called *Phocis*, then inhabited by the *Thracians*. (And the
fact of the Women concerning *Itys* was done there; and
by the Poets, where they mention the Nightingall, that
Bird is also called *Daulias*. And it is more likely that *Pan-
dion* matched his Daughter with this man for vicinity, and B
mutuall succour, then with the other, that was so many
dayes journey off, as to *Odrysa*.) And *Teres*, which is al-
so another name, was the first that seized on the King-
dome of *Odrysa*. Now *Sitalces*, this mans sonne, the *Athe-
nians* got into their League, that they might haue the
Townes lying on *Thrace*, and * *Perdiccas* to bee of their
party. *Nymphodorus*, when hee came to *Athens*, made this
League betweene them and *Sitalces*, and caused *Sadocus*,
the sonne of *Sitalces*, to bee made free of *Athens*, and also
vndertooke to end the Warre in * *Thrace*. For hee would C
perswade *Sitalces* to send vnto the *Athenians*, a *Thracian* Ar-
mie of Horsemen and Targettiers. Hee likewise reconci-
led *Perdiccas* to the *Athenians*, and procured of him the re-
stitution of *Therme*. And *Perdiccas* presently ayded the *A-
thenians* and *Phormio*, in the Warre against the *Chalcideans*.
Thus were *Sitalces*, the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, and
Perdiccas the sonne of *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, made
Confederates with the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* being yet with their hundred Gallies a-
bout *Peloponnesus*, tooke *Solium*, a Towne that belonged to D
the *Corinthians*, and put the *Palirense*s onely of all the *Acar-
nians*, into the possession both of the Towne and Terri-
torie. Having also by force taken *Astacus*, from the Ty-
rant *Euarchus*, they draue him thence, and ioyned the place
to their League. From thence they sayled to *Cephalonia*,
and subdued it without battell. This *Cephalonia* is an I-
land lying ouer against *Acarnania*, and *Leucas*, and hath in
it these foure Cities, the *Pallenses*, *Cranij*, *Samei*, and *Pronai*.
And not long after returned with the Fleet to *Athens*.

About the end of the Autumne of this Summer, the E
Athenians, both themselues, and the Strangers that dwelt
amongst

A amongst them, with the whole power of the Citie, vnder the conduct of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, inuaded the Territory of *Megara*. And those *Athenians* likewise that had beene with the hundred Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, in their returne (being now at *Egina*) hearing that the whole power of the Citie was gone into * *Megaris*, went and ioy-
 ned with them. And this was the greatest Armie that euer the *Athenians* had together in one place before; the Citie being now in her strength, and the Plague not yet amongst them; (For the *Athenians* of themselues were no lesse then 10000. men of Armes, (besides the 3000. at *Potidea*) and the Strangers that dwelt amongst them, and accompanied them in this inuasion, were no fewer then 3000. men of Armes more, besides other great numbers of light-armed Souldiers. And when they had wasted the greatest part of the Countrey, they went backe to *Athens*. And afterwards, yeere after yeere, during this Warre, the *Athenians* often inuaded *Megaris*, sometimes with their Horsemen, and sometimes with their whole Armie, vntill such time as they had wonne * *Nisæa*.

C Also in the end of this Summer, they fortified *Atalante*, an Iland lying vpon the *Locrians* of *Opus*; desolate till then, for a Garrison against Theeues, which passing ouer from *Opus*, and other parts of *Locris*, might annoy *Eubœa*. These were the things done this Summer, after the retreat of the *Peloponnesians* out of *Attica*.

The Winter following, *Euarchus* of *Acarnania*, desirous to returne to *Astacus*, pretiaileth with the *Corinthians*, to goe thither with 40. Gallies, and 1500. men of Armes, to re-establish him; to which he hired also certaine other
 D Mercenaries for the same purpose. The Commanders of this Armie were *Euphamidas* the sonne of *Aristonymus*, *Timoxenes* the sonne of *Timocrates*, and *Eumachus* the sonne of *Chrysis*. When they had re-established him, they endeououred to draw to their party some other places on the the Sea-Coast of *Arcanania*, but missing their purpose, they set sayle homeward. As they passed by the Coast of *Cephalonia*, they disbarqued in the Territoty of the *Cranij*, where, vnder colour of Composition, they were deceiued, and lost some part of their Forces. For the assault made
 E vpon them by the *Cranij*, being vnexpected, they got off, with much adoe, and went home.

* The Territory of *Megara*.

The *Athenians* greatest Armie.

The *Athenians* duely once a yeere inuade *Megaris*.

* The Arsenal of *Megara*.

The end of the first Summer.

Euarchus the Tyrant recouereth *Astacus*.

The manner of the Athenians, in burying the bones of the first slain in the Warres.

* The person was taken as made, to carry him, and the Buriall after was only of his bones, or (the powder of them) his ashes.

* Offspring, income, and value of burials.

* To his owne friends alone.

* The Ceramicum.

* By the first slain in the Warre, is understood either the first every where in the same Warre, or else the several actions of this great Warre, are counted as several Warres, and so the first slain in any of them, had the honour of this buriall.

The same Winter the Athenians, according to their ancient custome, solemnized a publike Funerall of the first slain in this Warre, in this manner: Having set vp a Tent, they put into it the * bones of the dead, three dayes before the Funerall, and euery one bringeth * whatsoever he thinkes good to his * owne. When the day comes of carrying them to their buriall, certaine Cypresse Coffins are carried along in Carts, for euery Tribe one, in which are the bones of the men of euery Tribe by themselves. There is likewise borne an empty Hearse couered ouer, for such as appeare not, nor were found amongst the rest B when they were taken vp. The Funerall is accompanied by any that will, whether Citizen or Stranger; and the Women of their Kindred are also by at the buriall, lamenting and mourning. Then they put them into a publike Monument, which standeth in the fairest * Suburbs of the Citie, (in which place they haue euer interred all that dyed in the Warres, except those that were slain in the Fields of *Marathon*; who, because their vertue was thought extraordinary, were therefore buried there-right) and when the earth is throwne ouer them, some one, thought to exceede the rest in wisdom and dignity, chosen by the Citie, maketh an Oration, wherein hee giueth them such praises as are fit: which done, the Companie depart: And this is the forme of that Buriall; and for the * whole time of the Warre, whensoever there was occasion, they obserued the same. For these first, the man chosen to make the Oration, was *Pericles*, the sonne of *Xantippus*, who when the time serued, going out of the place of buriall into a high Pulpit. to be heard the further off by the multitude D about him, spake vnto them in this manner:

THE FVNERALL ORATION made by PERICLES.

THough most that haue spoken formerly in this place, haue commended the man that added this Oration to the Law, as honourable for those that dye in the Warres; yet to mee it seemeth sufficient, that they who haue shewed their valour by action, should also by an action haue their honour, as now you see they haue, in this E their sepulture performed by the State; and not to haue the vertue of many

A many hazarded on one, to be beleueed as that one shall make a good or bad Oration. For, to speake of men in a iust measure, is a hard matter; and though one do so, yet he shall hardly get the truth firmly beleueed. the fauourable hearer, and hee that knowes what was done, will perhaps thinke what is spoken, short of what hee would haue it, and what it was; and hee that is ignorant, will finde somewhat on the other side, which hee will thinke too much extolled; especially if hee heare ought about the pitch of his owne nature. For to heare another man praised, findes patience so long onely, as each man shall thinke he could himselfe haue done somewhat of that hee heares. And if one exceed in their praises, the hearer presently through enuie thinks it false.

B But since our Ancestors haue so thought good, I also, following the same ordinance, must endeuour to be answerable to the desires and opinions of euery one of you, as farre forth as I can. I will beginne at our Ancestours, being a thing both iust and honest, that to them first bee giuen the honour of remembrance in this kinde: For they hauing beene alwayes the inhabitants of this Region, by their valour haue deliuered the same to succession of posterity, hitherto, in the state of liberty: For which they deserue commendation; but our Fathers deserue yet more; for that besides what descended on them, not

C without great labour of their owne, they haue purchased this our present Dominion, and deliuered the same ouer to vs that now are. Which in a great part also, wee our selues, that are yet in the strength of our age here present, haue enlarged; and so furnished the Citie with euery thing, both for peace and warre, as it is now allsufficient in it selfe. The actions of Warre, whereby all this was attained, and the deedes of Armes, both of our selues and our Fathers, in valiant opposition to the Barbarians, or Grecians, in their Warres against vs, amongst you that are well acquainted with the summe, to auoide prolixity, I will passe ouer. But by what institutions wee arrived at this, by what

D forme of government and by what meanes we haue aduanced the State to this greatnesse, when I shall haue laide open this, I will then descend to these mens praises. For I thinke they are things both fit for the purpose in hand, and profitable to the whole company, both of Citizens and Strangers, to heare related. Wee haue a forme of government, not fetched by imitation from the Lawes of our neighbouring States, (nay, wee are rather a patterne to others, then they to vs) which, because in the administration, it hath respect, not to a few, but to the multitude, is called a Democracie. Wherein though there bee an equality amongst all men in point of Law, for their priuate con-

E tronerisies; yet in conferring of dignities, one man is preferred before another to publique charge, and that according to the reputation, not
of

the *ἰσότης*, a part. But here he means a part or family in the common wealth. Carping secretly at the Lacedæmonians, that had none came to the supreme Office, but the Heracleides.

"He glanceth againe at the
Lacedæmonians, because
they ever looked severely on
soft and loose behaviour.

The *Athenians* had Sacrifices and Games, publick or private, for every day of the year.

* This is spoken with enmity to-
wards the Lacedæmonians
that prohibited Strangers to
dwell amongst them.

of his * House, but of his Vertue, and is not put backe through power-
 tie, for the obscurity of his person, as long as hee can doe good seruice
 to the Common wealth. And we liue not onely free in the administra-
 tion of the State, but also one with another, voyd of ieaiousie, touching
 each others daily course of life; not offended at any man for following
 his owne humour, nor casting on any man * censorious lookes, which
 though they bee no punishment, yet they grieve. So that conuersing
 one with another for the priuate without offence, wee stand chiefly in
 feare to transgresse against the publike; and are obedient alwayes to
 those that gouerne, and to the Lawes, and principally to such Lawes as
 are Written for protection against iniurie, and such vñwritten, as
 bring vñdeniable shame to the transgressours. Wee haue also found
 out many wayes to giue our mindes recreation from labour, by publike
 institution of Games and Sacrifices for all the dayes of the yeere, with
 a decent pompe and furniture of the same by priuate men; by the daily
 delight whereof, wee expell sadnesse. Wee haue this further, by the
 greatnesse of our City, that all things, from all parts of the Earth are
 imported hither; whereby we no lesse familiarly enioy the commodities
 of all other Nations, then our owne. Then in the studies of Warre,
 wee excell our Enemies in this: wee leaue our Citie open to all men,
 nor was it euer seene, that by * banishing of strangers, we denyed them
 the learning or sight of any of those things, which if not hidden, an E-
 nemie might reape aduantage by, not relying on secret preparation and
 deceit, but vpon our owne courage in the action. They in their dis-
 cipline hunt after valour, presently from their youth, with laborious
 exercise, and yet wee that liue remissely, vndertake as great dangers
 as they. For example, the Lacedæmonians inuade not our domi-
 nion by themselves alone, but with the ayde of all the rest. But when
 wee inuade our neighbours, though wee fight in hostile ground, a-
 gainst such as in their owne ground, fight in defence of their
 owne substance, yet for the most part wee get the victorie. D
 Neuer Enemy yet fell into the hands of our whole Forces at
 once, both because wee apply our selues much to Nauigation, and
 by Land also send many of our men into diuers Countries abroad. But
 when fighting with a part of it, they chance to get the better, they boast
 they haue beaten the whole; and when they get the worse, they say
 they are beaten by the whole. And yet when from ease, rather then
 studious labour, and vpon naturall, rather then doctrinall valour, wee
 come to vndertake any danger, wee haue this oddes by it, that we shall
 not faint before-hand with the meditation of future trouble, and in
 the action wee shall appeare no lesse confident then they that are euer
 toying, procuring admiration to our Citie, as well in this, as in
 diuers

A diuers other things. For we also giue our selues to brauery, and yet with thrift; and to Philosophy, and yet without mollification of the minde. And we vse riches rather for opportunities of action, then for verball ostentation: And hold it not a shame to confesse pover-ty, but not to haue auoided it. Moreover there is in the same men, a care, both of their owne, and of the publick affaires, and a sufficient * knowledge of State matters, euen in those that labour with their hands. For we onely, thinke one that is viterly ignorant therein, to be a man not that meddles with nothing, but that is good for nothing. We likewise, weigh what we undertake, and apprehend it perfectly in our minds; not accounting words for a hindrance of action, but that it is rather a hindrance to action, to come to it without instruction of words before. For also in this we excell others; daring to undertake as much as any, and yet examining what wee undertake; whereas with other men, ignorance makes them dare, and consideration, daunts; and they are most rightly reputed valiant, who though they perfectly apprehend, both what is dangerous, and what is easie, are neuer the more thereby diuerted from aduenturing. Again, we are contrary to most men in matter of bounty. For we purchase our friends, not by receiuing, but by bestowing benefits. And he that bestoweth a good turne, is euer the most constant friend, because hee will not lose the thanks due vnto him, from him whom he bestowed it on. Whereas the friendship of him that oweth a benefit is dull and flat, as knowing his benefit not to be taken for a fauor, but for a debt; So that we onely, doe good to others, not vpon computation of profit, but freeness of trust. In summe, it may be said, both that the City is in generall a Schoole of the Grecians, and that the men here, haue euery one in particular, his person disposed to most diuersity of actions, and yet all with grace and decency. And that this is not now, rather a brauery of words, vpon the occasion, then reall truth, this power of the Citie, which by these institutions we haue obtained, maketh euident. For it is the onely power now found greater in prooffe, then fame; and the onely power, that neither grieveth the invader when he miscarries, with the quality of those he was hurt by, nor giueth cause to the subiected States to murmur, as being in subiection to men unworthy. For both with present and future Ages we shall be in admiration, for a power, not without testimony, but made euident by great arguments, and which needeth not either a Homer to praise it, or any other such, whose Poems may indeed for the present, bring delight, but the truth

E will after wards confute the opinion conceiued of the actions. For we haue opened vnto vs by our courage, all Seas, and Lands, and

* In Athens no man so poore but was a State man. So S. Luke, Act. 17. 34. All the Athenians spend their time in nothing but hearing and telling of newes. The true Character of politicians without employment.

Hee magnifies the Athenian power about that which the Grecians had at Troy, which needed Homer to make it shew great, but this power would seeme great by Trophies and reall monuments of their actions.

set

set vp eternall Monuments on all sides, both of the euill we haue done **A**
to our enemies, and the good wee haue done to our friends. Such is the
Citie for which these men (thinking it no reason to lose it) valiantly
fighting, haue dyed. And it is fit that euery man of you that bee left,
should bee like-minded, to vndergoe any trauell for the same. And I
haue therefore spoken so much concerning the Citie in generall, as well
to shew you, that the stakes betweene vs and them, whose Citie is not
such; are not equall; as also to make knowne by effects, the worth of
these men I am to speake of; the greatest part of their praises being
therein already deliuered. For what I haue spoken of the Citie, hath
by these and such as these benee atchieued: Neither would praises **B**
and actions appeare so leucly concurrent in many other of the Greci-
ans, as they doe in these; the present revolution of these mens liues
seeming vnto mee an argument of their vertues, noted in the first act
thereof, and in the last confirmed. For euen such of them as were
worse then the rest, doe neuerthelesse deserue that for their valour
shewne in the Warres for defence of their Countrey, they should bee
preferred before the rest. For hauing by their good actions abolished
the memory of their euill, they haue profited the State thereby, more
then they haue hurt it by their priuate behauiour. Yet there was none
of these, that preferring the further fruition of his wealth, was there- **C**
by growne cowardly, or that for hope to ouercome his pouerty at length,
and to attaine to riches, did for that cause withdraw himselfe from the
danger. For their principall desire was not wealth, but reuenge on
their Enemies, which esteeming the most honourable cause of danger,
they made account through it, both to accomplish their reuenge, and to
purchase wealth withall; putting the vncertainty of successe, to the
account of their hope; but for that which was before their eyes, rely-
ing vpon themselves in the Action; and therein chusing rather to
fight and dye, then to shrink and bee saued. They fled from shame,
but with their bodies, they stood out the Battell; and so in a moment, **D**
whilest Fortune inclineth neither way, left their liues not in feare, but
in opinion of victory. Such were these men, worthy of their Countrey;
and for you that remaine, you may pray for a safer fortune; but you
ought not to bee lesse venturously minded against the enemy; not
weighing the profit by an Oration onely, which any man amplifying,
may recount, to you that know as well as hee, the many commodities
that arise by fighting valiantly against your enemies, but contemplating
the power of the Citie in the actions of the same from day to day per-
formed, and thereby becomming enamoured of it. And when this po-
wer of the Citie shall seeme great to you, consider then, that the same **E**
was purchased by valiant men, and by men that know their duty, and
by

A by men that were sensible of dishonour when they were in fight; and by such men, as though they failed of their attempt, yet would not bee wanting to the Citie with their vertue, but made vnto it a most honourable contribution. For hauing euery one giuen his body to the Common-wealth, they receiue in place thereof, an vndecaying commendation, and a most remarkable Sepulcher, not wherein they are buried so much, as wherein their glory is laid vp, vpon all occasions, both of speech and action, to bee remembred for euer. For to famous men, all the earth is a Sepulcher: and their vertues shall bee testified, not onely by the inscription in stone at home, but by an vnwritten record of the minde, which more then of any Monument, will remaine with euery one for euer. In imitation therefore of these men, and placing happinesse in liberty, and liberty in valour, bee forward to encounter the dangers of Warre. For the miserable and desperate men, are not they that haue the most reason to bee prodigall of their liues, but rather such men, as if they liue, may expect a change of fortune, and whose losses are greatest, if they miscarry in ought. For to a man of any spirit, Death, which is without sense, arriuing whilst hee is in vigour, and common hope, is nothing so bitter, as after a tender life to bee brought into miserie. Wherefore I will not so much bewaile, as comfort you the parents, that are present, of these men. For you know that whilst they liued, they were obnoxious to manifold calamities, whereas whilst you are in grieue, they onely are happy, that dye honourably, as these haue done: and to whom it hath bene granted, not only to liue in prosperity, but to dye in it. Though it bee a hard matter to dissuade you from sorrow, for the losse of that, which the* happinesse of others, wherein you also when time was, reioyced your selues, shall so often bring into your remembrance (for sorrow is not for the want of a good neuer tasted, but for the priuation of a good wee haue bene vsed to) yet such of you as are of the age to haue children, may beare the losse of these, in the hope of more. For the later children will both draw on with some the obliuion of those that are slaine, and also doubly conduce to the good of the Citie, by population and strength. For it is not likely that they should equally giue good counsell to the State, that haue not children to bee equally exposed to danger in it. As for you that are past hauing of children, you are to put the former and greater part of your life, to the account of your gaine, and supposing the remainder of it will bee but short, you shall haue the glory of these for a consolation of the same. For the loue of honour neuer groweth old, nor doth that vnprofitable part of our life take delight (as some haue said) in gathering of wealth, so much as it doth in being honoured. As for you that are the children or brethren of these men, I see you shall haue a difficult taske

of emulation. For every man w^osh to praise the dead; so that A
with oddes of vertue you will hardly get an equall reputation, but
still be thought a little short. For men envy their Competitors in
glory, while they liue, but to stand out of their way, is a thing honou-
red with an affection free from opposition. And since I must say
somewhat also of feminine vertue, for you that are now Widdowes:
I shall expresse it all in this short admonition. It will bee much for
your honour, not to recede from your Sexe, and to giue as little occa-
sion of rumour amongst the men, whether of good or euill, as you can.
Thus also haue I, according to the prescript of the Law, deliuered in
word what was expedient; and those that are here interred, haue in B
fact beene already honoured; and further, their children shall bee
maintained till they be at mans estate, at the charge of the Citie,
which hath therein propounded both to these, and them that liue, a
profitable Garland in their matches of valour. For where the re-
wards of vertue are greatest, there liue the worthiest men. So now
hauing lamented euery one his owne, you may be gone. Such was
the Funerall made this Winter, which ending, ended the
first yeere of this Warre.

The children of such as
were the first slaine in
any Warre, were kept at
the charge of the Citie,
till they came to mans
estate,

THE SECOND YEERE.

The second inuasion of
Attica, by the Lacedemo-
nians.

The plague at Athens.

In the very beginning of Summer, the Peloponnesians, and C
their Confederates, with two thirds of their forces, as before
inuaded Attica, vnder the conduct of Archidamus, the sonne
of Zeuxidamas, King of Lacedæmon, and after they had en-
camped themselues, wasted the countrey about them.

They had not beene many dayes in Attica, when the
plague first began amongst the Athenians, said also to haue
seazed formerly on diuers other parts, as about Lemnos, and
elsewhere; but so great a plague, and mortality of men,
was neuer remembred to haue hapned in any place before.
For at first, neither were the Physicians able to cure it, D
through ignorance of what it was, but dyed fastest them-
selues, as being the men that most approached the sicke,
nor any other art of man auailed whatsoeuer. All suppli-
cations to the Gods, and enquiries of Oracles, and whatsoeuer
other meanes they vsed of that kind, proued all vnprofita-
ble; insomuch as subdued with the greatnesse of the euill,
they gaue them all ouer. It began (by report) first, in
that part of Æthiopia that lyeth vpon Egypt, and thence
fell downe into Egypt and Afrique, and into the greatest part
of the Territories of the * King. It inuaded Athens on a E
sudden; and touched first vpon those that dwelt in
Pireus;

It began in Æthiopia.

* of Persia.

A *Pyraen*; inſomuch as they reported that the *Peloponneſians* had caſt poiſon into their Welles, for Springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came vp into the high City, and then they dyed a great deale faſter. Now let euery man Phyſician, or other, concerning the ground of this ſickenefſe, whence it ſprung, and what cauſes hee thinkes able to produce ſo great an alteration; ſpeake according to his owne knowledge, for my owne part, I will deliuer but the manner of it, and lay open onely ſuch things, as one may take his mark by, to diſcouer the ſame

B if it come againe, hauing beene both ſicke of it my ſelfe, and ſeene others ſicke of the ſame. This yeere, by confeſſion of all men, was of all other, for other diſeaſes, moſt free and healthfull. If any man were ſicke before, his diſeaſe turned to this; if not, yet ſuddenly, without any apparant cauſe preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken firſt with an extreame ache in their heads, redneſſe and inflammation of the eyes; and then inwardly, their throats and tongues, grew preſently bloody, and their breath noyſome, and vntauory. Vpon this, followed a ſueezing and

C hoarſeneſſe, and not long after, the paine, together with a mighty cough, came downe into the breaſt. And when once it was ſettled in the * ſtomacke, it cauſed vomit, and with great torment came vp all manner of bilious purgation that Phyſicians euer named. Moſt of them had alſo the Hickeyexe, which brought with it a ſtrong conuulſion, and in ſome ceaſed quickly, but in others was long before it gaue ouer. Their bodies outwardly, to the touch, were neither very hote nor pale, but reddiſh liuid, and beflowred with little pimples and whelkes, but ſo burned inwardly, as not to endure any the lighteſt cloathes or linnen garment, to be vpon them, nor any thing but meere nakedneſſe, but rather, moſt willingly, to haue caſt themſelues into the cold water. And many of them that were not looked to, poſſeſſed with inſatiate thirſt, ranne vnto the Welles, and to drinke much, or little, was indifferent, being ſtill, from eaſe, and power to ſleepe, as farre as euer. As long as the diſeaſe was at the height, their bodies waſted not, but reſiſted the torment beyond all expectation, inſomuch, as the moſt of them either dyed of their inward

D burning, in nine or ſeuen dayes, whileſt they had yet ſtrength, or if they eſcaped that, then the diſeaſe falling

E downe

The *Peloponneſians* ſuppoſed to haue poiſoned their Welles

The Author ſicke of this diſeaſe.

The diſcription of the Diſeaſe.

Ache of the head.

Redneſſe of the eyes.
Sore throat:
Vntauourie breath.

Vomitings.
* *καρδια*. were taken for the ſtomack.

Hickeyexe,

Extremie heate of their bodies.
Liuid puſtules.

Inſatiate thirſt.

Want of ſleepe.

After 7. or 9. dayes, death.

Disease in the belly.

Loosenesse.

Losse of the parts where
the diseases brake out.Oblivion of all things
done before their sick-
nesse.Birds and Beasts perished
that fed on Carcasses.

Want of attendance.

Deiection of mind.

downe into their bellies, and causing there great exulcera- **A**
 tions, and immoderate loosenesse, they dyed many of them
 afterwards through weakenesse. For the disease (which
 tooke first the head) began aboue, and came downe, and
 passed through the whole body; and he that ouer-
 came the worst of it, was yet marked with the losse of his
 extreme parts; for breaking out both at their priuy
 members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the
 losse of these escaped. There were also some that lost
 their eyes, and many that presently vpon their recou-
 ry, were taken with such an obliuion of all things **B**
 whatsoeuer, as they neither knew themselues, nor their ac-
 quaintance. For this was a kind of sicknesse which farre
 surmounted all expresseion of words, and both exceeded hu-
 mane nature, in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one,
 and appeared also otherwise to be none of those diseases
 that are bred amongst vs, and that especially by this. For
 all both birds and beasts, that vse to feed on humane flesh,
 though many men lay abroad vnburi'd, either came not
 at them, or tastling perished. An argument whereof as
 touching the birds, is the manifest defect of such fowle, **C**
 which were not then seene, neither about the Carcasses, or
 any where else; But by the dogges, because they are fa-
 miliar with men, this effect was seene much cleerer. So
 that this disease (to passe ouer many strange particulars, of
 the accidents, that some had differently, from others) was
 in generall such as I haue showne, and for other vsuall
 sicknessees, at that time, no man was troubled with any.
 Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some
 againe with all the care and Physicke that could be vsed.
 Nor was there any, to say, certaine medicine, that applied **D**
 must haue helped them; for if it did good to one, it did
 harme to another; nor any difference of body, for strength
 or weaknesse that was able to resist it; but it carried all
 away, what Physicke soeuer was administred. But the
 greatest misery of all was, the deiection of mind, in such as
 found themselues beginning to be sicke (for they grew
 presently desperate, and gaue themselues ouer without
 making any resistance) as also their dying thus like
 sheepe, infected by mutuall visitation; for the greatest
 mortality proceeded that way. For if men forbore to vi- **E**
 site them, for feare, then they dyed forlorne, whereby ma-
 ny

A ny Families became empty, for want of such as should take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themselves, and principally the honestest men. For out of shame, they would not spare themselves, but went in vnto their friends, especially after it was come to this passe, that euen their domestiques, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and ouercome with the greatnesse of the calamity, were no longer moued therewith. But those that were recouered, had much compassion both on them that died, and on them that lay sicke, as hauing both knowne the misery themselves, and now no more subiect to the danger. For this disease neuer tooke any man the second time, so as to be mortall. And these men were both by others counted happy, and they also themselves, through excesse of present ioy, conceiued a kind of light hope, neuer to die of any other sickenesse hereafter. Besides the present affliction, the reception of the countrey people, and of their substance into the Citie, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselves that so came in. For hauing no houses, but dwelling at that time of the yeere in stifling boothes, the mortality was now without all forme; and dying men lay tumbling one vpon another in the streetes, and men halfe dead, about euery Conduit through desire of water. The Temples also where they dwelt in Tents, were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppressed with the violence of the Calamitie, and not knowing what to doe, men grew carelesse both of holy, and prophane things alike. And the Lawes which they formerly vsed touching Funerals, were all now broken, euery one burying where hee could finde roome. And many for want of things necessary, after so many deathes before, were forced to become impudent in the Funerals of their friends. For when one had made a Funeral *Pile, another getting before him, would throw on his dead, and giue it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and hauing cast thereon him whom he carried, goe his way againe. And the great licentiousnesse, which also in other kindes was vsed in the Citie, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuousnesse, he durst now doe freely, seeing before his eyes such quicke reuolution, of the rich dying, and men worth

No man sicke of it mortally the second time.

Men dyed in the streets.

Disorder in their Funerals.

* A pile of wood, vnto which when they had laid the Coffes on it, they fired, and afterwards buried the bones.

Licentiousnesse of life iustified.

Neglect of Religion and Law.

Predictions called to minde.

* *Λοιμός.*

An ambiguous Prophecie expounded by the cuent,

* Apollo, to whom the Heathen attributed the immision of all epidemick or ordinary diseases.

worth nothing, inheriting their estates; insomuch as they A
iustified a speedy fruition of their goods, euen for their
pleasure; as men that thought they held their liues
but by the day. As for paines, no man was forward in any
action of honour, to take any, because they thought it vn-
certaine whether they should dye or not, before they at-
chieued it. But what any man knew to bee delightfull;
and to bee profitable to pleasure, that was made both pro-
fitable and honourable. Neither the feare of the Gods,
nor Lawes of men, awed any man. Not the former, be-
cause they concluded it was alike to worship or not wor- B
ship, from seeing that alike they all perished: nor the lat-
ter, because no man expected that liues would last, till he
receiued punishment of his crimes by iudgement. But
they thought there was now ouer their heads, some farre
greater Iudgement decreed against them; before which
fell, they thought to enioy some little part of their liues.
Such was the misery into which the *Athenians* being false,
were much oppressed; hauing not onely their men killed
by the Disease within, but the enemy also laying waste
their Fields and Villages without. In this sicknelle also, C
(as it was not unlikely they would) they called to minde
this Verse, said also of the elder sort to haue beene vttered
of old:

*A Dorique Warre shall fall,
And a great * Plague withall.*

Now were men at variance about the word, some say-
ing it was not *Λοιμός*, (.i. the Plague) that was by the An-
cients, mentioned in that verse, but *Λιμός*, (.i. Famine.) But D
vpon the present occasion the word *Λοιμός*, deseruedly ob-
tained. For as men suffered, so they made the Verse to
say. And I thinke, if after this, there shall euer come an-
other *Dorique Warre*, and with it a Famine, they are like
to recite the Verse accordingly. There was also reported
by such as knew, a certaine answer giuen by the Oracle to
the *Lacedemonians*, when they enquired whether they
should make this Warre, or not, *That if they warred with all*
*their power, they should haue the Victorie, and that the * God him-*
selfe would take their paris: and thereupon they thought E
the present misery to bee a fulfilling of that Prophecie.

The

A The *Peloponnesians* were no sooner entred *Attica*, but the sicknesse presently began, and neuer came into *Peloponnesus*, to speake of, but raigned principally in *Athens*, and in such other places afterwards as were most populous. And thus much of this Disease.

After the *Peloponnesians* had wasted the Champaigne Countrey, they fell vpon the Territory called * *Paralos*,
 B as farre asto the Mountaine *Lauriu*, where the *Athenians* had Siluer Mines, and first wasted that part of it which looketh towards *Peloponnesus*, and then that also which lyeth toward *Andros* and *Eubœa*: and *Pericles*, who was also then Generall, was still of the same minde hee was of in the former inuasion, that the *Athenians* ought not to goe out against them to battell.

Whilst they were yet in the Plaine, & before they entred into the Maritime Countrey, he furnished an hundred Gallies to goe about *Peloponnesus*, and as soone as they were ready, put to Sea. In these Gallies hee had foure thousand men of Armes; and in Vessels then purposely first made to carry Horfes, three hundred Horsemen. The *Chi-*
 C *ans* and *Lesbians* ioyned likewise with him with fiftie Gallies. This Fleet of the *Athenians*, when it set foorth, left the *Peloponnesians* still in *Paralia*, and comming before *Epidaurus*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, they wasted much of the Countrey therabout, and assaulcing the Citie, had a hope to take it, though it succeeded not. Leauing *Epidaurus*, they wasted the Territories about, of *Træzene*, *Halias*, and *Hermione*, places all on the Sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*. Putting off from hence, they came to *Præfæ*, a small maritime Citie of *Laconica*, and both wasted the Territory about it, and tooke and razed
 D the Towne it selfe: and hauing done this, came home, and found the *Peloponnesians* not now in *Attica*, but gone backe.

All the while the *Peloponnesians* were in the Territories of the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* abroad with their Fleet, the sicknesse, both in the Armie and Citie, destroyed many, in so much as it was said, that the *Peloponnesians*, fearing the sicknesse (which they knew to bee in the Citie, both by fugitiues, and by seeing the *Athenians* burying their dead) went the sooner away out of the Countrey. And yet they stayed there longer in this inuasion, then they
 E had done any time before; and wasted euen the whole Territory: for they continued in *Attica* almost forty daies.

The

* by the Sea-coast.

Pericles with 100. sayle of *Athenians*, about *Peloponnesus*.

The *Peloponnesians* depart out of *Attica*.

The Athenian Fleet returned from Sicily about 405, and was met with ill success, by reason of the sickness.

The same Summer, *Agnon* the sonne of *Nicias*, and *Cleopompus* the Sonne of *Clínias*, who were ioynt Commanders with *Pericles*, with that Armie which hee had employed before, went presently and made Warre vpon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and against *Potidea*, which was yet besieged. Arriuing, they presently applyed Engins, and tryed all meanes possible to take it; but neither the taking of the Citie, nor any thing else, succeeded worthy so great preparation. For the sickenesse comming amongst them, afflicted them mightily indeed, and euen deuoured the Army. And the *Athenian* Souldiers which were there before, and in health, caught the sickenesse from those that came with *Agnon*. As for *Phormio*, and his 1600. they were not now amongst the *Chalcideans*; and *Agnon* therefore came backe with his Fleet, hauing of 4000 men in lesse then 40. dayes, lost 1050. of the plague. But the Souldiers that were there before, staid vpon the place, and continued the siege of *Potidea*.

The *Athenian* people vexed at once both with the Warre & Pestilence, grew impatient toward *Pericles*.

After the second inuasion of the *Peloponnesians*, the *Athenians* (hauing their fields now the second time wasted, and both the sickenesse, and warre, falling vpon them at once) changed their mindes, and accused *Pericles*, as if by his meanes they had been brought into these calamities, and desired earnestly to compound with the *Lacedaemonians*, to whom also they sent certaine Ambassadors, but they returned without effect. And being then at their wits end, they kept a stirre at *Pericles*. And hee, seeing them vexed with their present calamity, and doing all those things which he had before expected, called an Assembly (for he was yet Generall) with intention to put them againe into heart, and aswaging their passion, to reduce their mindes to a more calme, and lesse dismayed temper; and standing forth, he spake vnto them, in this manner.

THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

YOur anger towards me, commeth not vnlooked for, (for the causes of it I know) and I haue called this Assembly therefore, to remember you, and reprehend you for those things, wherein you haue either beene angry with me, or giuen way to your aduersity, without reason. For I am of this opinion, that the publike prosperity of the Citie,

A Citie, is better for priuate men, then if the priuate men themselves were in prosperity, and the publique wealth in decay. For a priuate man, though in good estate, if his Countrey come to ruine, must of necessity be ruined with it; whereas hee that miscarrieth, in a flourishing Common-wealth, shall much more easily be preserved. Since then the Common-wealth is able to beare the calamities of priuate men, and euery one cannot support the calamities of the Common-wealth, why should not euery one strue to defend it? and not (as you now, astonished with domestique misfortune) forsake the common safety, and fall a censuring both me that counselled the Warre, and your selues, that decreed the same as well as I. And it is I you are angry withall, one, as I thinke my selfe, inferiour to none, either in knowing what is requisite, or in expressing what I know, and a louer of my Countrey, and superior to money. For he that hath good thoughts, and cannot cleerely expresse them, were as good to haue thought nothing at all. He that can do both, and is ill affected to his Countrey, will likewise not giue it faithfull counsell. And he that will doe that too, yet if he be superable by mony, will for that alone set all the rest to sale. Now if you followed my aduice in making this Warre, as esteeming these vertues to bee in mee, somewhat aboue the rest, there is sure no reason I should now be accused of doing you wrong. For though to such as haue it in their owne election (being otherwise in good estate) it were madnesse to make choise of Warre; yet when we must of necessitie, either giue way, and so without more adoe, be subiect to our Neighbours, or else saue our selues from it by danger, he is more to be condemned that declineth the danger, then he that standeth to it. For mine owne part, I am the man I was, and of the minde I was, but you are changed, wonne to the Warre, when you were entire but repenting it vpon the dammage, and condemning my counsell, in the weakenesse of your owne iudgement. The reason of this is, because you feele already euery one in particular, that which afflicts you, but the euidence of the profit to accrew to the Citie in generall, you see not yet. And your mindes deiected with the great and sudden alteratoin, cannot constantly maintaine what you haue before resolved. For that which is sodaine and vnexpected, and contrary to what one hath deliberated, enflaueth the spirit; which by this disease principally, in the necke of the other incommodities, is now come to passe in you. But you that are borne in a great Citie, and with education suteable, how great soeuer the affliction be, ought not to shrink at it, and eclipse your reputation (for men doe no lesse condemne those that through cowardize lose the glory they haue, then hate those that through impudence, arrogate the glory they haue not) but to set aside the grieffe of your priuate losses, and lay your hands to the common

Q

safety.

safety. As for the toyle of the Warre, that it may perhaps be long, **A**
 and we in the end neuer the nearer to the victory; though that may
 suffice which I haue demonstrat'd at other times, touching your
 causelesse suspicion that way; yet this I will tell you moreouer, tou-
 ching the greatnesse of your meanes for dominion, which neither you
 your selues seems to haue euer thought on, nor I touched in my for-
 mer Orations; nor would I also haue spoken it now, but that I see
 your mindes deiected more then there is cause for. That though you
 take your dominion to extend onely to your Confederates, I affirme
 that of the two parts of the world of manifest vse, the Land and the
 Sea, you are of the one of them, entire Masters, both of as much of it, **B**
 as you make vse of, and also of as much more as you shall thinke fit
 your selues. Neither is there any King or Nation whatsoeuer, of
 those that now are, that can impeach your Nauigation, with the Fleet
 and strength you now goe. So that you must not put the vse of
 Houses, and Lands, (wherein you now thinke your selues depriv'd
 of a mighty matter) into the ballance with such a power as this, nor
 take the losse of these things heauily in respect of it, but rather (et lit-
 tle by them, as but a light ornament and embelishment of wealth, and
 thinke, that our libertie, as long as we hold fast that, will easily reco-
 uer vnto vs, these things againe; whereas subiected once to others, **C**
 euen that which we possesse besides will be diminished. Shew not
 your selues both wayes inferiour to your Ancestors, who not onely
 held this (gotten by their owne labours, not left them) but haue also
 preserued, and deliuered the same vnto vs, (For it is more dishonour
 to lose what one possesseth, then to miscarrie in the acquisition of it)
 and encounter the enemy not onely with magnanimitie, but also with
 disdain: for a coward, may haue a high minde, vpon a prosperous
 ignorance, but be that is confident vpon iudgement to be superiour
 to his enemy, doth also disdain him, which is now our case. And cou-
 rage (in equall fortune) is the safer for our disdain of the enemy, **D**
 where a man knowes what he doth. For he trusteth lesse to hope,
 which is of force onely in vncertainties, and more to iudgement vpon
 certainties, wherein there is a more sure foresight. You haue reason
 besides to maintaine the dignitie the Citie hath gotten for her Domi-
 nion, (in which you all triumph) and either not decline the paines, or
 not also pursue the honour. And you must not thinke the question
 is now of your liberty, and seruitude onely; Besides the losse of your
 rule ouer others, you must stand the danger you haue contracted, by
 offence giuen in the administration of it. Nor can you now giue it
 ouer (if any fearing at this present, that that may come to passe, en-
 courage himselfe with the intention of not to meddle hereafter) for **E**
 already

- A already your government is in the nature of a tyranny, which is both un-
just for you to take up, and unsafe to lay downe. And such men as these, if
they could perswade others to it, or lived in a free Citie by themselves,
would quickly overthrow it. For the quiet life can neuer be preserved,
if it be not ranged with the active life; nor is it a life conducing to a
Citie that reigneth, but to a subiect Citie, that it may safely serue. Be
not therefore seduced by this sort of men, nor angry with me, to-
gether with whom your selues did decree this Warre, because the ene-
my invading you hath done what was likely he would, if you obeyed
him not. And as for the sicknesse (the onely thing that exceeded
B the imagination of all men) it was vnlooked for, and I know you hate
me somewhat the more for that, but vniustly, vnlesse when any thing
falleth out aboue your expectation fortunate, you will also dedicate vn-
to me that. Evils that come from heauen, you must beare necessarily,
and such as proceed from your enemies valiantly; for so it hath beene
the custome of this Citie to doe heretofore, which custome let it not bee
your part to reuerse: Knowing that this Citie hath a great name
amongst all people, for not yeelding to aduersity, and for the mighty
power it yet hath, after the expence of so many liues, and so much la-
bour in the Warre; the memory whereof, though we should now at
C length miscarry (for all things are made with this Law, to decay
again) will remaine with posterity for ever. How that being Gre-
cians, most of the Grecians were our subiects; That we haue abidden
the greatest Warres against them, both vniuersally and singly, And
haue inhabited the greatest and wealthiest Citie, Now this,
hee with the quiet life will condemne, the active man will emulate,
and they that haue not attained to the like, will enuy. But to be hated,
and to displease, is a thing that happeneth for the time to whosoever hee
be that hath the command of others; and he does well that vndergoeth
hatred, for matters of great consequence. For the hatred lasteth not,
D and is recompenced both with a present splendor, and an immortal glory
hereafter. Seing then you foresee both what is honourable for the fu-
ture, and not dishonourable for the present, procure both the one, and
the other by your courage now. Send no more Heraulds to the Lace-
dæmonians, nor let them know that the euill present does any
way afflict you; for they whose mindes least feeble, and whose actions
most oppose a calamity, both amongst States, and priuate persons are
the best.

In this speech did Pericles endeavour to appease the an-
ger of the Athenians towards himselfe, and withall to with-
draw their thoughts from the present affliction; But
Q 2 they,

Pericles fined in a summe
of money.

Athen at the greatest in
the time of 2 civills.

The death of Pericles.
* Plutarch says, he dyed of
the Plague.



The commendation of
Pericles.

they, though for the State in generall, they were won, and A
sent to the *Lacedemonians* no more, but rather enclined to
the Warre, yet they were every one in particular, grieved
for their severall losses. The poore, because entring the
Warre with little, they lost that little, and the rich, be-
cause they had lost faire possessions, together with good-
ly houses, and costly furniture in them, in the Countrey;
but the greatest matter of all was, that they had Warre
in stead of Peace. And altogether, they deposed not their
anger, till they had first fined him in a summe of money.
Neuerthelesse, not long after, (as is the fashion of the B
multitude) they made him Generall againe, and commit-
ted the whole State to his administration. For the sense
of their domestique losses was now dulled, and for the need
of the Common-wealth, they prized him more then any
other whatsoever. For as long as he was in authority
in the Citie, in time of Peace, he governed the same with
moderation, and was a faithfull watchman of it, and in his
time it was at the greatest. And after the Warre was on
foot, it is manifest that he therein also fore-saw what it
could doe. Hee lived after the Warre began, two yeeres C
and sixe moneths. And his foresight in the Warre was
best knowne after his * death. For he told them, that if
they would be quiet, and looke to their Nauy, and during
this Warre, seeke no further dominion, nor hazzard the
Citie it selfe, they should then haue the vpper hand. But
they did contrary in all, and in such other things besides,
as seemed not to concerne the Warre, managed the State,
according to their priuate ambition and couetousnesse, per-
nitiously both for themselves, and their Confederates.
What succeeded well, the honour and profit of it, came D
most to priuate men; and what miscarried, was to the
Cities detriment in the Warre. The reason whereof was
this, that being a man of great power, both for his dignity
and wisdom, & for bribes, manifestly the most incorrupt,
he freely controuled the multitude, and was not so much
led by them, as he led them. Because (having gotten his
power by no euill Artes) he would not humour them in
his speeches, but out of his authority, durst anger them
with contradiction. Therefore whensoever he saw them
out of season insolently bold; he would with his Orations E
put them into a feare, and againe when they were afraid
without

A without reason, he would likewise erect their spirits, and inbolden them. It was in name a State *Democraticall*, but in fact, *A government of the principall Man*. But they that came after, being more equall amongst themselves, and affecting euery one to be the chiefe, applyed themselves to the people, and let goe the care of the Common-wealth. From whence, amongst many other errors, as was likely in a great and dominant Citie, proceeded also the voyage into *Sicily*, which was not so much vpon mistaking those whom they went against, as for want of knowledge in the

B senders, of what was necessary for those that went the voyage. For through priuate quarrels about, who should beare the greatest sway with the people, they both abated the vigour of the Armie, and then also first troubled the State at home with diuision. Being ouerthrowne in *Sicily*, and hauing lost, besides other ammunition, the greatest part of their Nauy, and the Citie being then in sedition, yet they held out 3 yeeres, both against their first enemies, and the *Sicilians* with them, and against most of their reuolted Confederates besides, and also afterwards against *Cyrus*

C the Kings sonne, who tooke part with, and sent money to the *Peloponnesians*, to maintaine their Fleet; and neuer shrunk till they had ouerthrowne themselves with priuate dissentions. So much was in *Pericles* about other men at that time, that he could foresee by what meanes the Citie might easily haue out-lasted the *Peloponnesians* in this Warre.

The *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates, made Warre the same Summer with 100 Gallies, against *Zacynthus*, an Iland lying ouer against *Ela*. The Inhabitants whereof

D were a Colony of the *Achaens* of *Peloponnesus*, but Confederates of the people of *Athens*. There went in this Fleet, 1000 men of Armes, and *Cnemus* a *Spartan* for Admirall, who landing, wasted the greatest part of the Territory. But they of the Iland not yeelding, they put off againe, and went home.

In the end of the same Summer, *Aristeus* of *Corinth*, and *Anaristus*, *Nicolaus*, *Praxodemus*, and *Timagoras* of *Tegea*, Ambassadors of the *Lacedemonians*, and *Polis* of *Argos*, a priuate man, as they were traouelling into *Asia* to the King, to

E get mony of him, and to draw him into their league, tooke *Thrace* in their way, and came vnto *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*.

The *Lacedemonians* Wrote against *Zacynthus*. *Zante*.

The *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors taken by the *Athenian* Ambassadors in *Thrace* and went to *Athens*.

Tires, with a desire to get him also, if they could, to forsake the league with *Athens*, and to send his forces to *Potidea*, which the *Athenian Army* now besieged, and not to aide the *Athenians* any longer: and withall to get leaue to passe through his Countrey to the other side of *Hellepont*, to goe, as they intended, to *Pharnabazus*, the sonne of *Pharnaces*, who would conuoy them to the King. But the Ambassadors of *Athens*, *Learchus*, the sonne of *Callimachus*, and *Ameiniades* the sonne of *Philemon*, then resident with *Sitalces*, perswaded *Sadocus* the sonne of *Sitalces*, who was now a Citizen of *Athens*, to put them into their hands, that they might not goe to the King, and doe hurt to the Citie, whereof hee himselfe was now a member. Whereunto condiscending, as they journeyed thorow *Thrace*, to take ship to crosse the *Hellepont*,* he apprehended them before they got to the ship, by such others as he sent along with *Learchus*, and *Ameiniades*, with command to deliuer them into their hands; And they, when they had them, sent them away to *Athens*. When they came thither, the *Athenians* fearing *Aristeus*, lest escaping, he should doe them further mischief, (for he was manifestly the authour of all the businesse of *Potidea*, and about *Thrace*) the same day put them all to death, vniudged, and desirous to haue spoken; and threw them into the Pits, thinking it but iust, to take reuenge of the *Lacedamonians* that began it, and had slaine and throwne into Pits, the Merchants of the *Athenians*, and their Confederates, whom they tooke sayling in * Merchants ships, about the Coast of *Peloponnesus*. For in the beginning of the Warre, the *Lacedamonians* slew, as enemies, whomsoever they tooke at Sea, whether Confederates of the *Athenians*, or neutrall, all alike.

* A vile act of *Sadocus*, to gratifie the *Athenians*, because they had made him free of their Citie.

The *Athenians* put them to death.

* So great ships of the round forme of building, as for the use of Merchants, not for the use of Warre, as were Gallies, and other vessels of the long forme of building.

The *Ambraciotes* warre on *Acarnania*.

About the same time, in the end of Summer, the *Ambraciotes*, both they themselues, and diuers Barbarian Nations by them raised, made Warre against *Argos* of *Amphilochia*, and against the rest of that Territory. The quarrell betweene them and the *Argives*, arose first from hence. This *Argos* and the rest of *Amphilochia*, was planted by *Amphilochus* the sonne of *Amphirauus*, after the *Troian Warre*; who, at his returne, misliking the then State of *Argos*, built this Citie in the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, and called it *Argos*, after the name of his owne Countrey. And it was the greatest Citie, and had the most wealthy Inhabitants of all *Amphilochia*.

- A *philochia*. But many generations after, being fallen into misery, they communicated their Citie with the *Ambraciotes*, bordering vpon *Amphilochia*. And then they first learned the Greeke language now vsed, from the *Ambraciotes*, that liued among them. For the rest of the *Amphilochians*, were *Barbarians*. Now the *Ambraciotes* in procelle of time, draue out the *Argiues*, and held the Citie by themselves. Where, upon the *Amphilochians* submitted themselves to the *Acarnanians*, and both together called in the *Athenians*, who sent 30 Gallies to their aide, and *Phormio* for Generall.
- B *Phormio* being arriued, tooke *Argos* by assault, and making slaues of the *Ambraciotes*, put the Towne into the ioynt possessions of the *Amphilochians* and *Acarnanians*; and this was the beginning of the League betweene the *Athenians* and *Acarnanians*. The *Ambraciotes* therefore deriuing their hatred to the *Argiues* from this their captiuitie, came in with an Armie partly of their owne, and partly raised amongst the *Chaonians*, and other neighbouring *Barbarians* now in this Warre. And comming to *Argos*, were masters of the field; but when they could not take the Citie by
- C assault, they returned, and disbanding, went euery Nation to his owne. These were the Acts of the Summer.

The end of the second Summer.

- In the beginning of Winter, the *Athenians* sent 20 Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Phormio*, who comming to lie at * *Naupactus*, guarded the passage that none might goe in, or out, from *Corinth*, and the *Crissean* Gulfe. And other 6 Gallies, vnder the Conduct of *Melesander*, they sent into *Caria*, and *Lycia*, as well to gather tribute in those parts, as also to hinder the *Peloponnesian* Pirates, lying on those Coasts, from molesting the Nauigation of such * Merchant-ships as they expected to come to them from *Phaselis*, *Phœnicia*, and that part of the Continent. But *Melesander* landing in *Lycia*, with such forces of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, as he had aboard, was ouercome in battaile, and slaine, with the losse of a part of his Army.
- D

* *Lepanto*,

* *Argos*.

- The same Winter, the *Potidaens* vnable any longer to endure the siege, seeing the inuasion of *Attica* by the *Peloponnesians*, could not make them rise, and seeing their victuall failed, and that they were forced, amongst diuers other
- E things done by them, for necessity of food, to eate one another, propounded at length to *Xenophon* the sonne of
- Eurypides*,

Potidea rendred to the *Athenians*.

375000. pound sterling.

Euripedes, *Hesiodorus*, the sonne of *Aristoclidus*, and *Phenomachus*, the sonne of *Callimachus*, the *Athenian* Commanders that lay before the Citie, to giue the same into their hands. And they, seeing both that the Armie was already afflicted by lying in that cold place, and that the State had already spent * 2000. Talents vpon the Siege, accepted of it. The conditions agreed on, were these: To depart, they and their *Wives* and *Children*, and their auxiliar Souldiers, euery man with one sute of cloathes, and euery woman with two; and to take with them euery one a certaine summe of money for his charges by the way. Hereupon a Truce was granted them to depart; and they went, some to the *Chalcideans*, and others to other places, as they could get to. But the people of *Athens* called the Commanders in question, for compounding without them; conceiuing that they might haue gotten the Citie to discretion. And sent afterwards a Colonie to *Totidea* of their owne Citizens. These were the things done in this Winter. And so ended the second yeere of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

THE THIRD
YEERE.
The Siege of *Plataea*.

The *Plataeans* Speech to
Archidamus.

The next Summer, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates came not into *Attica*, but turned their Armes against *Plataea*, led by *Archidamus* the sonne of *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, who hauing pitched his Campe was about to waste the Territory thereof. But the *Plataeans* sent Ambassadors presently vnto him, with words to this effect: *Archidamus*, and you *Lacedaemonians*, you doe neither iustly, nor worthy your selues and Ancestours, in making Warre vpon *Plataea*. For *Pausanias* of *Lacedaemon*, the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, hauing (together with such Grecians as were content to vndergoe the danger of the battell that was fought in this our Territory) deliuered all Greece from the slavery of the Persians, when hee offered Sacrifice in the Market place of *Plataea*, to *Iupiter* the deliuerer, called together all the Confederates, and granted to the *Plataeans* this priuiledge; That their Citie and Territory should bee free: That none should make any vniust Warre against them, nor goe about to subiect them; and if any did, the Confederates then present should to their vtmost ability, reuenge their quarell. These priuiledges your Fathers granted vs for our valour, and zeale in those dangers. But now doe you the cleane contrary: for you ioyne with our greatest enemies, the *Thebans*, to bring vs into subiection. Therefore calling to witnesse the Gods then sworne by, and the Gods both of

your

A your and our Countrey, we require you, that you doe no damage to the Territory of Plataea, nor violate those Oathes; but that you suffer vs to enjoy our libertie in such sort as was allowed vs by Pausanias.

The Plateans hauing thus said, Archidamus replyed; and said thus. Men of Plataea, If you would doe as ye say, you say what is iust. For as Pausanias hath granted to you, so also bee you free; and helpe to set free the rest, who hauing beene partakers of the same dangers then, and being comprized in the same oath with your selues, are now brought into subiection by the Athenians. And this so great preparation and Warre is only for the deliuerance of them, and others:

The Answer of Archidamus to the Plateans.

B of which if you will especially participate, keepe your oathes, at least (as we haue also aduised you formerly) be quiet, and enjoy your towne, in neutrality; receiuing both sides in the way of friendship, neither side in the way of faction. Thus said Archidamus. And the Ambassadors of Plataea, when they had heard him returned to the Citie, and hauing communicated his answer to the people, brought word againe to Archidamus, That what hee had aduised, was impossible for them to performe, without leaue of the Athenians, in whose keeping were their wines and children; and that they feared also, for the whole Citie, lest when the Lacedaemonians were gone, the Athenians should come and take the custody of it out of their hands; or that the Thebans comprehended in the oath of receiuing both sides, should againe attempt to surprize it. But Archidamus to encourage them, made this answer: Deliuier you vnto vs Lacedaemonians, your Citie and your houses, shew vs the bounds of your Territory, giue vs your trees by tale, and whatsoever else can be numbred, and depart your selues whither you shall think good, as long as the Warre lasteth; and when it shall be ended, we will deliuer it all vnto you againe: in the meane time, we will keepe them as deposited, and will cultivate your ground, and pay you rent for it, as much as shall suffice for your maintenance.

The reply of the Plateans.

The answer of Archidamus to their reply.

D Hereupon the Ambassadors went againe into the City, and hauing consulted with the people, made answer, That they would first acquaint the Athenians with it, and if they would consent, they would then accept the condition: till then they desired a suspension of armes, and not to haue their Territory wasted. Vpon this he granted them so many dayes truce as was requisite for their returne, and for so long, forbore to waste their Territory. When the Platean Ambassadors were arrived at Athens, and had aduised on the matter with the Athenians, they returned to the City with this answer: The Athenians say thus: That neither in former times, since wee were

The Plateans reply again, and desire to know the pleasure of the people of Athens.

The Athenians message to the Plateans.

their Confederates, did they ever abandon vs to the iniuries of any, A nor will they now neglect vs, but give vs their utmost assistance. And they coniure vs by the oath of our Fathers, not to make any alienation touching the league.

When the Ambassadors had made this report, the Plateans resolved in their counsels, not to betray the Athenians, but rather to endure, if it must bee, the wasting of their Territory before their eyes, and to suffer whatsoever misery could befall them, and no more to goe forth, but from the Walles to make this Answer: That it was impossible for them to doe as the Lacedæmonians had required. B When they had answered so, Archidamus the King, first made a protestation to the Gods and Heroes of the Countrey, saying thus: All ye Gods and Heroes, protectors of Plateis, bee witnesses, that wee neither invade this Territory, wherein our Fathers, after their voves vnto you, overcame the Medes, and which you made propitious for the Grecians to fight in, vnjustly now in the beginning; because they haue first broken the League they had sworne: nor what wee shall further doe will bee any iniury, because, though we haue offered many and reasonable conditions, they haue yet beene all refused. Assent ye also to the punishment of the beginners of iniury, C and to the reuenge of those that beare lawfull armes.

Hauiug made this protestation to the Gods, hee made ready his Armie for the Warre. And first hauiug felled Trees, he therewith made a Palizado about the Townie, that none might goe out. That done, he raised a Mount against the Wall, hoping with so great an Armie all at worke at once, to haue quickly taken it. And hauiug cut downe Wood in the Hill Cithæron, they built a Frame of Timber, and watled it about on either side, to serue in stead of Walles, to keepe the Earth from falling too much D away, and cast into it stones, and earth, and whatsoever else would serue to fill it vp. 70. dayes and nights continually they powred on, diuiding the worke betweene them for rest in such manner, as some might bee carrying, whilest others tooke their sleepe and foode. And they were vrged to labour, by the Lacedæmonians that commanded the Mercenaries of the seuerall Cities, and had the charge of the worke. The Plateans seeing the Mount to rise, made the frame of a Wall with Wood, which hauiug placed on the Wall of the Citie, in the place where E the Mount touched, they built it within full of Bricks,

taken

The Plateans last answer to Archidamus from the Wall.

Archidamus protestation.

A mount raised against Platea.

The Plateans raise their Wall higher against the mount, by a frame of Timber, in which they layed their Bricks.

A taken from the adioyning Houses, for that purpose demolished, the Timber seruing to binde them together, that the building might not bee weakned by the height. The same was also couered with Hides and Quilts, both to keepe the Timber from shot of wilde-fire, and those that wrought, from danger. So that the height of the Wall was great on one side, and the Mount went vp as fast on the other. The *Plateans* vsed also this deuice; they brake a hole in their owne Wall, where the Mount ioyned, and drew the earth from it into the Citie. But the *Peloponnesians*, when they found it out, tooke clay, and therewith daubing Hurdles of Reeds, cast the same into the chinke, which mouldring not, as did the earth, they could not draw it away. The *Plateans* excluded heere, gaue ouer that Plot, and digging a secret mine, which they carried vnder the mount from within the Citie by coniecture, fetched away the earth againe, and were a long time vndiscovered; so that still casting on, the Mount grew still lesse, the earth being drawne away below, and settling ouer the part where it was voyded. The *Plateans* neuerthelesse, fearing that they should not be able euen thus to hold out, beeing few against many, deuised this further: they gaue ouer working at the high Wall, against the Mount, and beginning at both ends of it, where the Wall was low, built another Wall in forme of a Crescent, inward to the Citie, that if the great Wall were taken, this might resist, and put the Enemy to make another Mount; and by comming further in, to bee at double paines, and withall, more encompassable with shot. The *Peloponnesians*, together with the raising of their Mount, brought to the Citie their Engines of battery; one of which, by helpe of the Mount, they applyed to the high Wall, wherewith they much shooke it, and put the *Plateans* into great feare; and others to other parts of the Wall, which the *Plateans* partly turned aside, by casting Ropes about them, and partly with great beames, which being hung in long iron chaines, by either end vpon two other great beames, ietting ouer, and enclining from aboue the Wall, like two hornes, they drew vp to them athwart, and where the Engine was about to light, slacking the chaines, and letting their hands goe, they let fall with violence, to breake the beake of it. After this, the *Peloponnesians* seeing their Engines a-

The *Plateans* deuice to draw the earth from the Mount thorow the Wall. The *Peloponnesians* remedy that euill.

The *Plateans* fetch the earth away from vnder the Mount by a Mine.

The *Plateans* make another Wall within that which was to the Mount.

The *Peloponnesians* assault the Wall with Engines.

The *Plateans* defence against the Engines.

The Peloponnesians throw
Faggots and fire into the
Towne, from the Mount.

A great Fire.

* In the beginning of Sep-
tember.

The siege laid to Plataea.

nailed not, and thinking it hard to take the City by any A
present violence, prepared themselves to besiege it. But
first they thought fit to attempt it by fire, being no great
Citie, and when the Wind should rise, if they could, to
burne it. For there was no way they did not thinke on, to
have gained it without expence and long siege. Having
therefore brought Faggots, they cast them from the
Mount, into the space betweene it and their new Wall,
which by so many hands was quickly filled; and then in-
to as much of the rest of the Citie, as at that distance they
could reach: and throwing amongst them fire, together B
with Brimstone and Pitch, kindled the Wood, and raised
such a flame, as the like was neuer seene before, made by the
hand of man. For as for the woods in the Mountaines, the
trees haue indeed taken fire, but it hath bin by mutuall at-
trition, and haue flamed out of their own accord. But this
fire was a great one, and the *Plataeans* that had escaped o-
ther mischiefes, wanted little of being consumed by this.
For neere the Wall they could not get by a great way:
and if the Wind had bene with it (as the enemy hoped
it might) they could neuer haue escaped. It is also repor- C
ted, that there fell much raine then; with great Thunder,
and that the flame was extinguished, and the danger cea-
sed by that. The *Peloponnesians*, when they failed like-
wise of this, retayning a part of their Armie, and dismis-
sing the rest, enclosed the Citie about with a Wall; diui-
ding the circumference thereof to the charge of the seue-
rall Cities. There was a Ditch both within and without
it, out of which they made their Bricks; and after it was
finished, which was about the * rising of *Arcturus*, they
left a guard for one halfe of the Wall, (for the other was D
guarded by the *Bæotians*) and departed with the rest of
their Armie, and were dissolued according to their Cities.
The *Plataeans* had before this, sent their Wiues and Chil-
dren, and all their vnseruiceable men to *Athens*. Therest
were besieged, beeing in number, of the *Plataeans* them-
selves, 400. of *Athenians*, 80. and 100 Women to dresse
their meate. These were all when the Siege was first
laid, and not one more, neither free nor bond in the Citie.
In this manner was the Citie besieged.

The same Summer, at the same time that this Iourney E
was made against *Plataea*, the *Athenians* with 2000. men of
Armes

A Armes of their owne Citie, and 200. Horsemen, made Warre vpon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*; and the *Botticeans*, when the Corne was at the highest, vnder the conduct of *Xenophon* the sonne of *Euryptides*, and two others. These comming before *Spartolus* in *Botticea*, destroyed the Corne, & expected that the Town should haue bin rendred by the practice of some within. But such as would not haue it so hauing sent for aid to *Olynthus* before, there came into the Citie for safegard thereof, a supply both of men of Armes, and other Souldiers from thence. And these issuing forth

The Athenians send an Arme against the *Chalcideans*.

B. of *Spartolus*, the *Athenians* put themselves into order of Battell vnder the Towne it selfe. The men of Armes of the *Chalcideans*, and certaine auxiliaries with them, were overcome by the *Athenians*, and retired within *Spartolus*. And the Horsemen of the *Chalcideans*, and their light-armed Souldiers, ouercame the Horsemen, and light-armed of the *Athenians*; but they had some few Targettiers besides, of the Territory called *Chrusis*. When the Battell was now begun, came a supply of other Targettiers from *Olynthus*; which the light armed Souldiers of *Spartolus* perceiving, emboldned both by this addition of strength, and also as hauing had the better before; with the *Chalcidean* Horse, and this new supply, charged the *Athenians* afresh.

The Athenians foughten with by the *Chalcideans* at *Spartolus*.

C The *Athenians* heereupon retired to two companies they had left with the Carriages; and as oft as the *Athenians* charged, the *Chalcideans* retired; and when the *Athenians* retired, the *Chalcideans* charged them with their shot. Especially the *Chalcidean* Horsemen rode vp; and charging them where they thought fit, forced the *Athenians* in extreme affright, to turne their backes; and chased them a great way. The *Athenians* fled to *Potidea*; and hauing afterwards fetched away the bodies of their dead vpon truce, returned with the remainder of their Armie, to *Athens*. Foure hundred and thirty men they lost, and their chiefe Commanders all three. And the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*, when they had set vp a Trophie, and taken vp their dead bodies, disbanded and went euery one to his Citie.

And ouerthrowne, with the losse of 3. Commanders.

Not long after this, the same Summer; the *Ambraciotes* and *Chaonians*, desiring to subdue all *Acarnania*, and to make it reuolt from the *Athenians*, perswaded the *Lacedemonians* to make ready a Fleet out of the Confederate Cities, and to send 1000. men of Armes into *Acarnania*; saying, that

The *Ambraciotes* invade *Acarnania*, together with the *Lacedemonians*.

if

if they ayded them both with a Fleet, and a Land Armie **A**
 at once, the *Acarnanians* of the Sea-coſt being thereby diſ-
 abled to aſiſt the reſt, hauing eaſily gained *Acarnania*, they
 might be Maſters afterward both of *Zacynthus* and *Cephalo-*
nia, and the *Athenians* hereafter leſſe able to make their voy-
 ages about *Peloponneſus*; and that there was a hope beſides
 to take *Naupaſtus*. The *Peloponneſians* aſſenting, ſent thi-
 ther *Cnemus*, who was yet Admirall, with his men of
 Armes, in a few Gallies immediately; and withall ſent
 word to the Cities about, as ſoone as their Gallies were
 ready, to ſayle with all ſpeed to *Leucas*. Now the *Corin-* **B**
thians were very zealous in the behalfe of the *Ambraciotes*,
 as being their owne Colony. And the Gallies which
 were to goe from *Corinth*, *Sicyonia*, and that part of the
 Coaſt, were now making ready; and thoſe of the *Leucadi-*
ans, *Anaſtorians*, and *Ambraciotes*, were arriued before, and
 ſtayed at *Leucas* for their comming. *Cnemus* and his 1000.
 men of Armes, when they had croſſed the Sea vndiſcryed
 of *Phormio*, who commanded the 20. *Athenian* Gallies that
 kept watch at *Naupaſtus*, preſently prepared for the War
 by Land. He had in his Army, of *Grecians*, the *Ambraci-* **C**
otes, *Leucadians*, *Anaſtorians*, and the thouſand *Peloponneſi-*
ans he brought with him; and of *Barbarians*, a thouſand
Chaonians, who haue no King, but were led by *Photius* and
Nicanor, which two being of the Families eligible had
 now the annuall gouernment. With the *Chaonians* came
 alſo the *Theſſprotians*, they alſo without a King. The *Mo-*
loſſians, and *Aniſtanians* were led by *Sabylinthus*, protector of
Tharups their King, who was yet in minority. The *Para-*
ueans were led by their King *Oræus*; and vnder *Oræus*,
 ſerued likewise, by permiſſion of *Antiochus* their King, a **D**
 thouſand *Oreſtians*. Alſo *Perdiccas* ſent thither, vn-
 knowne to the *Athenians*, a thouſand *Macedonians*; but theſe
 laſt were not yet arriued. With this Armie began *Cnemus*
 to march, without ſtaying for the Fleet from *Corinth*.
 And paſſing through *Argia*, they deſtroyed *Limnea*, a
 Towne vnwalled. From thence they marched towards
Stratus, the greateſt Citie of *Acarnania*; conceiuing that if
 they could take this firſt, the reſt would come eaſily in.
 The *Acarnanians* ſeeing a great Army by Land was entred
 their Countrey already, and expecting the enemy alſo by **E**
 Sea, ioyned not to ſuccour *Stratus*, but guarded euery one
 his

Lepanto.

The Armie of the *Am-*
braciotes and their Con-
 federates,

They goe toward *Stratus*.
Stratus the greateſt Citie
 of *Acarnania*.

A his owne, and sent for ayde to *Phormio*. But he answered them, that since there was a Fleet to bee set forth from *Corinth*, he could not leaue *Naupactus* without a guard. The *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, with their Armie diuided into three, marched on towards the Citie of the *Stratians*, to the end that being encamped neere it, if they yeelded not on parley, they might presently assault the Walles. So they went on, the *Chaonians* and other *Barbarians* in the middle, the *Lencadians*, and *Anactorians*, and such others as were with these, on the right hand, and *Cnemus*, with the *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciotes* on the left; each Armie at great distance, and sometimes out of sight one of another. The *Grecians* in their march, kept their order, and went warily on, till they had gotten a conuenient place to encampe in. But the *Chaonians* confident of themselves, and by the inhabitants of that Continent accounted most warlike, had not the patience to take in any ground for a Campe, but carried furiously on, together with the rest of the *Barbarians*, thought to haue taken the Towne by their clamour, and to haue the Action ascribed onely to themselves. But they of *Stratus*, aware of this, whilst they were yet in their way, and imagining, if they could ouercome these, thus deuided from the other two Armies, that the *Grecians* also would be the lesse forward to come on, placed diuers Ambushes not farre from the Citie, and when the enemies approached, fell vpon them, both from the Citie, and from the Ambushes at once, and putting them into affright, slew many of the *Chaonians* vpon the place: And the rest of the *Barbarians* seeing theseto shrink, staid no longer, but fled outright.

D Neither of the *Grecian* Armies had knowledge of this Skirmish, because they were gone so farre before, to chuse (as they then thought) a commodious place to pitch in. But when the *Barbarians* came backe vpon them running, they receiued them, and ioyning both Campes together, stirred no more for that day. And the *Stratians* assaulted them not, for want of the ayde of the rest of the *Acar-nanians*, but vsed their slings against them, and troubled them much that way. For without their men of Armes, there was no stirring for them. And in this kinde the *Acar-nanians* are held excellent.

E When night came, *Cnemus* withdrew his Armie to the

Warinesse of the *Grecians*.Rashnesse of the *Chaonians*.Stratagem of the *Stratians*.

Riuer

The Peloponnesians and
Ambracites return without
effect.

Phormio with 20 Gallies
of Athens, overcometh
47 of the Peloponnesian
Gallies.

The order of the Peloponnesian Gallies.

The order of the Athenian
Gallies, and the Stratagem of Phormio.

Riuer *Anapus*, from *Stratus* 80. Furlongs; and fetched off A the dead bodies vpon truce, the next day. And, whereas the Citie *Oeniades* was come in of it selfe, he made his retreat thither, before the *Acarnanians* should assemble with their succours; and from thence went every one home. And the *Stratians* set vp a Trophie of the Skirmish against the *Barbarians*.

In the meane time the Fleet of *Corinth*, and the other Confederates, that was to set out from the *Crissæan* Gulfe, and to ioyne with *Cnemus*, to hinder the lower *Acarnanians* from ayding the vpper, came not at all; but were B compelled to fight with *Phormio*, and those twenty *Athenian* Gallies that kept watch at *Naupactus*, about the same timethat the Skirmish was at *Stratus*. For as they sayled along the shore, *Phormio* waited on them till they were out of the streight, intending to set vpon them in the open Sea. And the *Corinthians* and their Confederates went not as to fight by Sea, but furnished rather for the Land-service in *Acarnania*; and neuer thought that the *Athenians* with their twenty Gallies, durst fight with theirs, that were seuen and forty. Neuerthelesse, when they saw that C the *Athenians*, as themselues sayled by one shore, kept ouer against them on the other, and that now when they went off from *Patra* in *Achaia*, to goe ouer to *Acarnania* in the opposite Continent, the *Athenians* came towards them from *Chalcis*, and the Riuer *Euenus*, and also knew that they had come to anchor there the night before, they found they were then to fight of necessity, directly against the mouth of the Straight. The Commanders of the Fleet were such as the Cities that set it foorth, had seuerally appointed; but of the *Corinthians*, these; *Machon*, *Isocrates*, and *Agatharchidas*. The *Peloponnesians* ordered their Fleet in such manner, as they made thereof a Circle, as great as, without leauing the spaces so wide as for the *Athenians* to passe through, they were possibly able; with the stemmes of their Gallies outward, and sternes inward, and into the middest thereof, receiued such small Vessels as came with them; and also fise of their swiftest Gallies, the which were at narrow passages to come forth in whatsoever part the Enemy should charge.

But the *Athenians* with their Gallies ordered one after E one in file, went round them, and shrunke them vp together,

Ather, by wiping them euer as they past, and putting them in expectation of present fight. But *Phormio* had before forbidden them to fight, till he himselfe had giuen them the signall. For he hoped that this order of theirs would not last long, as in an Army on Land, but that the Gallies would fall foule of one another, and be troubled also with the smaller vessels in the middest. And if the wind should also blow out of the Gulfe, in expectation whereof he so went round them, and which * vsually blew there euery morning, hee made account they would then instantly be disordered. As for giuing the onser, because his Gallies were more agile then the Gallies of the enemy, he thought it was in his owne election, and would bee most opportune on that occasion. When this wind was vp, and the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* being already contracted into a narrow compasse, were both waies troubled, by the wind, and withall by their owne lesser vessels that encumbered them; and when one Gallie fell foule of another, and the Mariners laboured to set them cleere with their poles, and through the noyse they made, keeping off, and reuiling each other, heard nothing, neither of their charge, nor of the Gallies direction; and through want of skill, vnable to keepe vp their Oares in a troubled Sea, rendred the Gallie vntactable to him that sate at the Helme, Then, and with this opportunity he gaue the signall. And the *Athenians* charging, drowned first one of the Admirall Gallies, and diuers others after it, in the seuerall parts they assaulted; and brought them to that passe at length, that not one applying himselfe to the fight, they fled all towards *Patra* and *Dyme*, Cities of *Achaia*. The *Athenians*, after they had chased them, and taken twelue Gallies, and slain most of the men that were in them, fell off, and went to *Molyckrium*; and when they had there set vp a Trophie, and consecrated one Gallie to *Neptune*, they returned with the rest to *Naupactus*. The *Peloponnesians* with the remainder of their Fleet, went presently along the Coast of *Cyllene*, the Arsenall of the *Eleans*; and thither, after the Battell at *Stratus*, came also *Cnemus*, from *Leucas*, and with him those Gallies that were there, and with which this other Fleet should haue beene ioyned.

E After this, the *Laedamonians* sent vnto *Cnemus* to the Fleet, *Timocrates*, *Brasidas*, and *Lycophron* to be of his Council,

* A set wind which blew euery morning there from the East, caused, as it seemeth, by the approach of the Sunne.

The *Peloponnesians* fly.

Preparation for another fight.

cell, with command to prepare for another better fight, A
and not to suffer a few Gallies to depriue them of the vse
of the Sea. For they thought this accident (especially
being their first prooffe by sea) very much against reason;
and that it was not so much a defect of the Fleet, as of
their courage: neuer cōparing the long practice of the *Athe-
nians*, with their own short study in these busineses. And
therefore they sent these men thither in passion: who be-
ing arriued with *Cnemus*, intimated to the Cities about, to
prouide their Gallies, and caused those they had before, to
be repayred. *Phormio* likewise sent to *Athens*, to make B
knowne both the Enemies preparation, and his owne for-
mer victory; and withall to will them to send speedily
vnto him, as many Gallies as they could make ready; be-
cause they were euery day in expectation of a new fight.
Heereupon they sent him twenty Gallies, but comman-
ded him that had the charge of them, to goe first into
Crete.

Twenty saile of Athenians,
sent to ayde *Phormio*, stay
in *Crete*.

For *Nicias a Cretan* of *Gortys*, the publike Host of the *A-
thenians*, had perswaded them to a voyage against *Cydonia*,
telling them they might take it in, being now their Ene- C
mie. Which he did, to gratifie the *Polichnita*, that bor-
dered vpon the *Cydonians*. Therefore with these Gallies
hee sayled into *Crete*, and together with the *Polichnita*, wa-
sted the Territory of the *Cydonians*; where also, by reason
of the Winds, and weather vnfit to take Sea in, hee wa-
sted not a little of his time.

The Peloponnesians saile by
the Coast of *Panormus*.

In the meane time, whilest these *Athenians* were Wind-
bound in *Crete*, the *Peloponnesians* that were in *Cyllene*, in or-
der of Battell sayled along the Coast to *Panormus* of *Achaia*,
to which also were their Land-forces come to ayde them. D
Phormio likewise sayled by the shore to *Rhium Molyebrium*,
and anchored without it, with twenty Gallies, the same
hee had vsed in the former Battell. Now this *Rhium* was
of the *Athenians* side, and the other *Rhium* in *Peloponnesus*,
lyes on the opposite shore, distant from it at the most but
seuen furlongs of Sea; and these two make the mouth of
the *Crissæan* Gulfe. The *Peloponnesians* therefore came to
an anchor at *Rhium* of *Achaia*, with 77. Gallies, not farre
from *Panormus*, where they left their Land Forces. After
they saw the *Athenians*, and had lyen sixe or seuen daies one E
against the other, meditating and prouiding for the Battell,
the

A the Peloponnesians not intending to put off without Rhium into the wide Sea, for feare of what they had suffered by it before; nor the other to enter the Streight, because to fight within, they thought to be the Enemies aduantage. At last, Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other Commanders of the Peloponnesians, desiring to fight speedily, before a new supply should arriue from Athens, called the Soldiers together, and seeing the most of them to be fearefull through their former defeat, and not forward to fight againe, encouraged them first with words to this effect.

B

THE ORATION OF

C N E M V S.

MEN of Peloponnesus, If any of you be afraid of the Battell at hand, for the succeſſe of the Battell past, his feare is without ground. For you know, wee were inferiour to them then in preparation, and set not forth as to a fight at Sea, but rather to an expedition by Land. Fortune likewise crossed vs in many things; and somewhat wee miscarried by vnskilfulnesse: so
C as the losse can no way be ascribed to cowardise. Nor is it iust, so long as we were not overcome by meere force, but haue somewhat to alledge in our excuse, that the mind should bee deiected for the calamity of the euent. But we must thinke, that though Fortune may faile men, yet the courage of a valiant man can neuer faile, and not that we may iustifie cowardise in any thing, by pretending want of skill, and yet bee truly valiant. And yet you are not so much short of their skill, as you exceede them in valour. And though this knowledge of theirs, which you so much feare, ioyned with courage, will not bee without a memory also, to put what they
D know in execution, yet without courage, no act in the world is of any force in the time of danger. For feare confoundeth the memory, and skill without courage auaieth nothing. To their oddes therefore of skill, oppose your oddes of valour; and to the feare caused by your overthrow, oppose your being then vnprovided. You haue further now, a greater Fleet, and to fight on your owne shore; with your aydes at hand, of men of Armes: and for the most part, the greatest number, and best provided, get the victory. So that wee can neither see any one cause in particular, why wee should miscarry; and whatsoeuer were our wants in the former Battell,
E supplied in this, will now turne to our instruction. With courage therefore, both Masters and Mariners, follow euery man in

his order, not forsaking the place assigned him. And for vs, wee A
shall order the battails as well as the former Commanders; and
leauē no excuse to any man of his cowardize. And if any will needes
be a coward, hee shall receiue condigne punishment, and the valiant
shall be rewarded according to their merit. Thus did the Com-
manders encourage the Peloponnesians.

Phormio doubteth of the
courage of his Soldiers.

And *Phormio*, he likewise doubting that his Souldiers
were but faint-hearted, and obseruing they had con-
sultations apart, and were afraid of the multitude of the
enemies Gallies, thought good, hauing called them toge- B
ther, to encourage, and admonish them vpon the pre-
sent occasion. For though he had alwayes before told
them, and predisposed their mindes to an opinion, that
there was no number of Gallies so great, which setting
vpon them, they ought not to vndertake, and also most of
the Souldiers had of long time assumed a conceit of them-
selues, that being *Athenians*, they ought not to decline, any
number of Gallies whatsoeuer, of the *Peloponnesians*; yet
when he saw that the sight of the enemy present had de-
iected them, he thought fit to reuiue their courage, and C
hauing assembled the *Athenians*, said thus.

And encourageth them.

THE ORATION OF PHORMIO.

Souldiers, hauing obserued your feare of the enemies number, I
haue called you together, not enduring to see you terrified with
things that are not terrible. For first, they haue prepared this
great number, and oddes of Gallies, for that they were overcome before,
and because they are euen in their owne opinions too weake for vs. And D
next, their present boldnesse proceeds onely from their knowledge in
Land-service, in confidence whereof (as if to be valiant, were peculiar
vnto them) they are now come vp; wherein hauing for the most part pro-
spered, they thinke to doe the same in seruice by Sea. But in reason the
oddes must be ours in this, as well as it is theirs in the other kinde.
For in courage they exceed vs not, and as touching the aduantage of
either side, we may better be bold now, then they. And the Lacedæ-
monians, who are the leaders of the Confederates, bring them to
fight for the greatest part (in respect of the opinion they haue of vs) a-
gainst their wills. For else they would neuer haue vndertaken a new E
battaile, after they were once so cleerely ouerthrowne. Feare not there-
fore

A fore any great boldnesse on their part. But the feare which they haue of you, is farre, both greater, and more certaine, not onely for that you haue ouercome them before, but also for this, that they would neuer beleue you would goe about to resist, vnlesse you had some notable thing to put in practice vpon them. For when the enemy is the greater number as these are now, they invade chiefly vpon confidence of their strength. But they that are much the fewer must haue some great and sure designe when they dare fight vnconstrained. Wherewith these men now amazed, feare vs more for our vnlkely preparation, then they would if it were more proportionable. Besides, many great
B Armies haue beene ouercome by the lesser, through vnskillfulnesse, and some also by timorousnesse, both which we our selues are free from. As for the battaile, I will not willingly fight it in the Gulfe, nor goe in thither; seeing that to a few Gallies with nimblenesse and art, against many without art, streightnesse of roome is disadvantage. For neither can one charge with the beake of the Gallie as is fit, vnlesse hee haue sight of the enemy a farre off, or if he be himselfe ouer-pressed, againe get cleere. Nor is there any getting through them, or turning to and fro, at ones pleasure, which are all the workes of such Gallies, as haue their aduantage in agility; but the Sea-fight would of necessitie be the
C same with a battaile by Land, wherein the greater number must haue the better. But of this, I shall my selfe take the best care I am able. In the meane time keepe you your order well in the Gallies, and euery man receiue his charge readily; and the rather because the enemy is at Anchor so neere vs. In the fight, haue in great estimation, order and silence, as things of great force in most Military actions, especially in a fight by Sea; and charge these your enemies according to the worth of your former Acts. You are to fight for a great wager, either to destroy the hope of the Peloponnesian Nauies, or to bring the feare of the Sea neerer home to the Athenians. Again, let mee
D tell you, you haue beaten them once already; and men once ouercome, will not come againe to the danger so well resolved as before. Thus did Phormio also encourage his Souldiers.

The Peloponnesians, when they saw the Athenians would not enter the Gulfe and Streight, desiring to draw them in against their willes, weighed Anchor, and betime in the morning hauing arranged their Gallies by foure and foure in a ranke, sayled along their owne Coast, within the Gulfe, leading the way, in the same order as they had lien
E at Anchor with their right wing. In this wing they had placed 20 of their swiftest Gallies, to the end that if Phormio,

The stratagem of the Peloponnesians.

The Peloponnesians give
the onset.

Naupactus, should for safegard A
of the Towne, sayle along his owne Coast likewise, with-
in the Straight, the *Athenians* might not be able to get be-
yond that wing of theirs, and auoyd the impressiō, but
be enclosed by their Gallies on both sides. *Phormio*, fea-
ring (as they expected) what might become of the
Towne now without guard, as soone as he saw them from
Anchor, against his will, and in extreme haste, went a-
boord, and sayled along the Shoare, with the Land forces
of the *Messenians*, marching by to ayde him. The *Pelo-*
ponnesians, when they saw them sayle in one long File, B
Gally after Gally, and that they were now in the Gulfe,
and by the Shoare, (which they most desired) vpon one
signe giuen, turned suddenly, euery one as fast as he could
vpon the *Athenians*, hoping to haue intercepted them eue-
ry Gallie. But of those, the eleuen formost, auoyding that
wing, and the turne made by the *Peloponnesians*, got out in-
to the open Sea. The rest they intercepted, and driuing
them to the Shoare, sunke them.

The men, as many as swamme not out, they slew, and
the Gallies, some they tyed to their owne, and towed C
them away empty, and one with the men and all in her
they had already taken. But the *Messenian* succours on
Land, entring the Sea with their Armes, got aboard of
some of them, and fighting from the Deckes, recouered
them againe, after they were already towing away. And
in this part, the *Peloponnesians* had the victorie, and ouer-
came the Gallies of the *Athenians*. Now the 20 Gallies
that were their right wing, gaue chase to those eleuen
Athenian Gallies, which had auoyded them when they
turned, and were gotten into the open Sea. These flying D
toward *Naupactus*, arriued there before the enemies, all saue
one, and when they came vnder the Temple of *Apollo*,
turned their beake heads, and put themselues in readinesse
for defence, in case the enemy should follow them to the
Land. But the *Peloponnesians* as they came after, were
* *Pæanizing*, as if they had already had the victorie; and
one Gallie which was of *Leucas*, being farre before the rest,
gaue chase to one *Athenian* Gallie, that was behind the rest
of the *Athenians*. Now it chanced that there lay out into
the Sea, a certaine Ship at Anchor, to which the *Athenian* E
Gally first comming, fetcht a compasse about her, and
came

* Singing the hymne of vi-
ctory.

A came backe full butt againſt the *Leucadian Gallie* that gaue her chafe, and ſunke her. Vpon this vnexpected and vnlikely accident they began to feare, and hauing alſo followed the chafe, as being victors, diſorderly, ſome of them let downe their Oares into the water, and hindred the way of their Gallies (a matter of very ill conſequence, ſeeing the enemy was ſo neere) and ſtaid for more company. And ſome of them through ignorance of the Coaſt, ranne vpon the Shelues. The *Athenians* ſeeing this, tooke heart againe, and together with one clamour, ſet vpon them;

B who reſiſted not long, becauſe of their preſent errors committed, and their diſarray; but turned, and fled to *Panormus*, from whence at firſt they ſet forth. The *Athenians* followed, and tooke from them fixe Gallies, that were hindmoſt, and recouered their own which the *Peloponneſians* had ſunke by the Shoare, and tyed a ſterne of theirs. Of the men, ſome they ſlew, and ſome alſo they tooke aliue. In the *Leucadian Gally* that was ſunke neere the ſhip, was *Timocrates*, a *Lacedæmonian*, who, when the Gally was loſt, runne himſelfe thorow with his ſword, and his

C body draue into the Hauen of *Naupactus*. The *Athenians* falling off, erected a Trophy in the place from whence they ſet forth to this victory, & took vp their dead, and the wracke, as much as was on their own ſhore, and gaue truce to the enemy to doe the like. The *Peloponneſians* alſo ſet vp a Trophy, as if they alſo had had the victory, in reſpect of the flight of thoſe Gallies which they ſunke by the Shoare; and the Gally which they had taken, they conſecrated to *Neptune*, in *Rhium* of *Achaia*, hard by their Trophy. After this, fearing the ſupply which was expected from *Athens*, they ſayled by night into the *Crifſean Gulfe*, and to *Corinth*, all but the *Leucadians*. And thoſe *Athenians*, with twenty Gallies out of *Crete*, that ſhould haue beene with *Phormio* before the battaile, not long after the going away of the Gallies of *Peloponneſus*, arriued at *Naupactus*; And the Summer ended.

D in before, But the Fleet gone into the *Crifſean Gulfe*, and to *Corinth*, was diſperſed. *Cnemus*, and *Brasidas*, and the reſt of the Commanders of the *Peloponneſians*, in the beginning of Winter, inſtructed by the *Megareans*, thought good to

E make an attempt vpon *Piræus*, the Hauen of the *Athenians*. Now it was without guard, or barre, and that vpon very

The *Athenians* haue the victory.

Timocrates a *Lacedæmonian* Commander ſlayeth himſelfe.

The end of the third Summer.

The *Peloponneſians* reſolute to attempt the ſurprize of *Piræus*.

* It may be I once gathered,
that in the Gallies of old,
there was but one man to one
Oare.

* *σπασίης*, a piece of Lea-
ther wherein their Oare in-
serted.

The Peloponnesians dare
not execute their de-
signe, but turne to Sala-
mis.

* Fires lifted up, if they were
lifted up, as if they were
lifted up, as if they were
lifted up, as if they were
Scholiastes.

very good cause, considering how much they exceeded o- A
thers in the power of their Nauy. And it was resolved,
that euery Mariner with *his Oare, his Cushion, and * one
Thong for his Oare to turne in, should take his way by
Land from Corinth, to the other Sea, that lyeth to Athens,
and going with all speed to Megara, lanch forty Gallies
out of Nisæa, the Arsenall of the Megareans, which then
were there, and sayle presently into Piræus. For at that
time, there neither stood any Gallies for a watch before it,
nor was there any imagination, that the enemies would on
such a sudden come vpon them. For they durst not haue B
attempted it openly, though with leasure, nor if they had
had any such intention, could it but haue been discovered.
As soone as it was resolved on; they set presently for-
ward, and arriuing by night, lanchd the said Gallies of Ni-
sæa, and set Sayle, not now towards Piræus, as they inten-
ded, fearing the danger, and a wind was also said to haue
risen, that hindred them, but toward a Promontory of Sala-
mis, lying out towards Megara.

Now, there was in it, a little Fort, and vnderneath in the
Sea, lay three Gallies that kept watch, to hinder the im-
portation and exportation of any thing, to or from the C
Megareans. This Fort they assaulted, and the Gallies they
towed empty away after them. And being come vpon
the Salaminians vnawares, wasted also other parts of the
Iland.

By this time the fires * signifying the comming of
enemies, were lifted vp towards Athens, and affrighted
them more then any thing that had happened in all this
Warre. For they in the Citie thought the enemies had
been already in Piræus. And they in Piræus thought the
Citie of the Salaminians had been already taken, and that the
enemy would instantly come into Piræus. Which, had D
they not been afraid, nor been hindred by the wind, they
might also easily haue done. But the Athenians, as soone as
it was day, came with the whole strength of the Citie, in-
to Piræus, and lanchd their Gallies, and imbarcking in
haste, and tumult, set sayle toward Salamis, leauing for the
guard of Piræus, an Army of Foot. The Peloponnesians vp-
on notice of those succours, hauing now ouer-runne most
of Salamis, and taken many prisoners, and much other boo- E
ty, besides the three Gallies from the Fort of Budorus,
went

A went backe in all haste to *Nisæa*. And somewhat they feared the more, for that their Gallies had lyen long in the water, and were subiect to leaking. And when they came to *Megara*, they went thence to *Corinth* againe by Land. The *Athenians* likewise, when they found not the Enemy at *Salamis*, went home; and from that time forward, looked better to *Piræus*, both for the shutting of the Ports, and for their diligence otherwaies.

About the same time, in the beginning of the same Winter, *Sytalces* an *Odrygian*, the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, made Warre vpon *Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, and vpon the *Chalcideans* bordering on *Thrace*, vpon two promises; one of which hee required to be performed to him, and the other hee was to performe himselfe. For *Perdiccas* had promised somewhat vnto him, for reconciling him to the *Athenians*, who had formerly oppressed him with Warre, and for not restoring his Brother *Philip* to the Kingdome, that was his Enemy, which hee neuer paid him; And *Sytalces* himselfe had couenanted with the *Athenians*, when he made League with them, that he would end the Warre which they had against the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*. For these causes therefore hee made this Expedition; and tooke with him both *Amyntas*, the sonne of *Philip*, (with purpose to make him King of *Macedonia*) and also the *Athenian* Ambassadors then with him for that businesse, and *Agnon* the *Athenian* Commander. For the *Athenians* ought also to haue ioyned with him against the *Chalcideans*, both with a Fleet, and with as great Land-forces as they could prouide.

D Beginning therefore with the *Odrygians*, he leuied first those *Thracians* that inhabite on this side the Mountaines *Æmus* and *Rhodope*, as many as were of his owne dominion, downe to the shore of the *Euxine* Sea, and the *Hellepont*. Then beyond *Æmus* he leuied the *Getes*, and all the Nations betweene *Ister* and the *Euxine* Sea. The *Getes*, and people of those parts, are borderers vpon the *Scythians*, and furnished as the *Scythians* are, all Archers on Horsebacke. He also drew forth many of those *Scythians* that inhabite the Mountaines, and are free-States, all Sword-men, and
E are called *Dij*, the greatest part of which are on the Mountaine *Rhodope*; whereof some he hyred, and some went as

The King of *Thrace* maketh Warre on the King of *Macedon*.

The description of
Thrace.

Voluntaries. He leuied also the *Agrianes*, and *Leaeans*, and A all other the Nations of *Paonia*, in his owne Dominion. These are the vtmost bounds of his Dominion, extending to the *Graens* and *Leaeans*, Nations of *Paonia*, and to the Riuer *Strymon*, which rising out of the Mountaine *Scomius*, passeth through the Territories of the *Graens* and *Leaeans*, who make the bounds of his Kingdome toward *Paonia*, and are subiect onely to their owne Lawes. But on the part that lyeth to the *Triballians*, who are also a free people, the *Treres* make the bound of his Dominion, and the *Tilataens*. These dwell on the North side of the B Mountaine *Scomius*, and reach Westward, as farre as to the Riuer *Oscius*, which commeth out of the same Hill *Neslus* and *Hebrus* doth; a great and desart Hill adioyning to *Rhodope*.

The Dimension of the Dominion of the *Odrysiens* by the Sea side, is from the Citie of the *Abderites*, to the mouth of *Ister* in the *Euxine* Sea; and is, the neereft way, foure dayes, and as many nights Sayle for a * round Ship, with a continuall fore-wind. By Land likewise, the neereft way, it is from the Citie *Abdera*, to the mouth of *Ister*, C eleuen dayes iourney for an expedite Footman. Thus it lay in respect of the Sea.

Now for the Continent; from *Byzantium* to the *Leaeans*, and to the Riuer *Strymon* (for it reacheth this way farthest into the maine Land) it is for the like Footman, thirteene dayes iourney. The Tribute they receiued from all the *Barbarian* Nations, and from the Cities of *Greece*, in the reigne of *Seuthes*, (who reigned after *Sitalces*, and made the most of it) was in gold and siluer, by estimation, * 400. Talents by yeere. And Presents of gold and siluer came D to as much more. Besides Vestures, both wrought and plaine, and other furniture, presented not onely to him, but also to all the men of authority, and *Odrysiens* Nobility about him. For they had a custome, which also was generall to all *Thrace*, contrary to that of the Kingdome of *Persia*, to receiue rather then to giue: and it was there a greater shame to be asked and deny, then to aske and goe without. Neuerthelesse they held this custome long, by reason of their power: for without gifts, there was nothing to be gotten done amongst them. So that this Kingdome arriued thereby to great power: for of all the Nations E

* A Ship that vseth onely
Sails, of the round forme of
building, and seruing for bur-
then, in distinction to Gallies,
and all other vessels of the
long forme of building, ser-
uing for the Warre.

* 75000. pound sterling.

Actions of *Europe*, that lye betweene the * *Ionian* Gulfe, and the *Euxine* Sea, it was, for reueneue of money, and other wealth, the mightiest; though indeed for strength of an Army, and multitudes of Souldiers, the same be farre short of the *Scythians*: For there is no Nation, not to say of *Europe*, but neither of *Asia*, that are comparable to this, or that as long as they agree, are able, one Nation to one, to stand against the *Scythians*: and yet in matter of counsell and wisdom in the present occasions of life, they are not like to other men.

* The *Adriatique* Sea.
Mar Maggiore.

The great power of the
Scythians.

B *Sitalces* therefore, King of this great Countrey, prepared his Armie, and when all was ready, set forward, and marched towards *Macedonia*. First, through his owne Dominion; then ouer *Cercine*, a desert Mountaine diuiding the *Sintians* from the *Paonians*, ouer which he marched the same way himselfe had formerly made with Timber, when he made Warre against the *Paonians*. Passing this Mountaine, out of the Countrey of the *Odrysiens*, they had on their right hand the *Paonians*, and on the left, the *Sinti-ans* and *Mædes*, and beyond it, they came to the Citie of *Doberus* in *Paonia*. His Army, as hee marched, diminished not any way, except by sicknesse, but encreased, by the ac-
Ccession of many free Nations of *Thrace*, that came in vncalled, in hope of Booty. Insomuch as the whole number is said to haue amoated to no lesse then 15,0000. men. Wherof the most were foot, the Horse being a third part, or thereabouts. And of the Horse, the greatest part were the *Odrysiens* themselues, and the next most, the *Gætes*. And of the Foot, those Sword-men, a free Nation, that came downe to him out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*, were most
D warlike. The rest of the promiscuous multitude, were formidable onely for their number. Being all together at *Doberus*, they made ready to fall in, from the Hilles side, into the lower *Macedonia*, the dominion of *Perdiccas*. For there are in *Macedonia*, the *Lyncestians*, and the *Helmiotæ*, and other High-land Nations, who though they bee Confederates, and in subiection to the other, yet haue their seuerall Kingdomes by themselues. But of that part of the now *Macedonia* which lyeth toward the Sea, *Alexander*, the Father of this *Perdiccas*, and his Ancestors, the *Temenidæ*, who came out of *Argos*, were the first possessors, and raig-
Ened in the same; hauing first driuen out of *Pieria* the *Pieri-*

The beginning of the
Kingdome of *Macedonia*.
The *Macedonian* Kings
descended of the *Temeni-
dæ*, a Family in *Argos*, of
the *Peloponnesians*.

ans; (which afterwards seated themselves in *Phages*, and other Townes beyond *Sirymon*, at the foot of *Pangeum*; From which cause, that Countrey is called the Gulfe of *Pieria* to this day, which lyeth at the foot of *Pangeum*, and bendeth toward the Sea) and out of that which is called *Bottia*, the *Bottians*, that now border vpon the *Chalcideans*. They possessed besides a certaine narrow portion of *Paeonia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Axius*, reaching from aboue downe to *Pella*, and to the Sea. Beyond *Axius* they possessed the Countrey called *Mygdonia*, as farre as to *Sirymon*, from whence they haue driuen out the *Eidonians*. Furthermore they draue the *Eordians* out of the Territory, now called *Eorda*, (of whom the greatest part perished, but there dwell a few of them yet about *Physca*) and the *Almopians* out of *Almopia*. The same *Macedonians* subdued also other Nations, and hold them yet, as *Anthemus*, *Grestonia*, and *Bisaltia*, and a great part of the *Macedonians* themselves. But the whole is called *Macedonia*, and was the Kingdome of *Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander*, when *Sitalces* came to invade it. The *Macedonians* vnable to stand in the Field against so huge an Armie, retired all within their strong Holds, and walled Townes, as many as the Countrey afforded; which were not many then; but were built afterwards by *Archelaus* the sonne of *Perdiccas*, when he came to the kingdome; who then also laid out the high wayes straight, and tooke order both for matter of Warre, as Horses and Armes, and for other prouision, better then all the other 8. Kings that were before him. The *Thracian* Army arising from *Doberus*, invaded that Territory first; which had beene the Principality of *Philip*, and tooke *Eidomene* by force; but *Gortynia*, *Atalanta*, and some other Townes he had yeelded to him, for the loue of *Amyntas* the sonne of *Philip*, who was then in the Armie. They also assaulted *Europus*, but could not take it. Then they went on further into *Macedonia*, on the part that lyes on the right hand of *Pella*, and *Cyrrhus*; but within these, into *Bottica* and *Pieria* they entred not, but wasted *Mygdonia*, *Grestonia*, and *Anthemus*. Now the *Macedonians* had neuer any intention to make head against them with their Foot, but sending out their Horsemen, which they had procured from their Allyes of the higher *Macedonia*, they assaulted the *Thracian* Armie, in such places, where few against many,

The *Macedonians* retire into their walled towns.

Archelaus the sonne of *Perdiccas*, the ninth King of *Macedon*, of the Family of the *Temende*.

A many, they thought they might doe it with most conuenience; and where they charged, none was able to resist them, being both good Horsemen, and well armed with Breastplates; but enclosed by the multitude of the Enemies, they fought against manifold oddes of number: so that in the end they gaue it ouer, esteeming themselves too weake to hazard Battell against so many.

After this, *Sitalces* gaue way to a conference with *Perdiccas*, touching the motiues of this Warre. And forasmuch as the *Athenians* were not arriued with their Fleet, B (for they thought not that *Sitalces* would haue made the Journey) but had sent Ambassadors to him with Presents, he sent a part of his Army against the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, wherewith hauing compelled them within their walled Townes, he wasted and destroyed their Territory. Whilest he stayed in these parts, the *Thessalians* Southward, and the *Magnetians*, and the rest of the Nations subiect to the *Thessalians*, and all the *Grecians* as far as to *Thermopylae*, were afraid he would haue turned his Forces vpon them, and stood vpon their guard. And Northward those C *Thracians* that inhabite the Champaign Countrey beyond *Strymon*, namely the *Paneans*, *Odontians*, *Drochis*, and *Dersians*, all of them free-States, were afraid of the same. He gaue occasion also to a rumour, that hee meant to leade his Army against all those *Grecians* that were enemies to the *Athenians*, as called in by them to that purpose, by vertue of their League. But whilest hee stayed, hee wasted the *Chalcidean*, *Bottian*, and *Macedonian* Territories; and when hee could not effect what he came for, and his Army both wanted victuall, and was afflicted with the coldness of the season; *Seuthes* the sonne of *Spardocus*, his cousin German, and of greatest authority next himselfe, perswaded him to make haste away. Now *Perdiccas* had dealt secretly with *Seuthes*, and promised him his Sister in marriage, and money with her: and *Sitalces* at the perswasion of him, after the stay of full thirty dayes, wherof he spent eight in *Chalcideia*, retyred with his Army, with all speed, into his owne Kingdome. And *Perdiccas* shortly after gaue to *Seuthes* his Sister *Stratonica* in marriage, as hee had promised. This was the issue of this Expedition of *Sitalces*. E

Sitalces and *Perdiccas* come to a conference about the motiues of the Warre.

The *Grecians*, at the coming of this Army, stand vpon their Guard, fearing they were called in by the *Athenians* to subdue them.

Seuthes, corrupted by *Perdiccas*, perswaded *Sitalces* to returne.

The same Winter, after the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians* was

Phormio putteth suspected persons out of *Syracusa* and *Crotone*.

was dissolued, the Athenians that were at *Naupactus*, vnder A the conduct of *Phormio*, sayled along the Coast to *Astacum*, and disembarking, marched into the inner parts of *Acarnania*. Hee had in his Army, 400. men of Armes that hee brought with him in his Gallies, and 400. more *Messenians*. With these he put out of *Stratus*, *Corontæ*, and other places, all those whose fidelity hee thought doubtfull. And when he had restored *Cynes* the sonne of *Theolytus* to *Corontæ*, they returned againe to their Gallies. For they thought they should not be able to make Warre against the *Oeniades*, (who onely of all *Acarnania* are the A-B
Athenians Enemies) in respect of the Winter. For the Riuer *Achelous*, springing out of the Mountaine *Pindus*, and running through *Dolopia*, and through the Territories of the *Agræans*, and the *Amphilochians*, and through most part of the Champaigne of *Acarnania*, passing aboue by the City of *Stratus*, and falling into the Sea by the Citie of the *Oeniades*, which also it moateth about with Fens, by the abundance of Water, maketh it hard lying there for an Army in time of Winter. Also most of the Ilands *Echinades* lye iust ouer against *Oenia*, hard by the mouth of *Achelous*. And the Riuer being a great one, continually C heapeth together the grauell; insomuch that some of those Ilands are become Continent already, and the like in short time is expected by the rest. For not onely the streame of the Riuer is swift, broad, and turbidous, but also the Ilands themselues stand thicke, and because the Grauell cannot passe, are ioyned one to another, lying in and out, not in a direct line, nor so much as to giue the Water his course directly forward into the Sea. These Ilands are all Desart, and but small ones. It is reported, that *Apollo* by his Oracle did asigne this place for an habitation to *Alcmaon* the sonne of *Amphiraus*, at such time as D he wandred vp and downe for the killing of his *Moiber*; telling him, That he should neuer be free from the terrours that haunted him, till he had found out, and seated himselfe in such a Land, as when he slew his Mother, the Sunne had neuer seene, nor was then Land, because all other Lands were polluted by him. Hereupon being at a *Non-plus*, as they say, with much adoe hee obserued this ground congested by the Riuer *Achelous*, and thought there was enough cast vp to E serue his turne, already, since the time of the slaughter of his

The course of the Riuer
Achelous.

The Fable of *Alcmaon*.

A his Mother, after which it was now a long time that hee had beene a Wanderer. Therefore seating himselfe in the places about the *Oeniades*, hee reigned there, and named the Countrey after the name of his sonne *Acarnas*. Thus goes the report, as we haue heard it concerning *Alcmaeon*. But *Phormio* and the *Athenians* leauing *Acarnania*, and returning to *Naupactus*, in the very beginning of the Spring, came backe to *Athens*, and brought with them such Gallies as they had taken, and the Free-men they had taken Prisoners, in their fights at Sea, who were againe set at liberty by exchange of man for man. So ended that Winter, and the third Yeere of the Warre

written by THVCYDIDES.

(* *)

Acarnania whence so called.

The end of the third yeere of the Warre,



A



B

THE
THIRD BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

Attica invaded by the Peloponnesians. The Mitylenians re-
volt, and are received by the Peloponnesians at Olympia,
into their league. The Athenians send Paches to Mity-
lene to besiege it. Part of the besieged Platæans escape
through the fortifications of the enemy. The Commons of
Mitylene, armed by the Nobility for a sally on the enemy, deli-
ver the towne to the Athenians. The residue of the Platæ-
ans yeeld to the besiegers, and are put to the sword. The procee-
ding, upon the Mitylenians, and their punishment. The se-
dition in Corcyra. Laches is sent by the Athenians in-
to Sicily. And Nicias into Melos. Demosthenes fighteth
against the Etolians vnfortunately; and after wards against
the Ambraciotes fortunately. Pythadorus is sent into Si-
cily to receive the Fleet from Laches. This in other three
yeeres of this Warre.

D



He Summer following, the Pello-
ponnesians, and their Confederates at
the time when Corne was at the
highest, entred with their Army
into Attica, vnder the Conduct of
Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus,
King of the Lacedæmonians, & there
set them downe, and wasted the
Territory about. And the Atthian

horsemen, as they were wont, fell vpon the enemy where
they

THE FOURTH

YEERE.

The Peloponnesians invade
Attica.

they thought fit, and kept backe the multitude of A light-armed Souldiers, from going out before the men of Armes, and infesting the places neere the Citie. And when they had stayed as long as their victuall lasted, they returned, and were dissolued according to their Cities.

The Reuolt of Lesbos.

After the *Peloponnesians* were entred *Attica*, *Lesbos* immediately, all but *Methymne*, reuolted from the *Athenians*; which though they would haue done before the Warre, and the *Lacedamonians* would not then receiue them, yet euen now they were forced to re- B uolt sooner then they had intended to doe. For they stayed to haue first straightened the mouth of their Hauen with Dammes of Earth, to haue finished their Walles, and their Gallies then in building, and to haue gotten in all that was to come out of *Pontus*, as Archers, and Victuall, and whatsoeuer else they had sent for.

The intention of the Lesbians to reuolt, discovered to the Athenians.

But the *Tenedians*, with whom they were at oddes, and the *Methymnians*, and of the *Mitylenians* themselves, certaine particular men, vpon Faction, beeing C Holstes to the *Athenians*, made knowne vnto them, that the *Lesbians* were forced to goe all into *Mitylene*; that by the helpe of the *Lacedamonians*, and their Kindred the *Baotians*, they hastned all manner of prouision necessary for a Reuolt, and that vnlesse it were presently preuented, all *Lesbos* would be lost.

The *Athenians* (afflicted with the Disease, and with the Warre now on foot, and at the hottest) thought it a dangerous matter, that *Lesbos*, which had a Nauie, and was of strength entire, should thus bee D added to the rest of their Enemies; and at first receiued not the accusations, holding them therefore the rather feigned, because they would not haue had them true.

The Athenians send 40. Gallies to Lesbos.

But after, when they had sent Ambassadors to *Mitylene*, and could not perswade them to dissolue themselves, and vndoe their preparation, they then feared the worst, and would haue preuented them. And to that purpose, suddenly sent out the 40. Gallies made ready for *Peloponnesus* with *Cleippedes* and 2. other Commanders. For they had bin E aduertised, that there was a Holiday of *Apollo Maloeis* to be kept

A kept without the Citie, and that to the celebration thereof the *Mitylenians* were accustomed to come all out of the Towne; and they hoped, making haste, to take them there vnawares. And if the attempt succeeded, it was well; if not, they might command the *Mitylenians* to deliuer vp their Gallies, and to demollish their Walles; or they might make Warre against them, if they refused. So these Gallies went their way. And tenne Gallies of *Mitylene* which then chanced to be at *Athens*, by vertue of their League to ayde them, the *Athenians* stayed, and cast B into prison the men that were in them. In the meane time a certaine man went from *Athens* into *Eubœa* by Sea, and then by Land to *Geraſtus*, and finding there a Ship ready to put off, hauing the Wind fauourable, arriued in *Mitylene*, three dayes after he set forth from *Athens*, and gaue them notice of the comming of the Fleet. Hereupon they not onely went not out to *Malotis*, as was expected, but also stopped the gappes of their Walles and Ports, where they were left vnfinished, and placed guards to defend them.

C When the *Athenians*, not long after, arriued, and saw this, the Commanders of the Fleet deliuered to the *Mitylenians* what they had in charge, which not harkened vnto, they presently fell to the Warre. The *Mitylenians* vnprovided, and compelled to a Warre on such a sudden, put out some few Gallies before the Hauen to fight: but being driuen in againe by the Gallies of *Athens*, they called to the *Athenian* Commanders to parly; desiring, if they could, vpon reasonable conditions, to get the Gallies for the present sent away.

D And the *Athenian* Commander allowed the Conditions, hee also fearing they should bee too weake to make Warre against the whole Iland.

When a cession of Armes was granted, the *Mitylenians* amongst others, sent to *Athens*, one of those that had giuen ineligence there of their Designe, and had repented him after of the same, to try if they could persuade them to withdrawe their Fleet from them, as not intending any innouation. Wichall they sent Ambassadors at the same time to *Lacedæmon*, vndis-

E covered of the Fleete of the *Athenians*, which was riding at Anchor in * *Malæa*, to the North of the Citie; being

The *Athenians* imprison
such of *Mitylene* as were at
Athens, and stay their
Gallies.

The *Athenians* giue the
Mitylenians time to purge
themselues at *Athens*.

The *Mitylenians* sent to
Lacedæmon for ayde.

* This *Malæa* seemeth not to
be the Promontory of *Malæa*,
according to the Seelast,
which lieth to the South of
Mitylene, but some other
nearer place, as on the North
side of the Citie.

The *Mitylean* Ambassadors speed not at *Athens*.

They fall out vpon the *Athenians*, but without successe.

They lye still, expecting helpe from *Peloponnesus*.

The *Athenians* send for the aydes of their Confederates.

The *Athenians* send *Asopius* the sonne of *Phormio*, with 20. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*.

being without any confidence of their successe at *Athens*. **A** And these men after an ill voyage, through the wide Sea, arriuing at *Lacedæmon*, negotiated the sending of aide from thence. But when their Ambassadors were come backe from *Athens*, without effect, the *Mitylenians*, and the rest of *Lesbos*, saue only *Merhymne*, (for these, together with the *Imbrians*, *Lemnians*, and some few other their Confederates, ayded the *Athenians*) prepared themselves for the Warre. And the *Mitylenians* with the whole strength of the City, made a sally vpon the *Athenian* Campe, and came to a Battell; wherein though the *Mitylenians* had not the worse, yet **B** they lay not that night without the Walles, nor durst trust to their strength, but retyring into the Towne, lay quiet there, expecting to try their fortune, with the accession of such forces, as (if any came) they were to haue from *Peloponnesus*. For there were now come into the Citie, one *Nicleas* a *Laconian*, and *Hermiondas* a *Theban*, who hauing bin sent out before the reuolt, but vnable to arriue before the comming of the *Athenian* Fleet, secretly, after the end of the Battel, entred the Hauen in a Gally, and perswaded them to send another Gally along with them, with other Ambassadors to *Sparta*; which they did. But the *Athe-* **C** *nians* much confirmed by this the *Mitylenians* cessation, called in their Confederates, who because they saw no assurance on the part of the *Lesbians*, came much sooner in then it was thought they would haue done, & riding at Anchor to the South of the Citie, fortified two Camps, on either side one, and brought their Gallies before both the Ports, and so quite excluded the *Mitylenians* from the vse of the Sea. As for the Land, the *Athenians* held so much onely as lay neere their Campes, which was not much; And the *Mitylenians* and other *Lesbians*, that were now come to ayde them, were Masters of the rest. For *Malea* serued the *Athe-* **D** *nians* for a station onely for their Gallies, and to keepe their Market in. And thus proceeded the Warre before *Mitylene*.

About the same time of the same Summer, the *Athenians* sent likewise thirty Gallies into *Peloponnesus*, vnder the conduct of *Asopius* the sonne of *Phormio*. **E** For the *Acarnanians* had desired them to send some sonne or kinsman of *Phormio* for Generall into those parts. These, as they sayled by, E walled the maritime Countrey of *Laconia*, and then sending

A ding backe the greatest part of his Fleet to *Athens*, *Asopius* himselfe with twelue Gallies went on to * *Naupactus*. And afterwards hauing raised the whole power of *Acarnania*, he made Warre vpon the *Oeniades*, and both entred with his Gallies into the Riuer of *Achelous*, and with his Land-forces wasted the Territory. But when the *Oeniades* would not yeeld, hee disbanded his Land-forces, and sailed with his Gallies to *Leucas*, and landed his Souldiers on the Territory of *Neritum*; but in going off, was by those of the Countrey that came out to defend it, and by
B some few of the Garrison Souldiers there, both himselfe and part of his Company slaine. And hauing vpon truce receiued from the *Leucadians* their dead bodies, they went their wayes.

* *Lepanto*.*Asopius* slaine.

Now the Ambassadors of the *Mitylenians*, that went out in the first Gally, hauing beene referred by the *Lacedæmonians* to the generall meeting of the *Grecians* at *Olympia*, to the end they might determine of them, together with the rest of the Confederates, went to *Olympia* accordingly. It was that * *Olympiade* wherein *Dorieus* of *Rhodes*
C was the second time victor. And when after the solemnity, they were set in Councell, the Ambassadors spake vnto them in this manner.

The *Mitylenian* Ambassadors sent to *Lacedæmon*, are appointed to attend the generall Assembly of the *Grecians* at *Olympia*.* *Olympiade* 88.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of MITYLENE.

MEN of *Lacedæmon*, and Confederates, We know the
received custome of the *Grecians*: For they that take
into League (such as reuolt in the Warres, and relinquish a
D former League, though they like them as long as they haue profit by
them, yet accounting them but Traitors to their former Friends,
they esteeme the worse of them in their iudgement. And to say the
truth, this iudgement is not without good reason, when they that
reuolt, and they from whom the reuolt is made, are mutually like-
minded and affected, and equall in prouision and strength, and no
iust cause of their reuolt giuen. But now betweene vs and the *A-*
thenians it is not so. Nor let any man thinke the worse of vs, for
that hauing beene honoured by them in time of peace, we haue now
reuolted in time of danger. For the first point of our speech, espe-
E cially now we seeke to come into League with you, shall bee to make
good the iustice and honesty of our reuolt. For we know there can
bee

bee neither firme friendship betweene man and man, nor any commu- A
 nion betweene Citie and Citie to any purpose whatsoeuer, without a
 mutuall opinion of each others honesty, and also a similitude of
 customes other wayes. For in the difference of mindes is groundid
 the diversity of actions. As for our League with the Athenians, it
 was first made, when you gaue over the Medan Warre, and they re-
 mained to prosecute the reliques of that businesse: Yet wee entred not
 such a League, as to be their helpers in bringing the Grecians into
 the seruitude of the Athenians; but to set free the Grecians from
 the seruitude of the Medes. And as long as they led vs as e-
 quals, wee followed them with much zeale; but when wee saw they B
 remitted their enmity against the Medes, and led vs to the subing-
 ation of the Confederates, we could not then but bee afraid. And the
 Confederates through the multitude of distinct Councils, unable to
 vnite themselves for resistance, fell all but our selues and the Chians
 into their subiection; and wee hauing still our owne Lawes, and being
 in name a free State, followed them to the Warres; but so, as by the
 examples of their former actions, we held them not any longer for
 faithfull Leaders. For it was not probable, when they had subdued
 those, whom together with vs they tooke into league, but that, when
 they should bee able, they would doe the like also by the rest. It is true C
 that if we were now in liberty all, wee might bee the better assured,
 that they would forbear to innouate; but since they haue vnder them
 the greatest part already, in all likelihood they will take it ill, to deale
 on equall termes with vs alone; and the rest yeelding, to let vs onely
 stand vp as their equals. Especially when by how much they are be-
 come stronger by the subiection of their Confederates, by so much the
 more are wee become desolate. But the equality of mutuall feare, is
 the onely band of faith in Leagues. For hee that hath the will to trans-
 gresse, yet when he hath not the oddes of strength, will abstaine from
 comming on. Now the reason why they haue left vs yet free, is no D
 other, but that they may haue a faire colour to lay vpon their domina-
 tion ouer the rest; and because it hath seemed vnto them more expe-
 dient to take vs in by policy, then by force. For therein they made vse
 of vs, for an argument, that hauing equall vote with them, wee
 would neuer haue followed them to the Warres, if those against whom
 they led vs, had not done the iniury. And thereby also they brought
 the stronger against the weaker, and reseruing the strongest to the last,
 made them the weaker, by remouing the rest. Whereas if they had
 begunne with vs, when the Confederates had had both their owne
 strength, and a side to adhere to, they had neuer subdued them so easi- E
 ly. Likewise our Nauy kept them in some feare, lest vnited and

added

- A** added to yours, or to any other, it might have created them some danger. Partly also we escaped by our observance toward their Common and most eminent men from time to time. But yet we still thought we could not doe so long, considering the examples they have shewed vs in the rest, if this Warre should not have fallen out. What friendship then or assurance of liberty was this, when we received each other with alienated affections? when whilst they had Warres, they for feare courted vs, and when they had Peace, we for feare courted them? and whereas in others, good will assureth loyalty, in vs it was the effect of feare? So it was more for feare then loue, that we remained their
- B** Confederates; and whomsoever security should first embolden, he was first likely by one meanes or other to breake the league. Now if any man thinke we did uniuersally, to reuolt vpon the expectation of euill intended, without staying to be certaine, whether they would doe it or not, he weigheth not the matter aright. For if we were as able to contriue euill against them, and againe to deferre it, as they can against vs, being thus equall, what needed vs to be at their discretion? But seeing it is in their hands to inuade at pleasure, it ought to be in ours to anticipate. Vpon these pretentions therefore, and causes, Men of Lacedæmon & Confederates, we haue reuolted, the which are both
- C** cleare enough for the hearers to iudge vpon, that we had reason for it, and weighty enough to affright, and compell vs to take some course for our owne safety; which we would haue done before, when before the Warre, we sent Ambassadors to you about our reuolt, but could not, because you would not then admit vs into your league. And now when the Boeotians inuited vs to it, we presently obeyed. Wherein wee thought we made a double reuolt, one from the Grecians, in ceasing to doe them mischief with the Athenians, and helping to set them free; and another from the Athenians, in breaking first, and not staying to be destroyed by them hereafter. But this reuolt of ours hath
- D** beene sooner then was fit, and before we were provided for it. For which cause also the Confederates ought so much the sooner to admit vs into the league, and send vs the speedier aide, thereby the better, at once, both to defend those you ought to defend, and to annoy your enemies. Whereof there was neuer better opportunity then at this present. For the Athenians being both with the likenesse, and their great expences consumed, and their Navy diuided, part vpon your own Coasts, and part vpon ours, it is not likely they should haue many Gallies spare, in case you againe this Summer inuade them, both by Sea and Land; but that they should either be vnable to resist the inuasion
- E** of your Fleet, or be forced to come off from both our Coastes. And let not any man conceine that you shall herein, at your owne danger defend

defend the Territory of another. For though Lesbos seeme remote, A
 the profit of it will be neere you. For the Warre will not be; as a man
 would thinke in Attica, but there, from whence cometh the profit
 to Attica. This profit is the reuennue they haue from their Confede-
 rates; which if they subdue vs, will still be greater. For neither will
 any other revolt, and all that is ours will accrew vnto them; and wee
 shall be worse handled besides, then those that were vnder them be-
 fore. But aiding vs with diligence you shall both adde to your league
 a Citie, that hath a great Nauy (the thing you most stand in need of)
 and also easily ouerthrow the Athenians by subduction of their
 Confederates; because euery one will then be more confident to come B
 in, and you shall auoyd the imputation of not assisting such as revolt
 vnto you. And if it appeare that your endeouour is to make them free,
 your strength in this Warre will be much the more confirmed. In re-
 uerence therefore of the hopes which the Grecians haue reposed in
 you, and of the presence of Iupiter Olympius, in whose Temple here,
 we are in a manner suppliants to you, receiue the Mitylenians into
 league, and ayde vs. And doe not cast vs off, who, (though, as to the ex-
 posing of our persons, the danger be our owne) shall bring a common
 profit to all Greece, if we prosper, and a more common detriment to all
 the Grecians, if through your inflexiblenesse we miscarry. Be you
 therefore men, such as the Grecians esteeme you, and our feares re- C
 quire you to be. In this manner spake the Mitylenians,

The Mitylenians take into
 the Lacedæmonian league.

And the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, when
 they had heard, and allowed their reasons, decreed not one-
 ly a League with the Lesbians, but also againe to make an
 inuasion into Attica. And to that purpose, the Lacedæmo-
 nians appointed their Confederates there present, to make
 as much speed as they could with two parts of their for-
 ces, into the Isthmus; And they themselues being first
 there, prepared Engines in the Isthmus for the drawing vp
 of Gallies, with intention to carry the Nauy from Corinth D
 to the other Sea that lyeth towards Athens, and to set vp-
 on them both by Sea and Land. And these things di-
 ligently did they. But the rest of the Confederates assem-
 bled but slowly, being busied in the gathering in of their
 fruits, and weary of Warfare.

The Lacedæmonians pre-
 pare for the inuasion of
 Attica, both by Sea and
 Land.

The Athenians perceiuing all this preparation to bee
 made, vpon an opinion of their weaknesse, and desirous to
 let them see they were deceiued, as being able without E
 stirring the Fleet at Lesbos, easily to master the Fleet that
 should

A should come against them out of *Peloponnesus*, manned out
 100 Gallies, and imbarked therein generally, both Citizens
 (except those of the degree of * *Pentacosiomedimni*, and
 * *Hopliten*) and also strangers that dwelt amongst them;
 And sayling to the *Isthmus*, made a shew of their strength,
 and landed their Souldiers in such parts of *Peloponnesus*,
 as they thought fit. When the *Lacedemonians* saw
 things so contrary to their expectation, they thought it
 false, which was spoken by the *Lesbian* Ambassadors; and
 esteeming the action difficult, seeing their Confederates
 B were not arriued, and that newes was brought of the wa-
 fling of the Territory neere their City, by the 30 Gallies
 formerly sent about *Peloponnesus* by the *Athenians*, went
 home againe; and afterwards prepared to send a Fleet to
Lesbos, and intimated to the Cities rateably to furnish 40
 Gallies, and appointed *Aleidas*, who was to goe thither
 with them, for Admirall. And the *Athenians*, when they
 saw the *Peloponnesians* gone, went likewise home with
 their hundred Gallies.

About the time that this Fleet was out, they had surely
 C the most Gallies in action (besides the beauty of them) that
 euer they had at once. But in the beginning of the war, they
 had as good Gallies and also more in number. For 100
 attended the guard of *Attica*, *Eubœa*, and *Silamis*, and another
 100 were about *Peloponnesus*, besides those that were at *Po-
 tidea*, and in other places. So that in one Summer, they had
 in all, 250 Sayle. And this, together with *Potidea*, was
 it, that most exhausted their treasure. For the * men of
 Armes that besieged the Citie, had each of them two
 drachmaes a day, one for himselfe, and another for his man,
 D & were 3000 in number that were sent thither at first, and
 remained to the end of the Siege; besides 1600 more,
 that went with *Phormio* and came away before the Town
 was won. And the Gallies had all the same pay. In this ma-
 ner was their money consumed, and so many Gallies em-
 ployed, the most indeed that euer they had manned at once.

About the same time that the *Lacedemonians* were in the
Isthmus, the *Mitylenians* marched by Land, both they and
 their auxiliaries, against *Methymne*, in hope to haue had it
 betrayed vnto them; and hauing assaulted the Citie, when
 E it succeeded not the way they looked for, they went thence
 to *Antissa*, *Pyrrha*, and *Bressus*; and after they had settled the
 X affaires

The *Athenians* to make
 thew of their power, and
 to deterre the enemy
 from their enterprise,
 send 100 Gallies, not so
 much to waile *Peloponne-
 sus*, as to confute the opi-
 nion which the *Lesbian*
 Ambassadors had put in-
 to the *Lacedemonians* of
 their weakenesse.

* A degree of wealth: by
 their wealth, as if one should
 say, men that had 500 Chal-
 drons reate us, as they reckon
 in Scotland.

* *Hopliten*, such as kept a
 Horse to seruise the State, and
 were valued at 300 Chal-
 drons.

The greatnesse of the *A-
 thenian* Navy, & occasion
 of their great expence
 of money.

* *Onchirus*, A man of Armes
 had double pay for himselfe
 and for a servant.

The *Mitylenians* goe with
 a power to *Methymne*, ho-
 ping to haue it betrayed.

affaires of those places, and made strong their wals, returned A
speedily home. When these were gone, the *Methymneans*
likewise made War vpon *Antissa*, but beaten by the *Antissians*, and some auxiliaries that were with them, they made
halte againe to *Methymne*, with the losse of many of their
Souldiers. But the *Athenians* being aduertized hereof, and vnder-
standing that the *Mitylenians* were masters of the Land,
and that their own Soldiers there were not enough to keep
them in, sent thither, about the beginning of Autumne,
Paches, the sonne of *Epicurus*, with 1000 men of Armes, of
their owne Citie, who supplying the place of Rowers B
themselves, arrived at *Mitylene*, and ingirt it with a single
wall. Saue that in some places, stronger by Nature then
the rest, they onely built Turrets, and placed guards in
them. So that the Citie was euery way strongly besieged,
both by Sea and Land; And the Winter began.

The *Athenians* send *Paches*
with 1000 men of Armes
to *Mitylene*.

The end of the fourth
Summer.
* 37500 pound sterling.

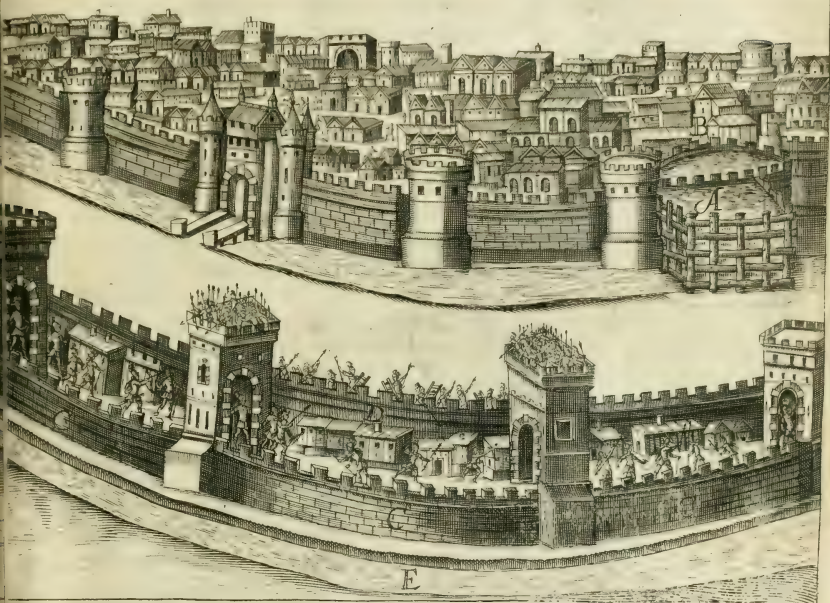
The *Athenians* standing in need of mony for the Siege,
both contributed themselues, and sent thither * 200 Ta-
lents of this their first contribution, & also dispatched *Lyfi-
cles*, and 4 others, with 42 Gallies, to leuie money amongst
the Confederates. But *Lyficles*, after he had beene to and C
fro, and gathered money in diuers places, as he was going
vp from *Myus*, thorow the Plaines of *Meander* in *Caria*,
as farre as to the hill *Sandium*, was set vpon there by the
Carians and *Aeolians*, and himselfe with a great part of his
Souldiers, slaine.

The escape of 212 men
out of *Plataea*, thorow the
workes of the enemy.

The same Winter the *Plataeans* (for they were yet be-
sieged by the *Peloponnesians*, and *Boeotians*) pressed now with
want of Victuall, and hopelesse of reliefe from *Athens*,
and no other meanes of safety appearing, tooke Counsell,
both they, and the *Athenians* that were besieged with D
them, at first all to goe out, and, if they could, to passe ouer
the wall of the enemy by force. The Authors of this
attempt, were *Theanetus* the sonne of *Timidas*, a Soothsayer,
and *Eupolpidas* the sonne of *Demachus*, one of their Comman-
ders. But halfe of them afterwards, by one meanes or
other, for the greatnesse of the danger, shrunke from it
again. But 220 or thereabouts, voluntarily persisted, to
goe out, in this manner. They made them Ladders, fit for
the height of the enemies wall; the wall they measured
by the Layes of Bricke, on the part toward the Towne. E
where it was not Plaistered ouer; and diuers men at
once

They make the length
of their Ladders by con-
ecture vpon counting
the Layes of Bricke.

Platæa



the mount of earth Cast up by the Peloponnesians. B. The wall
 built inwards by the Plataeans to frustrate the effect of the mount.
 C. The worke of the Peloponnesians. D. The place wher the Plataeans
 go ouer. E. The ditch wth out, full of water ~



A once numbred the layes of Bricke, whereof though some misled, yet the greatest part tooke the reckoning iust; especially, numbbring them often, and at no great distance; but where they might easily see the part, to which their Ladders were to bee applyed; and so by guesse of the thicknesse of one Bricke, tooke the measure of their Ladders.

As for the Wall of the *Peloponnesians*, it was thus built. It consisted of a double Circle, one towards *Platea*, and another outward, in case of an assault from *Athens*.

B These two Walles were distant one from the other about sixteene foot; and that sixteene foot of space which was betwixt them, was disposed and built into Cabines for the Watchmen, which were so ioyned and continued one to another, that the whole appeared to be one thicke Wall, with Battlements on either side. At every tenne Battlements, stood a great Tower of a iust breadth, to comprehend both Walles, and reach from the outmost to the inmost front of the whole, so that there was no passage by the side of a Towre, but through the middelt of it. And

C such nights as there happened any storme of Raine, they vsed to quit the Battlements of the Wall, and to watch vnder the Towres, as being not farre asunder, and couered beside ouer head. Such was the forme of the Wall wherein the *Peloponnesians* kept their Watch. The *Platians*, after they were ready, and had attended a tempestuous night, and withall Moonelesse, went out of the Citie, and were conducted by the same men that were the Authors of the Attempt. And first they passed the Ditch that was about the Towne, and then came vp close to the

D Wall of the Enemy, who, because it was darke, could not see them comming; and the noyse they made as they went could not be heard for the blustering of the wind. And they came on besides at a good distance one from the other, that they might not bee betrayed by the clashing of their Armes; and were but lightly armed, and not shod but on the left foot, for the more stedkinesse in the wet. They came thus to the Battlements, in one of the spaces betweene Towre and Towre, knowing that there was now no Watch kept there. And first came they that carried the Ladders, and placed them to the Wall; then 12. lightly armed, onely with a Dagger and a Brestplate, went

The description of the fortification of the *Peloponnesians* about *Platea*.

The description of the *Platians* going over the Enemies Wallles.

vp, led by Ammeas, the sonne of Corabul, who was the A
 first that mounted; and they that followed him, went vp
 into either Towre 6. To these succeeded others lightly
 armed, that carryed the Darts, for whom they that came
 after, carried Targets at their backes, that they might bee
 the more expedite to get vp, which Targets they were to
 deliuer to them, when they came to the Enemy. At
 length, when most of them were ascended, they were
 heard by the Watchmen that were in the Towres, for one
 of the Plateans taking hold of the Battlements, threw
 downe a Tyle, which made a noyse in the fall; and pre- B
 sently there was an Alarme. And the Armie ran to the
 Wall, for in the darke and stormie night, they knew not
 what the danger was. And the Plateans that were left in
 the Citie, came forth withall, and assaulted the Wall of
 the Peloponnesians, on the opposite part to that where their
 men went ouer. So that though they were all in a tumult
 in their severall places, yet nor any of them that watched,
 durst stirre to the ayde of the rest, nor were able to conie-
 cture what had happened. But * those three hundred that
 were appointed to asist the Watch vpon all occasions of C
 neede, went without the Wall, and made towards the
 place of the clamor. They also held vp the fires, by which
 they vsed to make knowne the approach of Enemies, to-
 wards Thebes. But then the Plateans likewise, held out
 many other fires from the Wall of the Citie, which for
 that purpose they had before prepared, to render the fires
 of the Enemy insignificant, and that the Thebans apprehending
 the matter otherwise then it was, might forbear to
 send help, till their men were ouer, and had recovered
 some place of safety. D

In the meane time, those Plateans, which hauing scaled
 the Wall first, and slaine the Watch, were now masters
 of both the Towres, not onely guarded the passages,
 by standing themselues in the entries, but also applying
 Ladders from the Wall to the Towres, and conueying
 many men to the toppe, kept the enemies off with shot,
 both from aboue and below. In the meane space, the
 greatest number of them hauing reared to the Wall many
 Ladders at once, and beaten downe the Battlements, pas-
 sed quite ouer betweene the Towres, and euer as any of E
 them got to the other side, they stood still vpon the brinke
 of

* There is no mention of these
 300. where the Author rela-
 tes the laying of the siege:
 But it must be understood.

A of the Ditch without, and with Arrowes and Darts, kept off those that came by the outside of the Wall to hinder their passage. And when the rest were ouer, then last of all, and with much adoe, came they also downe to the Ditch, which were in the two Towres. And by this time, the three hundred that were to assilt the Watch, came and let vpon them, and had lights with them; by which meanes the *Plataeans* that were on the further brinke of the Ditch, discerned them the better from out of the darke, and aimed their Arrowes and Darts at their most
 B disarmed parts. For, standing in the darke, the lights of the Enemie made the *Plataeans* the lesse discernable. Inso-much as these last passed the Ditch, though with difficulty and force. For the Water in it was frozen ouer, though not so hard as to beare, but watrie, and such as when the Wind is at East, rather then at North: and the Snow which fell that night, together with so great a Wind as that was, had very much increased the Water, which they waded thorow, with scarce their heads aboue. But yet the greatnesse of the storme was the principall
 C meanes of their escape.

From the Ditch, the *Plataeans*, in troope, tooke the way towards *Thebes*, leauing on the left hand the Temple of *Iuno*, built by *Androcrates*, both for that they supposed, they would least suspect the way that led to their Enemies, and also because they saw the *Peloponnesians* with their lights pursue that way, which by Mount *Citharon*, and the *Oake-heads*, led to *Athens*. The *Plataeans*, when they had gone 6. or 7. Furlongs, forsooke the *Theban* way, and turned into that which led towards the Mountaine, to *Erythrae*, and *Hysæ*, and hauing gotten the Hilles, escaped
 D through to *Athens*, being 212. persons of a greater number: for some of them returned into the Citie, before the rest went ouer; and one of their Archers was taken vpon the Ditch without. And so the *Peloponnesians* gaue ouer the pursuite, and returned to their places. But the *Plataeans* that were within the City, knowing nothing of the euent, and those that turned backe hauing told them, that not a man escaped, as soone as it was day, sent a Herald to entreat a Truce, for the taking vp of their dead bodies;
 E but when they knew the truth, they gaue it ouer. And thus these men of *Plataea* passed through the

Salathus a Lacedemonian, entred secretly into Mitylene, and confirmeth them with hope of speedy aide.

THE FIFTH
YEERE.

* It should be 40.
Attica the fourth time
inuated.

*Pausanias King of Laceda-
mon.*

*Salathus armes the Com-
mons for a Sally. They
mutiny, and giue vp
the Towne.*

Fortification of their Enemies, and were saved. A

About the end of the same Winter, *Salathus a Lacedemonian*, was sent in a Gallie to *Mitylene*, and comming first to *Pyrrha*, and thence going to *Mitylene* by Land, entred the Citie by the dry channell of a certaine Torrent, which had a passage through the Wall of the *Athenians*, vndiscovered. And hee told the Magistrates, that *Attica* should againe be inuaded, and that the 40. Gallies which were to aide them, were comming, and that himselfe was sent afore, both to let them know it, and withall to giue order in the rest of their affaires. Heereupon the *Mitylenians* grew confident, and hearkned lesse to composition with the *Athenians*. And the Winter ended, and the fourth yeere of this Warre written by *Thucydides*. B

In the beginning of the Summer, after they had sent *Alcidas* away with the * 42. Gallies, whereof he was Admirall, vnto *Mitylene*, both they and their Confederates inuaded *Attica*; to the end, that the *Athenians* troubled on both sides, might the lesse send supply against the Fleet now gone to *Mitylene*. In this Expedition, *Cleomenes* was Generall, in stead of *Pausanias* the sonne of *Plisfoanax*, who being King, was yet in minority, and *Cleomenes* was his Vncle by the Father. And they now cut downe, both what they had before wasted and began to grow againe, and also whatsoeuer else they had before pratermitted. And this was the sharpest inuasion of all but the second. For whilest they stayed to heare newes from their Fleet at *Lesbos*, which by this time they supposed to haue bene arriued, they went abroad, and destroyed most part of the Countrey. But when nothing succeeded according to their hopes, and seeing their Corne failed, they retyred againe, and were dissolued according to their Cities. C

The *Mitylenians* in the meane time, seeing the Fleet came not from *Peloponnesus*, but delayed the time, and their victuals failed, were constrained to make their composition with the *Athenians*, vpon this occasion. *Salathus*, when hee also expected these Gallies no longer, armed the Commons of the Citie, who were before vnarmed, with intention to haue made a Sally vpon the *Athenians*; but they, as soone as they had gotten Armes, no longer obeyed the Magistrates, but holding Assemblies by themselves,

D

E

A selues, required the rich men, either to bring their Corne to light, and diuide it amongst them all, or else, they said, they would make their composition by deliuering vp the Citie to the *Athenians*.

Those that managed the State, perceiuing this, and vnable to hinder it, knowing also their owne danger, in case they were excluded out of the composition, they all ioyntly agreed to yeeld the Citie to *Paches*, and his Army; with these conditions, *To be proceeded withall at the pleasure of the people of Athens; and to receiue the Armie into the Citie, and that the Mitylenians should send Ambassadors to Athens, about their owne businesse: And that Paches till their returne, should neither put in bonds, nor make Slaue of, nor slay any Mitylenian.* This was the effect of that composition. But such of the *Mitylenians* as had principally practized with the *Lacedemonians*, being afraid of themselues, when the Army was entred the Citie, durst not trust to the Conditions agreed on, but tooke Sanctuary at the Altars. But *Paches* hauing raised them, vpon promise to doe them no iniury sent them to *Tenedos*, to be in custody there, till the people of *Athens* should haue resolved what to doe. After this, he sent some Gallies to *Antissa*, and tooke in that Towne, and ordered the affaires of his Armie as he thought conuenient.

In the meane time, those 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus* which should haue made all possible haste, trifled away the time about *Peloponnesus*, and making small speed in the rest of their Nauigation, arriued at *Delos*, vnknowne to the *Athenians* at *Athens*. From thence sayling to *Icarus* and *Myconum*, they got first intelligence of the losse of *Mitylene*. But to know the truth more certainly, they went thence to *Embatus* in *Erythraea*. It was about the seuenth day after the taking of *Mitylene*, that they arriued at *Embatus*, where vnderstanding the certainty, they went to counsell, about what they were to doe vpon the present occasion, and *Tentiaplus* an *Elean*, deliuered his opinion to this effect.

Alcidas, and the rest that haue command of the *Peloponnesians* in this Army, it were not amisse, in my opinion, to goe to *Mitylene*, as we are, before aduice be giuen of our arriual. (For in all probability, we shall find the City, in respect they haue but lately won it, very weakly guarded) and to the Sea, (where they expect no enemy, and we are chiefly strong) not guarded at all. It is also likely that their

Some of the *Mitylenians* fearing the worst, take Sanctuary.

Whom *Paches* perswadeth to rise. And sendeth them to bee in custody at *Tenedos*.

The voyage of *Alcidas* with 40 Gallies into *Ionis*.

Alcidas with his Fleet, at *Embatus* is assured of the losse of *Mitylene*.

The aduise of *Tentiaplus* in the Councell of Warre,

their land Souldiers are disperſed, ſome in one houſe, and ſome in another, careleſſy as victors. Therefore if we fall upon them ſuddenly, and by night, I thinke, with the helpe of thoſe within (if any bee left there that will take our part) we may be able to poſſeſſe our ſelves of the Citie. And we ſhall neuer feare the danger, if we but thinke this, that all Stratagems of Warre whatſoeuer, are no more, but ſuch occaſions as this, which if a Commander auoid in himſelfe, and take the aduantage of them, in the enemy, he ſhall for the moſt part haue good ſucceſſe. Thus ſaid he, but preuailed not with Alcidas. And ſome others, Fugitiues of Ionia, and thoſe Lesbians that were with him in the Fleet, gaue him counſell, That ſeeing he feared the danger of this, he ſhould ſeaze ſome Citie of Ionia, or Cume in Æolia, that hauing ſome Towne for the ſeat of the Warre, they might from thence, force Ionia to reuolt, whereof there was hope, becauſe the Ionians would not be unwilling to ſee him there. And if they could withdraw from the Athenians this their great reuenue, and withall put them to maintaine a Fleet againſt them, it would be a great exhauſting of their treaſure. They ſaid beſides, that they thought they ſhould be able to gei Piſſuthnes, to ioyne with them in the Warre.

The aduice of certaine
Outlawes of Ionia and
Lesbos.

The cowardly reſolution
of Alcidas.

He killeth his priſoners.

The Samians ſharply re-
prehead him.

But Alcidas reieſted this aduice likewise, inclining rather to this opinion, that ſince they were come too late to Mitylene, they were beſt to returne ſpeedily into Peloponneſus. Whereupon putting off from Embatus, he ſayled by the Shoare to Myonneſus of the Teians, and there ſlew moſt of the priſoners he had taken by the way. After this hee put in at Ephelus, and thither came Ambaſſadours to him from the Samians of Anea, and told him, that it was but an ill manner of ſetting the Grecians at liberty, to kill ſuch as had not liſt vp their hands againſt him, nor were indeed enemies to the Peloponneſians, but Confederates to the Athenians by conſtraint. And that vnleſſe he gaue ouer that courſe, he would make few of the enemies, his friends; but many now friends, to become his enemies. Wherefore vpon theſe words of the Ambaſſadours, he ſet the Chians, and ſome others, all that he had left aliue, at liberty. For when men ſaw their Fleet, they neuer fled from it, but came vnto them as to Athenians; little imagining that the Athenians being maſters of the Sea, the Peloponneſians durſt haue put ouer to Ionia.

Alcidas maketh haſt from
Ephelus homeward.
* The names of two Gallies
of Athens.

From Ephelus, Alcidas went away in haſte, indeed fled; for he had bin deſcried by the *Salaminia, and the *Paralus, (which

A (which by chance were then in their course for *Athens*,) whilest he lay at Anchor about *Claros*, and fearing to be chafed, kept the wide Sea, meaning by his good will, to touch no Land, till hee came into *Peloponnesus*. But the newes of them came to *Paches* from diuers places, especially from *Erythrea*: for the Cities of *Ionia* being vnwalled, were afraid extremely, lest the *Peloponnesians* sayling by, without intention to stay, should haue pillaged them as they passed. But the *Salamina* and the *Paralus* hauing seene him at *Claros*, brought the newes themselues. And
B *Paches* thereupon made great halte after, and followed him as farre as *Latmos* * the Island: but when he saw hee could not reach him, he came backe againe; and thought he had a good turne, seeing hee could not ouertake those Gallies vpon the wide Sea, that the same were not compelled, by being taken in some place neere Land, to fortifie themselues, and so to giue him occasion with guards and Gallies, to attend them.

As hee came by, in his returne, hee put in at *Notium*, a City of the *Colophonians*, into which the *Colophonians* came
C and inhabited, after the * Towne aboue, through their owne sedition, was taken by *Itamans* and the *Barbarians*. (This Towne was taken at the time when *Artica* was the second time inuaded by the *Peloponnesians*.) They then that came downe, and dwelt in *Notium*, falling againe into sedition, the one part hauing procured some forces, *Arcadians* and *Barbarians* of *Pissuthnes*, kept them in a part of the Towne, which they had seuered from the rest with a Wall, and there, with such of the *Colophonians* of the high Towne, as being of the *Medan* faction, entred with them,
D they gouerned the Citie at their pleasure: and the other part which went out from these, and were the Fugitiues, brought in *Paches*. He, when he had called out *Hippias*, Capitaine of the *Arcadians* that were within the said wall, with promise, if they should not agree, to set him safe and sound within the Wall againe; and *Hippias* was there-vpon come to him; committed him to custody, but without bonds; and withall assaulting the Wall on a sudden, when they expected not, rooke it, and slew as many of the *Arcadians* and *Barbarians*
E as were within. And when hee had done, brought *Hippias* in againe, according as hee had promised.

Y

But

Paches pursueth the *Peloponnesians*, and is glad he ouertaketh them not.

* *Judistion* to *Latmos* the Mountain. But I can finde no mention of this *Latmos* the Island in any of the Geographers.

Paches restoreth *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, driven out by sedition.

* The City of *Colophon*, 2. miles higher into the Land.

Paches parlieth with *Hippias*.

His quocation with
is upon whom he put to
death contrary to pro-
mise.

Paches taketh *Pyrrha*, and
Eressus.
He apprehendeth *Salathus*
in *Mitylene*.

The Athenians slay *Salathus*, though he offer to
withdraw the *Peloponnesians*
from the siege of
Plataea.

The cruell decree of the
Athenians in their passion
against the *Mityleans*.

The Athenians repent of
their decree, and consult
anew.

But after he had him there, laid hold on him, and caused A him to bee shot to death; and restored *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, excluding onely such as had Medized. Afterwards the *Athenians* sent *Gouvernours* to *Notium* of their owne, and hauing gathered together the *Colophonians* out of all Cities what soeuer, seated them there vnder the Law of the *Athenians*.

Paches, when he came backe to *Mitylene*, tooke in *Pyrrha* and *Eressus*; and hauing found *Salathus* the *Lacedaemonian* hidden in *Mitylene*, apprehended him, and sent him, together with those men he had put in custody at *Tenedos*, B and whomsoever else he thought Author of the Reuolt, to *Athens*. Hee likewise sent away the greatest part of his Armie, and with the rest stayed, and settled the State of *Mitylene*, and the rest of *Lesbos* as he thought conuenient.

These men, and *Salathus* with them, being arriued at *Athens*, the *Athenians* slew *Salathus* presently, though hee made them many offers, and amongst other, to get the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* to rise from before *Plataea*, (for it was yet besieged) but vpon the rest they went to C Council; and in their passion decreed to put them to death; not onely those men there present, but also all the men of *Mitylene* that were of age, and to make slaues of the Women and children: laying to their charge the Reuolt it selfe, in that they reuolted not, being in subiection as others were: And withall the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, which durst enter into *Ionia* to their ayde, had not a little aggravated that Commotion. Forby that, it seemed that the Reuolt was not made without much premeditation. They therefore sent a Gally to enforme *Paches* of their Decree, with command to put the *Mitylenians* presently to death. D But the next day they felt a kind of repentance in themselves, and began to consider what a great and cruell Decree it was, that not the Authors onely, but the whole Citie should be destroyed. Which when the Ambassadors of the *Mitylenians*, that were there present, & such *Athenians* as fauoured them vnderstood, they wrought with those that bare office, to bring the matter again into debate, wherein they easily preuailed, forasmuch as to them also it was well knowne, that the most of the Citie were desirous to haue meanes to consult of the same anew. The Assem- E bly beeing presently met, amongst the opinions of diuers others,

A others, Cleon also, the sonne of Cleonetus, who in the former Assembly had won to haue them killed, being of all the Citizens most violent, and with the people at that time farre the most powerfull, stood forth, and said in this manner.

Cleon most popular, and most violent.

THE ORATION OF CLEON.

I Haue often on other occasions thought a Democraticke vncapable of dominion ouer others; but most of all now, for this your repentance concerning the Mitylenians. For through your owne mutuall security and opennesse, you imagine the same also in your Confederates, and consider not, that when at their perswasion you commit an error, or relent vpon compassion, you are softened thus, to the danger of the Common-wealth, not to the winning of the affections of your Confederates. Nor doe you consider, that your gouernment is a Tyranny, and those that be subiect to it, are against their willes so, and are plotting continually against you, and obey you not for any good turne, which to your owne detriment you shall doe them, but onely for that you exceed them in strength, and for no good will. But the worst mischiefe of all is this, that nothing wee decree shall stand firme, and that we will not know, that a City with the worse Lawes, if immouable, is better then one with good Lawes, when they bee not binding; and that a plaine wit accompanied with modesty, is more profitable to the State, then dexterity with arrogance; and that the more ignorant sort of men, doe for the most part better regulate a Common-wealth, then they that are wiser. For these loue to appeare wiser then the Lawes, and in all publike debates to carry the victory; as the worthiest things wherein to shew their wisdom; from whence most commonly proceedeth the ruine of the States they liue in. Whereas the other sort, mistrusting their owne wits, are content to be esteemed not so wise as the Lawes, and not able to carpe at what is well spoken by another; and so making themselues equall Iudges, rather then contenders for mastery, gouerne a State for the most part well. Wee therefore should doe the like, and not be carried away with combates of eloquence and wit, to giue such counsell to your multitude, as in our owne iudgements wee thinke not good. For my owne part, I am of the opinion I was before; and I wonder at these men, that haue brought this matter of the Mitylenians in question againe, and thereby cause delay, which is the aduantage onely of them that

doe the iniury. For the sufferer by this meanes comes vpon the doer A
 with his anger dulled, whereas reuenge, the opposite of iniurie, is
 then greatest, when it followes presently. I doe wonder also, what
 he is that shall stand vp now to contradict mee, and shall thinke to
 proue, that the iniuries done vs by the Mitylenians, are good for vs,
 or that our calamities are any damage to our Confederates. For
 certainly he must either trust in his eloquence, to make you beleue,
 that that which was decreed, was not decreed, or moued with lucre,
 must with some elaborate speech endeuour to seduce you. Now of such
 matches [of eloquence] as these, the Citie giueth the prizes to o-
 thers, but the danger that thence proceedeth, she her selfe sustaineth. B
 And of all this, you your selues are the cause, by the euill institution of
 these matches, in that you vse to bee spectators of words, and bea-
 rers of actions, beholding future actions in the words of them that
 speake well, as possible to come to passe; and actions already past, in
 the Orations of such as make the most of them, and that with such as-
 surance, as if what you saw with your eyes, were not more certaine,
 then what you heare related. You are excellent men for one to deceiue
 with a speech of a new straine, but backward to follow any tryed ad-
 uice: slaues to strange things, contemners of things vsuall. You would
 euery one chiefly giue the best aduice, but if you cannot, then you will C
 contradict those that doe. You would not be thought to come after with
 your opinion; but rather if any thing bee acutely spoken, to ap-
 plaud it first, and to appeare ready apprehenders of what is spoken,
 euen before it be out; but slow to preconceine the sequell of the same.
 You would heare, as one may say, somewhat else then what our life is
 conuersant in; and yet you sufficiently vnderstand not that, that is be-
 fore your eyes. And to speake plainly, overcome with the delight of
 the eare. you are rather like vnto spectators; sitting to heare the con-
 tentions of Sophisters, then to men that deliberate of the state of a
 Common-wealth. To put you out of this humour, I say vnto you, that D
 the Mitylenians haue done vs more iniury, then euer did any one
 Citie. For those that haue reuolted through the ouer-hard pressure of
 our gouernment, or that haue beene compelled to it by the enemy, I par-
 don them; but they that were llanders, and had their Citie walled,
 so as they needed not feare our Enemies, but onely by Sea; in which
 case also they were armed for them with sufficient prouision of Gallies;
 and they that were permitted to haue their owne Lawes, and whom
 wee principally honoured, and yet haue done thus; what haue they
 done but conspired against vs, and rather warred vpon vs, then re-
 uolted from vs, (for a reuolt is onely of such as suffer violence) and E
 ioyned with our bitterest Enemies to destroy vs? This is farre worse
 then

The nature of the multi-
 tude in counsell, lucely
 set forth.

Aggrauation of the Re-
 uolt of the Mitylenians.

A then if they had warred against vs for encreasing of their owne power. But these men would neyther take example by their neighbours calamity, who are, all that revolted, already subdued by vs, nor could their owne present felicity, make them afraid of changing it into misery. But being bold against future events, and syming at matters about their strength, though below their desires, haue taken Armes against vs, and preferred force before iustice. For no sooner they thought they might get the victory, but immediately, though without iniury done them, they rose against vs. But with Cities. that come to great and vnexpected prosperity, it is vsuall to turne insolent. Whereas most commonly that prosperity which is attained according to the course of reason, is more firme then that which commeth vnexpected for. And such Cities, as one may say, doe more easily keepe off an aduerse, then maintaine a happy fortune. Indeed we should not formerly haue done any honour, more to the Mitylenians, then to the rest of our Confederates; for then they had neuer come to this degree of insolence. For it is naturall to men to contemne those that obserue them, and to haue in admiration such as will not giue them way. Now therefore let them be punished according to their wicked dealing; and let not the fault be laid vpon a few, and the people bee absolued; for they haue all alike taken Armes against vs. And the Commons, if they had beene constrained to it, might haue fled hither, and haue recovered their Citie afterwards againe. But they, esteeming it the safer adventure, to ioyne with the Few, are alike with them culpable of the Reuolt. Haue also in consideration, your Confederates; And if you inflict the same punishment on them that reuolt vpon compulsion of the Enemy, that you doe on them that reuolt of their owne accord, who thinke you will not reuolt, though

D on light pretence; seeing that speeding they winne their liberty, and failing their case is not incurable? Besides, that against euery City wee must bee at a new hazard both of our persons and fortunes. Wherein with the best successe, wee recouer but an exhausted Citie, and lose that, wherein our strength lyeth, the reuenue of it; but miscarrying, wee adde these Enemies to our former; and must spend that time in warring against our owne Confederates, which wee needed to employ against the Enemies, we haue already. Wee must not therefore giue our Confederates hope of pardon, either impetrable by words, or

E purchasable by money, as if their errorrs were but such as are commonly incident to humanity. For these did vs not an iniury
vnwil-

unwillingly, but wittingly conspired against vs; whereas it ought to bee inuoluntary, what soeuer is pardonable. Therefore both then at first, and now againe I maintaine, that you ought not to alter your former Decree, nor to offend in any of these three most disaduantagious things to Empire, Pittie, Delight in plausible speeches, and Lenity. As for Pitty, it is iust to shew it on them that are like vs, and will haue pittie againe; but not vpon such as not onely would not haue had pittie vpon vs, but must also of necessity haue bene our enemies for euer hereafter. And for the Rhetoricians that delight you with their Orations, let them play their prizes in matters of lesse weight, and not in such wherein the City for a little pleasure, must suffer a great damage, but they for their well speaking, must well * haue. Lastly for Lenity, it is to be vsed towards those that will be our friends hereafter, rather then towards such, as being suffered to liue, will still be as they are, not a iot the lesse our enemies. In summe I say onely this, that if you follow my aduice, you shall doe that, which is both iust in respect of the Mitylenians, and profitable for your selues; whereas if you decree otherwise, you doe not gratifie them, but condemne your selues. For if these haue iustly reuolted, you must vniustly haue had dominion ouer them. Nay though your dominion be against reason, yet if you resolute to bold it, you must also, as a matter conducing thereunto, against reason punish them; or else you must giue your dominion ouer, that you may be good without danger. But if you consider what was likely they would haue done to you, if they had preuailed, you cannot but thinke them worthy the same punishment; nor be lesse sensible you that haue escaped, then they that haue conspired; especially they hauing done the iniurie first. For such as doe an iniury without precedent cause, persecute most, and euen to the death, him they haue done it to; as iealous of the danger his remaining Enemy may create him. For hee that is wronged without cause, and escapeth, will commonly bee more cruell, then if it were against any Enemy on equall quarell. Let vs not therefore betray our selues, but in contemplation of what you were neere suffering, and how you once prized aboue all things else, to haue them in your power, requite them now accordingly. Bee not softened at the sight of their present estate, nor forget the danger that hung ouer our own heads so lately: Giue not onely vnto these their deserued punishment, but also vnto the rest of our Confederates a cleere example, that death is their sentence, when soeuer they shall rebell. Which when they know, you shall

* Meaning that the Orators are bribed and hired to giue counsell to the Commonwealth, according to the desire of other States.

the

A the lesse often haue occasion to neglect your Enemies, and fight against your owne Confederates. To this purpose spake Cleon.

After him, Diodotus the sonne of Eucrates, who also in the former Assembly opposed most the putting of the Mitylenians to death, stood forth, and spake as followeth.

THE ORATION OF DIODOTVS.

B I Will neither blame those who haue propounded the businesse of the Mitylenians, to be againe debated, nor commend those that find fault with often consulting in affaires of great importance. But I am of opinion that nothing is so contrary to good counsell as these two, halte and anger: whereof the one is euer accompanied with madnesse, and the other with want of iudgement. And whosoeuer maintaineth, that words are not instructers to deeds, either hee is not wise, or doth hit upon some priuate interest of his owne. Not wise, if hee thinke that future and not apparent things, may bee demonstrated other wise then by words: Interestted, if desiring to carry an ill matter, and knowing that a bad cause will not beare a good speech, hee goe about to deterre his opposers and hearers by a good calumniation.

C they, of all others, are most intolerable, that when men giue publike aduice, will accuse them also of bribery. For if they charged a man with no more, but ignorance, when he had spoken in vaine, hee might yet depart with the opinion of a foole. But when they impute corruption also, if his counsell take place, he is still suspected, and if it doe not take place, he shall be held not onely a foole, but also voide of honesty. The Common-wealth gets no good by such courses; for through feare heereof, it will want counsellours, and the State would doe their businesse for the most part well, if this kinde of Citizens were they that had least ability in speaking; for they should then perswade the City to the fewer errors. For a good Statesman should not goe about to terrifie those that contradict him, but rather to make good his counsell upon liberty of speech. And a wise State ought not, either to adde vnto, or on the other side, to derogate from the honour of him that giueth good aduice; nor yet punish, nay nor disgrace the man whose counsell they receiue not. And then, neither would hee that lighteth on good aduice, deliuer any thing against his owne conscience, out of ambition of further honour, and to please the Auditory; nor hee that doth not, couet thereupon, by gratifying the people some way or other; that hee

E also may endeere them. But wee doe here the contrary, and besides, if any man be suspected of corruption, though hee giue the best counsell that

that can be giuen, yet through enuy, for this vncertaine opinion of his A
 gaine, we lose a certaine benefit to the Common-wealth. And our
 custome is to hold good counsell giuen suddenly, no lesse suspect, then
 bad. By which meanes, as he that giues the most dangerous counsell,
 must get the same receined, by fraud; so also he that giues the most
 sound aduice, is forced by lying to get himselfe beleueed. So that, the
 Common-wealth is it alone, which by reason of these suspitious ima-
 ginations, no man can possibly benefit, by the plaine and open way, with-
 out artifice. For if any man shall doe a manifest good vnto the Com-
 mon-wealth, he shall presently be suspected of some secret gaine vnto
 himselfe in particular. We therefore, that in the most important af- B
 faires, and amidst these iealousies doe giue our aduice, haue need to
 foresee farther then you, that looke not farre, and the rather, because
 we stand accountable for our counsell, and you are to render no account
 of your hearing it. For if the perswader, and the perswaded, had e-
 quall harme, you would be the more moderate Iudges. But now, accord-
 ing to the passion that takes you, when at any time your affaires mis-
 cary, you punish the sentence of that one onely that gaue the counsell,
 not the many sentences of your owne, that were in fault as well as his.
 For my owne part, I stood not forth with any purpose of contradiction, in
 the businesse of the Mitylenians, nor to accuse any man. For wee C
 contend not now, if we be wise, about the iniury done by them, but
 about the wisest counsell for our selues. For how great soeuer be their
 fault, yet I would neuer aduise to haue them put to death, vnlesse it bee
 for our profit; nor yet would I pardon them, though they were pardon-
 able, vnlesse it be good for the Common-wealth. And in my opinion,
 our deliberation now is of the future, rather then of the present. And
 whereas Cleon contendeth, that it will be profitable for the future,
 to put them to death, in that it will keepe the rest from rebelling, I, con-
 tending likewise for the future, affirme the contrary. And I desire
 you not to reiect the profit of my aduice, for the faire pretexts of his, D
 which agreeing more with your present anger against the Mityleni-
 ans, may quickly perhaps win your consent. We pleade not iudicially
 with the Mitylenians, so as to need arguments of equity, but we con-
 sult of them, which way we may serue our selues of them to our most
 aduantage hereafter. I say therefore, that death hath been in States,
 ordained for a punishment of many offences, and those not so great, but
 farre lesse then this. Yet encouraged by hope, men hazzard themselves.
 Nor did any man euer yet enter into a practice, which he knew he could
 not goe through with. And a Citie when it reuolteth, supposeth it selfe
 to be better furnished, either of themselves, or by their Confederates, E
 then it is, or else it would neuer take the enterprize in hand. They haue

A it by nature, both men and Cities to commit offences; nor is there any Law that canpreuent it. For men haue gone ouer all degrees of punishment, augmenting them still, in hope to be lesse annoyed by Malefactors; and it is likely that gentler punishments were inflicted of old, euen vpon the most baynous crimes; but that in tract of time, men continuing to transgresse, they were extended afterwards, to the taking away of life; and yet they still transgresse. And therefore either some greater terrour then death must be deuised, or death will not bee enough for coercion. For pouerty will alwayes adde boldnesse to necessity; and wealth, couetousnesse to pride and contempt. And the other.

B [middle] fortunes, they also through humane passion, according as they are sonerally subiect to some insuperable one or other, impell men to danger. But Hope and Desire, worke this effect in all estates. And this as the Leader; that as the companion; this contriuing the enterprize, that suggesting the sucresse, are the cause of most crimes that are committed. And being least discerned, are more mischienous, then euils seene. Besides these two, Fortune also puts men forward as much as any thing else. For presenting her selfe sometimes vnlookt for, she prouoketh some to aduenture, though not provided, as they ought for the purpose; and specially Cities; because they venture

C for the greatest matters, as liberty and dominion ouer others; and amongst a generality, euery one, though without reason, somewhat the more magnifies himselfe in particular. In a word, it is a thing impossible and of great simplicitie to beleue, when humane nature is earnestly bent to doe a thing, that by force of Law, or any other danger, it can be diuerted. We must not therefore, relying on the security of capitall punishment, decree the worst against them, nor make them desperate, as if there were no place to repent, and as soone as they can, to cancell their offence. For obserue; if a Citie revolted, should know it could not hold out, it would now compound, whilst it were able, both to pay

D vs our charges for the present, and our tribute for the time to come. But the way that Cleon prescribeth, what Citie, thinke you, would not prouide it selfe better, then this did; and endure the siege to the very last, if to compound late, and soone be all one? And how can it be but detriment to vs, to be at charge of long sieges, through their obstinacy, and when we haue taken a Citie, to finde it exhausted, and to lose the reuennue of it for the future? And this reuennue is the onely strength we haue against our enemies. Wee are not then to be exact Indges in the punition of offenders, but to looke rather how by their moderate punishment, we may haue our Confederate Ci-

E ties, such as they may be able to pay vs tribute; and not thinke to keepe them in awe by the rigour of Lawes, but by the prouidence of

our owne actions. But wee to the contrary, when wee recover a Citie, which hauing beene free, and held vnder our obedience by force, hath revolted iustly, thinke now, that wee ought to inflict some cruell punishment vpon them; whereas we ought rather, not mightily to punish a free Citie revolted, but mightily to looke to it before it revolt; and to prevent the intention of it; but when we haue overcome them, to lay the fault vpon as few as we can. Consider also, if you follow the aduice of Cleon, how much you shall offend likewise in this other point. For in all your Cities, the Commonalty are now your friends, and either revolt not with the few, or if they be compelled to it by force, they presently turne enemies to them that caused the revolt; whereby when you goe to Warre, you haue the Comons of the aduerse Citie on your side. But if you shall destroy the Commonalty of the Mitylenians, which did neither partake of the revolt, and as soone as they were armed, presently deliuered the Citie into your hands, you shall first doe vniustly to kill such as haue done you seruice, and you shall effect a worke besides, which the great men doe euery where most desire. For when they haue made a Citie to revolt, they shall haue the people presently on their side; you hauing foreshewne them by the example, that both the guilty and not guilty must vndergoe the same punishment.

Whereas indeed, though they were guilty, yet wee ought to dissemble it, to the end that the onely party, now our friend, may not become our enemy. And for the assuring of our dominion, I thinke it farre more profitable, voluntarily to put vp an iniurie, then iustly to destroy such as wee should not. And that same, both Iustice and profit of reuenge, alledged by Cleon, can neuer possibly bee found together in the same thing.

You therefore, vpon knowledge that this is the best course, not vpon Compassion, or Lenitie (for neither would I, haue you wonne by that) but vpon consideration of what hath beene aduised, bee ruled by mee, and proceede to iudgement at your owne leasure, against those whom Paches hath sent hither as guilty, and suffer the rest to enioy their Citie. For that will bee both good for the future, and also of present terror to the enemy. For hee that consulteth wisely, is a sorer enemy, then hee that assaulteth with the strength of action vndadvisedly.

Thus spake Diodotus.

After

A After these two opinions were deliuered, the one most opposite to the other, the *Athenians* were at contention which they should decree; and at the holding vp of hands, they were both sides almost equall: but yet the sentence of *Diodotus* preuailed. Whereupon they presently in haste sent away another Gallie, lest not arriuing before the former, they should finde the Citie already destroyed. The first Gallie set forth before the second, a day and a night. But the *Mitylenian* Ambassadors hauing furnished this latter with Wine and Barley Cakes, and promised them great rewards, if they ouertooke the other Gallie, they rowed diligently, at one and the same time both plying their Oares, and taking their refection of the said Barley Cakes steeped in Wine and Oyle; and by turnes part of them slept, and the other part rowed. It happened also that there blew no Winde against them; And the former Gallie making no great halte, as going in so sad an errand, whereas the former proceeded in the manner before mentioned, arriued indeed first, but onely so much, as *Paches* had read the Sentence, and prepared to execute what they had decreed. But presently after came in the other Gallie, and sau'd the Citie from being destroyed. So neere were the *Mitylenians* to the danger.

C But those whom *Paches* had sent home, as most culpable of the Reuolt, the *Athenians*, as *Cleon* had aduised, put to death; beeing in number somewhat about a thousand.

D They also razed the Walles of *Mitylene*, and tooke from them all their Gallies. After which they imposed on the *Lesbians* no more Tribute, but hauing diuided their land, (all but that of the *Methymneans*) into 3000 parts, 300 of those parts, of the choicest Land, they consecrated to the Gods. And for the rest, they sent men by lot out of their owne Citie to possesse it, of whom the *Lesbians* at the rent of *two Minae of Siluer yeerely, vpon a Lot, had the Land againe to bee husbanded by themselves. The *Athenians* tooke in all such Townes also, as the *Mitylenians* were Masters of in the Continent; which were afterwards made Subiects to the *People of Athens*. Thus ended the businesse touching *Lesbos*.

The same Summer, after the recouery of *Lesbos*, the

The Sentence of *Diodotus* took its place.

A Gallie sent out after the former, with a Sentence of mercy.

The speed of this latter Gallie to ouertake the former that carried the Decree of death.

The Commons of *Mitylene* very neere destruction.

About a thousand principall authors of the Reuolt executed.

* 6 pound 5 shillings sterling.

Nicias taketh *Minoa*, an Island adiacent to *Megara*.

Athenians, vnder the conduct of *Nicias*, the sonne of *Niceratus*, made Warre on *Minoa*, an Iland adiacent to *Megara*. For the *Megareans* had built a Tower in it, and serued themselues of the Iland for a place of Garrison. But *Nicias* desired that the *Athenians* might keepe their Watch vpon *Megara*, in that Iland, as beeing neerer, and no more at *Budorus* and *Salamis*; to the end that the *Peloponnesians* might not goe out thence with their Gallies, vndiscryed, nor send out Pirates, as they had formerly done, and to prohibit the importation of all things to the *Megareans* by Sea. Wherefore when he had first taken two Towres that stood out from *Nisæa*, with Engines applyed from the Sea, and so made a free entrance for his Gallies, betweene the Iland and the firme Land, he tooke it in with a Wall also from the Continent, in that part where it might receiue ayde by a bridge ouer the Marishes; for it was not farre distant from the maine Land. And, that being in few dayes finished, hee built a Fort in the Iland it selfe, and leauing there a Garrison, carried the rest of his Armie backe.

The *Plataeans* yeeld the City.

The *Lacedæmonians* refuse to take *Plataea* by force, but will haue it by voluntary surrender.

It happened also about the same time of this Summer, that the *Plataeans* hauing spent their Victuall, and beeing vnable longer to hold out, yeelded their Citie in this manner to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Peloponnesians* assaulted the Walles, but they within were vnable to fight. Wherevpon the *Lacedæmonian* Commander, perceiuing their weaknesse, would not take the place by force, (for he had command to that purpose from *Lacedæmon*, to the end that if they should euer make peace with the *Athenians*, with conditions of mutuall restitution of such Cities as on eyther side had beene taken by Warre, *Plataea*, as hauing come in of its own accord, might not be thereby recouerable,) but sent a Herald to them, who demanded whether or no they would giue vp their City voluntarily into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, and take them for their Iudges, with power to punish the offenders, but none without forme of Iustice. So said the Herald: and they (for they were now at the weakest) deliuered vp the Citie accordingly. So the *Peloponnesians* gaue the *Plataeans* food for certaine dayes, till the Iudges, which were five, should arriue from *Lacedæmon*. And when they were come, no accusation was exhibited, but calling them man by man, they

A they asked of euery one, onely this question: *Whether they had done to the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates in this Warre, any good seruice?* But the Plateans hauing sued to make their answer more at large, and hauing appointed *Athymachus* the sonne of *Asopolau*, and *Lacon* the sonne of *Adimnestus* (who had been heretofore the Hoste of the Lacedæmonians) for their Speakers, said as followeth.

Vniust proceeding of the
Lacedæmonians

THE ORATION OF THE PLATEANS.

B

MEN of Lacedæmon, relying vpon you, we yeelded vpon our iurie, not expecting to vndergoe this, but some more Legall manner of proceeding, and we agreed not to stand to the iudgement of others, (as now we doe) but of your selues onely; conceiuing we should so obtaine the better iustice. But now we feare we haue beene deceiued in both. For we haue reason to suspect, both that the tryall is capitall, and you the Iudges partiall. Gathering so much, both from that, that there hath not been presented any accusation, to which we might answer, and also from this, that the

C interrogatory is short, and such, as if we answer to it with truth, we shall speake against our selues; and be easily conuincd, if we lie. But since we are on all hands, in a straight, we are forced (and it seemes our safest way) to try what we can obtaine by pleading. For, for men in our case, the speech not spoken, may giue occasion to some to thinke, that spoken, it had preserued vs: But besides other inconueniences, the meanes also of perswasion, goe ill on our side. For if we had not knowne one anoiber, we might haue helped our selues by producing testimony in things you knew not. Whereas now, all that we shall say, will be before men that know already what it is. And we

D feare, not that you meane, because you know vs inferiour in vertue to your selues, to make that a crime, but lest you bring vs to a iudgement already iudged, to gratifie some body else. Neuerthelesse, we will produce our reasons of equity, against the quarrell of the Thebans, and withall make mention of our seruices done, both to you, and to the rest of Greece, and make tryall, if by any meanes we can perswade you. As to that short interrogatory, Whether we haue any way done good in this prelent Warre to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, or not? If you aske vs as enemies, wee say, that if we haue done them no good, we haue also done them no wrong.

E If you aske vs as friends, then we say, that they rather haue done vs the injury, in that they made Warre vpon vs. But in the time of the

Peace,

Peace, and in the Warre against the Medes, we behaved our selves A
 well; for the one, we brake not first, and in the other, we were the
 onely Boeotians that iyned with you for the deliuey of Greece.
 For though we dwell vp in the land yet we fought by Sea at Artemi-
 sium, and in the battell, fought in this our own territory we were with
 you; and whatsoeuer dangers the Grecians in those times under-
 went, we were partakers of all, euen beyond our strength. And vnto
 you Lacedaemonians, in particular, when Sparta was in greatest
 affright, after the Earthquake, vpon the Rebellion of the Helotes,
 and seazing of Ithome, we sent the third part of our power to assift
 you, which you haue no reason to forget. Such then wee shewed our B
 selves in those ancient and most important affaires. It is true, wee
 haue beene your enemies since, but for that you are to blame your selves.
 For when oppressed by the Thebans, we sought league of you, you re-
 iected vs, and bade vs goe to the Athenians that were neerer hand,
 your selves being farre off. Neuerthelesse, you neither haue in this
 Warre, nor were to haue suffered at our hands any thing that mis-
 became vs. And if we denyed to reuolt from the Athenians, when you
 bade vs, we did you no iniury in it. For they both ayded vs against the
 Thebans, when you shrunke from vs; and it was now no more any
 honesty to betray them. Especially hauing beene well vsed by them, C
 and we our selves hauing sought their league, and been made denizens
 also of their Citie. Nay, we ought rather to haue followed them in all
 their commands with alacrity. When You, or the Athenians haue
 the leading of the Confederates, if euill be done, not they that follow are
 culpable, but you that lead to the euill. The Thebans haue done vs
 many other iniuries; but this last, which is the cause of what wee now
 suffer, you your selves know what it was. For we auenged vs but
 iustly of those that in time of Peace, and vpon the day of our Noui-
 luniall Sacrifice, had surprized our Citie; and by the Law of all
 Nations it is lawfull to repell an assailing enemy; and therefore D
 there is no reason you should punish vs now for them. For if you shall
 measure Iustice by your, and their present benefit in the Warre, it will
 manifestly appeare, that you are not Iudges of the Truth, but re-
 specters onely of your profit. And yet if the Thebans seeme pro-
 fitable to you now, we, and the rest of the Grecians were more pro-
 fitable to you then, when you were in greater danger. For though the
 Thebans are now on your side, when you innade others; yet at that
 time when the Barbarian came in to impose seruitude on all, they
 were on his. It is but Iustice, that with our present offence (if we
 haue committed any) you compare our forwardnesse then, which you E
 will finde both greater then our fault, and augmented also by the cir-
 cumstance

A circumstance of such a season, when it was rare to find any Grecian that durst oppose his valour to Xerxes power; and when they were most commended, not that with safety helped to further his inuasion, but that adventured to doe what was most honest, though with danger. But we being of that number, and honoured for it amongst the first, are afraid lest the same shall be now a cause of our destruction, as having chosen rather to follow the Athenians iustly, then you profitably. But you should euer haue the same opinion, in the same case; and thinke this onely to be profitable, that doing what is vsfull for the present occasion, you reserve withall a constant acknowledgement of the vertue of

B your good Confederates. Consider also, that you are an example of * honest dealing, to the most of the Grecians. Now if you shall decree otherwise then is iust, (for this iudgement of yours is conspicuous) you that be praised, against vs, that be not blamed, take heed that they doe not dislike, that good men should vndergoe an vniust sentence, though at the hands of better men; or that the spoyle of vs that haue done the Grecians seruice, should be dedicated in their Temples. For it will be thought a horrible matter, that Plataea should be destroyed by Lacedaemonians, and that you, whereas your Fathers in honour of our valour, inscribed the name of our Citie, on the Tripode

C at Delphi, should now blot it out of all Greece, to gratifie the Thebans. For we haue proceeded to such a degree of calamity, that if the Medes had preuailed, we must haue perished then; and now the Thebans haue overcome vs againe in you, who were before our greatest friends; and haue put vs to two great hazzards, one before, of famishing, if we yelded not, and another now, of a Capitall sentence. And we Plataeans, who euen beyond our strength haue been zealous in the defence of the Grecians, are now abandoned and left vireleued by them all. But we beseech you for those gods sakes, in whose names once we made mutuall league, and for our valours sake shewne in the

D behalfe of the Grecians, to be moued toward vs, and (if at the perswasion of the Thebans, you haue determined ought against vs,) to change your mindes, and reciprocally to require at the hands of the Thebans, this courtesie, that whom you ought to spare, they would be contented not to kill, and so receiue an honest benefit, in recompence of a wicked one, and not to bestow pleasure vpon others, and receiue wickednesse vpon your selues in exchange. For though to take away our liues be a matter quickly done yet to make the infamy of it cease, will be worke enough. For being none of your enemies, but welwillers, and such as haue entred into the Warre vpon constraint, you cannot put

E vs to death with Iustice. Therefore if you will iudge vncorruptly, you ought to secure our persons, and to remember that you receined vs by

* It doth not appeare by any thing in the time of this war, that the Lacedaemonians deserved any reputation for Iustice, but contrariely they appeare by this and diuers other actions, not to haue esteemed of iustice at all, when it crossed their owne interest or passion.

our owne voluntary submission, and with hands upheld (and it is **A**
 the Law among Grecians, not to put such to death) besides that,
 we haue from time to time been beneficiall to you. For looke vpon
 the sepulchres of your Fathers, whom slaine by the Medes, and
 buried in this Territory of ours, we haue yeerely honoured at the
 publike charge, both with Vestments and other Rites; and of such
 things as our Land hath produced, we haue offered vnto them the
 first fruits of it all, as friends in an amicable Land, and Confederats
 use to doe, to those that haue formerly been their fellows in Armes.
 But now by a wrong sentence, you shall doe the contrary of this. For
 consider this: Pausanias, as he thought, enterred these men in ami- **B**
 cable ground, and amongst their friends. But you, if you slay vs,
 and of Plataeis, make Thebais, what doe you but leaue your Fa-
 thers and kinred deprived of the honours they now haue, in an ho-
 stile Territory, and amongst the very men that slew them? And
 moreouer, put into seruitude that soyle whereon the Grecians were
 put into liberty? and make desolate the Temples wherein they
 prayed, when they preuailed against the Medes: and destroy the
 Patriall sacrifices which were instituted by the Builders and Foun-
 ders of the same?

These things are not for your glory, men of Lacedæmon, nor **C**
 to violate the common institutions of Greece, and wrong your pro-
 genitors, nor to destroy vs that haue done you service, for the ha-
 tred of another, when you haue receiued no iniury from vs your
 selues. But to spare our liues, to relent, to haue a moderate compas-
 sion, in contemplation, not onely of the greatnesse of the punishment,
 but also of who we are, that must suffer, and of the vncertainty
 where calamity may light, and that vnderstandedly; which wee, (as
 becommeth vs, and our need compelleth vs to doe) cry aloud vnto
 the common gods of Greece to perswade you vnto; producing
 the oath sworne by your Fathers, to put you in minde; and also wee **D**
 become here, Sanctuary men, at the sepulchres of your Fathers,
 crying out vpon the dead, not to suffer themselves to be in the power
 of the Thebans, nor to let their greatest friends be betrayed into
 the hands of their greatest enemies; remembring the of that day, vpon
 which, though we haue done glorious acts in their company, yet wee
 are in danger at this day of most miserable suffering. But to make
 an end of speaking (which is, as necessary, so most bitter to men in our
 case, because the hazard of our liues commeth so soone after,) for a
 conclusion we say, that it was not to the Thebans that we rendred
 our Citie (for we would rather haue dyed of Famine, the most **E**
 base perdition of all other) but we came out on trust in you. And it
 is

A is but iustice, that if wee cannot perswade you, you should set vs againe in the estate we were in, and let vs undergoe the danger at our owne election. Also we require you, Men of Lacedæmon, not onely, not to deliuer vs Platæans, who haue beene most zealous in the seruice of the Grecians, especially being Sanctuary men, out of your owne hands, and your owne trust, into the hands of our most mortall Enemies the Thebans, but also to be our (aiours, and not to destroy vs utterly, you that set at liberty all other Grecians. Thus spake the Platæans.

B But the Thebans, fearing lest the Lacedæmonians might relent at their Oration, stood forth, and said, that since the Platæans had had the liberty of a longer speech (which they thought they should not) then for answer to the question was necessary, they also desired to speake, and being commanded to say on, spake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF THE THEBANS.

C IF these men had answered briefly to the question, and not both turned against vs with an accusation, and also out of the purpose, and wherein they were not charged, made much apologie and commendation of themselves in things vnquestioned, wee had neuer asked leaue to speake; but as it is, we are to the one point to answer, and to confute the other, that neither the faults of vs, nor their owne reputation may doe them good, but your Sentence may bee guided, by hearing of the truth of both. The quarell, betweene vs and them, arose at first from this, that when wee had built Plataea last of all the Cities of Bœotia, together with some other places, which, hauing driuen out the promiscuous Nations, wee had then in our dominion, they would not (as was ordained at first) allow vs to be their Leaders, but beeing the onely men of all the Bœotians, that transgressed the common ordinance of the Countrey, when they should haue beene compelled to their duty, they turned vnto the Athenians, and together with them did vs many euils, for which they likewise suffered as many from vs. But when the Barbarian inuaded Greece, then, say they, that they of all the Bœotians onely also, Medized not. And this is the thing wherein they both glory most themselves, and most detract from vs. Now wee confesse they Medized not, because also the Athenians did not. Neuerthelesse when the Athenians afterwards

A a

inuaded

invaded the rest of the Grecians, in the same kinde then A
 of all the Boeotians, they onely Atticized. But take now into your
 consideration withall, what forme of government we were in both the
 one and the other, when wee did this. For then had wee our Citie
 governed, neither by an Oligarchy, with Lawes common to all, nor by
 a Democratic, but the State was mannaged by a Few with authority
 absolute, then which there is nothing more contrary to Lawes, and mo-
 deration, nor more approaching vnto Tyranny. And these Few, ho-
 ping yet further, if the Medes preuailed, to increase their owne
 power, kept the people vnder, and furthered the comming in of the
 Barbarian. And so did the whole Citie; but it was not then Master B
 of it self; nor doth it deserue to bee vpbraided with what it did
 when they had no Lawes, [but were at the will of others.]
 But when the Medes were gone, and our City had Lawes, consider
 now, when the Athenians attempted to subdue all Greece, and
 this Territory of ours with the rest, wherein through sedition they had
 gotten many places already, whether by giuing them Battell at Coro-
 nea, and defeating them, we deliuered not Boeotia from seruitude
 then, and doe not also now with much zeale asist you in the asserting
 of the rest, and finde not more Horses, and more provision of Warre,
 then any of the Confederates besides. And so much bee spoken by C
 way of Apologie to our Medizing. And wee will endeavour to proue
 now, that the Grecians haue beene rather wronged by you, and that
 you are more worthy of all manner of punishment. You became, you
 say, Confederates and Denizens of Athens, for to bee right-
 ed against vs; against vs then onely the Athenians should
 haue come with you, and not you with them haue gone to the inuasion
 of the rest; especially, when if the Athenians would haue led you
 whither you would not, you had the League of the Lacedæmoni-
 ans, made with you against the Medes, which you so often obiect,
 to haue resorted vnto; which was sufficient not onely to haue prote- D
 cted you from vs, but which is the maine matter, to haue secured you
 to take what course you had pleased. But voluntarily, and without
 constraint, you rather chose to follow the Athenians. And you say
 it had beene a dishonest thing, to haue betrayed your benefactors. But
 it is more dishonest, and more vniust by farre, to betray the Grecians
 vniuersally, to whom you haue sworne, then to betray the Atheni-
 ans alone; especially when these goe about to deliuer Greece
 from subiection, and the other to subdue it. Besides, the requi-
 tall you make the Athenians is not proportionable, nor free from
 dishonesty; for you, as you say your selues, brought in the Athenians E
 to right you against iniuries, and you coöperate with them in iniurying
 others.

- A** others. And howsoever, it is not so dishonest to leave a benefit unrequited, as to make such a requitall, as though iustly due, cannot be iustly done. But you have made it apparent, that even then, it was not for the Grecians sake, that you alone of all the Boeotians, medized not, but because the Athenians did not; yet now, you that would do as the Athenians did, and contrary to what the Grecians did, claime favour of these, for what you did for the others sake. But there is no reason for that; But as you have chosen the Athenians, so let them helpe you in this tryall. And produce not the Oath of the former League, as if that should save
- B** you now; for you have relinquisht it, and contrary to the same, have rather helped the Athenians to subdue the Eginetæ, and others, then hindred them from it. And this you not onely did voluntarily, and having Lawes, the same you have now, and none forcing you to it, as there did vs, but also reiected our last invitation, (a little before the shutting vp of your Citie) to quietnesse and neutrality. Who can therefore more deservedly bee hated of the Grecians in generall, then you, that pretend honesty to their ruine? And those acts wherein formerly, as you say, you have bene beneficiall to the Grecians, you have now made apparent to be none of yours, and made true proofe of what your owne nature inclines you to. For with Athenians you have walked in the way of iniustice. And thus much wee have laid open touching our involuntary Medizing, and your voluntary Atticizing. And for this last iniury you charge vs with, namely the unlawfull invading of your City in time of peace, and of your New-moone Sacrifice, we doe not thinke, no not in this action, that wee have offended so much as you your selues. For though wee had done uniuersally, if wee had assaulted your Citie, or wasted your Territory as enemies, of our owne accord, yet when the prime men of
- D** your owne Citie, both for wealth and Nobility, willing to discharge you of forraigne League, and conforme you to the common institutions of all Boeotia, did of their owne accord call vs in, wherein lyeth the iniurie then? For they that leade transgresse, rather than they that follow. But as wee conceiue, neither they nor wee have transgressed at all. But being Citizens, as well as you, and having more to hazard, they opened their owne Gates, and tooke vs into the Citie as Friends, not as Enemies, with intention to keepe the ill-affected from beeing worse, and to doe right to the good.
- E** Taking vpon them to bee moderators of your Councils, and not to deprive the Citie of your persons: but to reduce

you into one body with the rest of your kindred; and not to en- **A**
 gage you in hostility with any, but to settle you in peace with
 all. And for an argument, that wee did not this as enemies, wee
 did harme to no man, but proclaimed, that if any man were wil-
 ling to haue the City gouerned after the common forme of all
 Bceotia, he should come to vs. And you came willingly at first,
 and were quiet; but afterwards when you knew we were but
 few, (though we might seeme to haue done somewhat more then
 was fit to doe; without the consent of your multitude) you did
 not by vs, as wee did by you, first innouate nothing in fact, and
 then with words perswade vs to goe forth againe, but contrary **B**
 to the composition, assaulted vs. And for those men you slew in
 the affray, we grieue not so much (for they suffered by a kinde of
 Law) but to kill those that held vp their hands for mercie,
 whom taken aliuie, you afterwards had promised to spare, was
 not this a horrible cruelty? you committed in this businesse three
 crimes, one in the necke of another. First the breach of the com-
 position, then the death that followed, of four men, and thirdly,
 the falsifying of your promise, to saue them, if we did no hurt to
 any thing of yours in the Fields. And yet you say that we are the
 transgressors, and that you for your parts deserue not to vndergo **C**
 a iudgement. But it is otherwise. And if these men iudge aright,
 you shall be punished now for all your crimes at once. We haue
 herein, men of Lacedaemon, beene thus large, both for your sakes,
 and ours. For yours, to let you see, that if you condemne them, it
 will lye no iniustice; for ours, that the equity of our reuenge may
 the better appeare. Be not moued with the recitall of their ver-
 tues of old (if any they had) which though they ought to helpe
 the wronged, should double the punishment of such as commit
 wickednesse, because their offence doth not become them. Nor
 let them fare euill the better for their lamentation, or your com- **D**
 passion, when they cry out vpon your Fathers Sepulchers, and
 their owne want of friends. For we on the other side affirme,
 that the Youth of our Citie suffered harder measure from them,
 and their Fathers, partly slaine at Coronea, in bringing Bceotia
 to your Confederation, and partly aliuie and now old, and depri-
 ued of their children, make farre iuster supplication to you for
 reuenge. And pitty belongeth to such as suffer vnderferuedly, but
 on the contrary, when men are worthily punished, (as these are)
 it is to bee reioyced at. And for their present want of friends,
 they may thanke themselues. For of their owne accord they re- **E**
 iected the better Confederates. And the Law hath beene broken
 by

A by them, without precedent wrong from vs, in that they condemned our men spitefully, rather then iudicially; in which point wee shall now come short of requiting them; for they shall suffer Legally, and not, as they say they doe, with hands upheld from battell, but as men that haue put themselves vpon triall by consent.

Maintaine therefore (ye Lacedæmonians) the Law of the Grecians, against these men that haue transgressed it, and giue vnto vs, that haue suffered contrary to the Law, the iust recompence of our alacrities in your seruice. And let not the words of these, giue vs a repulse from you. But set vp an example to the
B Grecians, by presenting vnto these men, a tryall, not of words, but of facts; which if they be good, a short narration of them will serue the turne; if ill, compt Orations doe but weyle them. But if such as haue the authority, as you haue now, would collect the matter to a head, and according as any man should make answer thereunto, so proceed to sentence, men would be lesse in the search of faire speeches, wherewith to excuse the foulness of their actions. Thus spake the Thebans.

And the Lacedæmonian Iudges, conceauing their Inter-
C rogatory to stand well, Namely, whether they had receiued any benefit by them or not in this present War; (For they had indeed intreated the both at other times, according to the ancient league of Pausanias, after the Median Warre, to stand neutral and also a little before the Siege, the Plataeans had rejected their proposition of being common friend to both sides, according to the same league,) taking themselves in respect of these their iust offers, to be now discharged of the league, and to haue receiued euill at their hands, caused them one by one to be brought forth, and hauing asked
D them againe the same question, Whether they had any way benighted the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates in this present Warre, or not, as they answered, No; led them aside and slew them, not exempting any. Of the Plataeans themselves they slew no lesse then 200; Of Athenians, who were besieged with them, 25; The Women they made slaues; and the Thebans assigned the Citie for a yeere, or thereabouts, for an habitation to such Megareans, as in sedition had been driuen from their owne; and to all those Plataeans, which liuing, were of the Theban faction.
E But afterwards, pulling it all downe to the very foundation, they built a Hospitall in the place; neere the Temple

The Lacedæmonians proceeded with their question.

The Plataeans are put to death.
25 Athenians slaine with them.

Platae pulled downe.

Temple of *Iuno*, of 200 foot diameter, with chambers on A every side in circle, both aboue and below; vsing therein the roofes, and doores of the *Plateans* buildings. And of the rest of the stuffe, that was in the Citie wall, as Brasse and Iron, they made Bedsteds, and dedicated them to *Iuno*, to whom also they built a stone Chappell of 100 foote ouer. The Land they confiscated, and set it to farme afterwards for ten yeeres to the *Thebans*. So farre were the *Lacedamonians* alienated from the *Plateans*, especially, or rather altogether for the *Thebans* sake, whom they thought vsfull to them in the Warre now on foot. So ended the B businesse at *Platea*, in the fourscore and thirteenth yeere after their league made with the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedamonians* in their sentence vpon the *Plateans*, haue more respect to their owne profit, then to the merit of the cause.

The 40 Gallies, with *Alcidas*, come weather-beaten home.

The 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which hauing been sent to ayde the *Lesbians*, fled, as hath beene related, through the wide Sea, chased by the *Athenians*, and tossed by stormes on the Coast of *Crete*, came thence disperfed, into *Peloponnesus*, and found thirteene Gallies, *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*, in the Hauen of *Cyllene*, with *Brasidas* the sonne of *Tellis*, come thither to be of counsell with *Alcidas*. For the *Lacedamonians*, seeing they failed of *Lesbos*, determined with C their Fleet augmented to sayle to *Corcyra*, which was in sedition, (there being but twelue *Athenian* Gallies about *Naupactus*) to the end they might be there before, the supply of a greater Fleet should come from *Athens*. So *Brasidas* and *Alcidas* employed themselues in that.

The sedition of *Corcyra* occasioned by the Captiues that came from *Cornith*.

The sedition in *Corcyra*, began vpon the comming home of those Captiues, which were taken in the battels by Sea, at *Epidamnus*, and releas'd afterwards by the *Corinthians*, at the ranfome, as was voyced, of eighty talents, for which they had giuen security to their Holtes; but in fact, for D that they had perswaded the *Corinthians*, that they would put *Corcyra* into their power. These men going from man to man, solicited the Citie to revolt from the *Athenians*. And two Gallies being now come in, one of *Athens*, another of *Corinth*, with Ambassadors from both those States, the *Corcyreans* vpon audience of them both, decreed to hold the *Athenians* for their Confederates, on Articles agreed on; but withall to remaine friends to the *Peloponnesians*, as they had formerly been. There was one *Pitthias*, voluntary Hoste of the *Athenians*, and that had bin principall Magistrate of the people. Him, these men called into iudgement, E

Who perswade the renouncing of their league with *Athens*.

- A ment, and laid to his charge a practice to bring the Citie into the seruitude of the *Athenians*. He againe, being acquitted, called in question, five of the wealthiest of the same men, saying, they had cut * certaine Stakes in the ground, belonging to the Temples both of *Iupiter*, and of *Alcinus*, vpon euery of which, there lay a penalty of a * Stater. And the cause going against them, they tooke Sanctuary in the Temples, to the end, the summe being great, they might pay it by portions, as they should be taxed. But *Pitbias* (for he was also of the Senate) obtained that the Law should proceed. These five being by the Law excluded the Senate, and vnderstanding that *Pitbias*, as long as he was a Senator, would cause the people to hold for friends and foes, the same that were so to the *Athenians*, conspired with the rest, and armed with Daggers, suddenly brake into the Senate house, and slew both *Pitbias* and others, as well priuate men as Senators, to the number of about sixty persons; onely a few of those of *Pitbias* his faction, escaped into the *Athenian* Gallie that lay yet in the Harbour. When they had done this, and called the *Corcyreans* to an Assembly, they told them, that what they had done, was for the best, and that they should not be now in bondage to the *Athenians*. And for the future they aduised them to be in quiet, and to receiue neither party, with more then one Gallie at once; and to take them for enemies, if they were more. And when they had spoken, forced them to decree it accordingly. They also presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, both to shew that it was fit for them to doe what they had done, and also to dissuade such *Corcyreans* as were fled thither of the other faction, from doing any thing to their preiudice, for feare the matter should fall into a relapse.
- D When these arriued, the *Athenians* apprehended both the Ambassadors themselves, as seditious persons, and also all those *Corcyreans* whom they had there preuailed with; and sent them to custody in *Ægina*. In the meane time, vpon the comming in of a Gallie of *Corinth*, with Ambassadors from *Lacedæmon*, those that mannaged the State, assayed the Commons, and ouercame them in fight. And night comming on, the Commons fled into the Citadell,
- E and the higher parts of the Citie, where they rallied themselves, and encamped, and made themselves Masters

Pitbias, one of the *Athenian* faction, accused, and absolved, accuseth some of the other faction.

* *Agæus* Stakes, either for fine pay, which are particularly called *Agæus* or for other purpose &c.
* Of our money about 15 Shillings 7 pence halfe penny.

Pitbias and others slaine in the Senate.

The *Lacedæmonian* faction assaile the Commons.

of the Hauen called the *Hillaique* Hauen. But the Nobility seized on the Market place (where also the most of them dwelt,) and on the Hauen on the side toward the Continent. A

* Armes, Darts, Stones,
and the like missile weapons.

The next day they skirmished a little with * shot, and both parts sent abroad into the Villages to sollicite the slaues with promise of liberty, to take their parts. And the greatest part of the slaues tooke part with the Commons; and the other side had an aide of 800 men, from the Continent.

The Commons overcome
the Oligarchicalls.

The next day but one they fought againe, and the people had the Victory, hauing the oddes, both in strength of places, and in number of men. And the women also manfully assisted them, throwing Tyles from the houses, and enduring the tumult, euen beyond the condition of their Sexe. The Few began to flie about twilight, and fearing lest the people should euen with their shout take the Arsenall and so come on and put them to the sword, to stoppe their passage, set fire on the houses in circle about the Market place, and vpon others neere it. Much goods of Merchants was hereby burnt, and the whole City, if the wind had risen and carried the flame that way, had been in danger to haue been destroyed. When the people had gotten the Victory, the *Corinbian* Gallie stole away, and most of the auxiliaries, gat ouer priuily into the Continent. C

The next day *Nicostratus*, the sonne of *Diotrephes*, an *Athenian* Commander, came in with 12 Gallies, and 500 *Messenian* men of Armes, from *Naupactus*, and both negotiated a reconciliation, and induced them (to the end they might agree) to condemne ten of the principall authors of the Sedition (who presently fled) and to let the rest alone, with Articles both betweene themselues, and with the *Athenians* to esteeme friends and enemies, the same the *Athenians* did. When he had done this, he would haue been gone, but the people perswaded him before he went, to leaue behind him, five of his Gallies, the better to keepe their aduersaries from stirring, and to take as many of theirs, which they would man with *Corcyreans*, and send with him. To this he agreed, and they made a List of those that should imbarke, consisting altogether of their enemies. But these, fearing to be sent to *Athens*, tooke Sanctuary E

A Sanctuary in the Temple of *Castor* and *Polux*; But *Nicostratus* endeauoured to raise them, and spake to them, to put them into courage: but when hee could not preuaile, the people (arming themselves on pretence, that their diffidence to goe along with *Nicostratus* proceeded from some euill intention) tooke away their Armes out of their houses, and would also haue killed some of them, such as they chanced on, if *Nicostratus* had not hindred them.

B Others also when they saw this, tooke Sanctuary in the Temple of *Iuno*, and they were in all about foure hundred. But the people fearing some innouation, got them by perswasion to rise, and conueying them into the Island that lyeth ouer against the Temple of *Iuno*, sent them their necessities thither.

The Sedition standing in these termes, the fourth or fifth day after the putting ouer of these men into the Island, arriued the *Peloponnesian* Fleet from *Cyllene*, where, since their voyage of *Ionia*, they had lyen at Anchor, to the number of three and fiftie saile. *Alcidas* had the command of these, as before, and *Brasidas* came with him as a Counsellour. And hauing first put in at *Sybotia*, a Hauen of the Continent, they came on the next morning by breake of day toward *Corcyra*.

D The *Corcyreans* being in great tumult and feare, both of the Seditious within, and of the inuasion without, made ready threescore Gallies, and still as any of them were manned, sent them out against the Enemy; whereas the *Athenians* had aduised them to giue leaue to them to goe forth first, and then the *Corcyreans* to follow after with the whole Fleet together. When their Gallies came forth thus thinne, two of them presently turned to the Enemy, and in others, they that were aboard, were together by the eares amongst themselves, and nothing was done in due order. The *Peloponnesians* seeing their confusion, opposed themselves to the *Corcyreans* with twenty Gallies onely, the rest they set in array against the twelue Gallies of *Athens*, whereof the *Salamina* and the *Paralus* were two.

E The *Corcyreans*, hauing come disorderly vp, and by few at once, were on their part, in much distresse; but the *Athenians*, fearing the Enemies number, and

Alcidas and the Peloponnesians arrive and fight at Sea against the Corcyreans.

doubting to bee invironed, would neuer come vp to A charge the Enemie where they stood thicke, nor would set vpon the Gallies that were placed in the middest, but charged one end of them, and drowned one of their Gallies: and when the *Peloponnesians* afterwards had put their Fleet into a circular figure, they then went about and about it, endeouoring to put them into disorder, which they that were fighting against the *Corcyreans* perceiuing, and fearing such another chance as befell them formerly at *Naupactus*, went to their ayde, and vniting themselues, came vpon the *Athenians* all together. B

But they retyring, rowed a sterne, intending that the *Corcyreans* should take that time to escape in; they themselves in the meane time going as leasurely backe as was possible, and keeping the enemie still a head. Such was this Battell, and it ended about Sun-set.

The *Corcyreans* fearing lest the Enemie in pursuit of their Victorie, should haue come directly against the Citie, or take aboard the men which they had put ouer into the Iland, or doe them some other mischief, C fetcht backe the men into the Temple of *Iuno* againe, and guarded the City.

But the *Peloponnesians*, though they had wonne the Battell, yet durst not inuade the Citie, but hauing taken thirteene of the *Corcyrean* Gallies, went backe into the Continent from whence they had set forth. The next day they came not vnto the Citie, no more then before, although it was in great tumult and affright: and though also *Brasidas* (as it is reported) aduised *Alcidas* to it, but had not equall authority; but onely landed Souldiers at D the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and wasted their Territory.

In the mean time the people of *Corcyra*, fearing extremely, lest those Gallies should come against the Citie, not onely conferred with those in Sanctuary, and with the rest, about how the Citie might be preserued, but also induced some of them to goe aboard. For notwithstanding the sedition, they manned 30. Gallies, in expectation that the Fleet of the enemy should haue entred. But the *Peloponnesians* hauing beene wasting of their Fieldes, till E it was about noone, went their wayes againe. Within night,

Alcidas a coward.

A night, the *Corcyraeans* had notice by fires of threescore *Athenian Gallies* comming toward them from *Leucas*, which the *Athenians*, vpon intelligence of the Sedition, and of the Fleet to goe to *Corcyra* vnder *Alcidas*, had sent to ayde them, vnder the conduct of *Eurymedon*, the Sonne of *Thucles*.

Threescore saile of *Athenians* come to ayde the *Corcyraeans* Commons.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore, as soone as night came, sayled speedily home, keeping still the shore, and causing their Gallies to bee carried ouer at the Isthmus of *Leucas*, that they might not come in sight, as they went about.

The *Peloponnesians* depart with their Fleet.

B But the *People of Corcyra* hearing of the *Attique Gallies*, comming in, and the going off of the *Peloponnesians*, brought into the Citie those * *Messenians*, which before were without, and appointing the Gallies which they had furnished, to come about into the *Hillaïque Hauen*, whilest accordingly they went about, slew all the contrary Faction they could lay hands on; and also afterwards threw ouer-board, out of the same Gallies, all those they had before perswaded to imbarque, and so went thence. And comming to the Temple of *Inno*, they perswaded 50. of those that had taken Sanctuarie, to referre themselves to a legall tryall; all which they condemned to dye. But the most of the Sanctuary men, that is, all those that were not induced to stand to tryall by Law, when they saw what was done, killed one another there-right in the Temple, some hanged themselves on Trees, euery one as he had means, made himselfe away. And for 7. daies together that *Eurymedon* stayed there with his 60. Gallies, the *Corcyraeans* did nothing but kill such of their City as they tooke to bee their Enemies, laying to their charge a practice to haue euerted the popular gouernment.

* that came with *Nicocratus*.

The people, vpon the comming in of the *Athenians*, most cruelly put to death whomsoever they can of the contrary Faction.

Amongst whom, some were slaine vpon priuate hatred, and some by their debtors, for the money which they had lent them. All formes of death were then scene, and (as in such cases it vsually falles out) whatsoever had happened at any time, happened also then, and more. For the Father slew his Sonne; men were dragged out of the Temples, and then slaine hard by; and some immured in the Temple of *Bacchus*, dyed within it. So cruell was this Sedition; and seemed so the more, because it was of these the first. For afterwards, all *Greece*, as a man may say, was in commotion; and quarrels arose euery where be-

Description of the behaviour of the people in this sedition.

tweene the Patrons of the Commons, that sought to A
bring in the *Athenians*, and the *Few*, that desired to bring
in the *Lacedemonians*. Now in time of peace, they could
haue had no pretence, nor would haue beene so forward
to call them in; but being Warre, and Confederates to
bee had for eyther party, both to hurt their Enemies, and
strengthen themselues, such as desired alteration, easily
got them to come in. And many and heynous things hap-
ned in the Cities through this Sedition, which though
they haue beene before, and shall be euer, as long as hu-
mane nature is the same, yet they are more calme, and of B
different kinds, according to the seuerall constitutions. For
in peace and prosperity, as well Cities as private men, are
better minded, because they bee not plunged into necessity
of doing any thing against their will; but War taking away
the affluence of daily necessities, is a most violent Master, &
conformeth most mens passions to the present occasion.
The Cities therefore being now in Sedition, and those that
fell into it later, having heard what had beene done in
the former, they faire exceeded the same in newnesse
of conceits, both for the art of assailing, and for the C
strangenesse of their reuenges. The received value of
names imposed for signification of things, was changed in-
to arbitrary: For inconsiderate boldnesse, was counted
true hearted manlinesse; proudient deliberation, a han-
some feare; modesty, the cloake of cowardice; to be wise
in euery thing, to be lazie in euery thing. A furious sud-
denness was reputed a point of valour. To re-aduise for
the better security, was held for a faire pretext of tergiver-
sation. Hee that was fierde, was alwayes trusty; and
hee that contraried such a one, was suspected. Hee that D
did insidiate, if it tooke, was a wise man; but hee that
could smell out a Trap laid, a more dangerous man then
hee: But hee that had beene so proudient, as not to neede
to doe the one or the other, was said to bee a dissoluer of
society, and one that stood in feare of his aduersary. In
brieft, he that could outstrip another in the doing of an e-
uill act, or that could perswade another thereto, that ne-
uer meant it, was commended. To bee kinne to another,
was not to be so neere as to be of his society, because these
were ready to vndertake any thing, and not to dispute it. E
For these Societies were not made upon prescribed
Lawes

The manner of the se-
dition.

The manner of the se-
dition.

The uniting of companies
of certain Lawes, for
the more profitable man-
age of their Trades and arts,
somewhat haue beene in use
then, as now.

Lawes

A Lawes of profit: but for rapine, contrary to the Lawes established. And as for mutuall trust amongst them, it was confirmed not so much by Divine Law, as by the communication of guilt. And what was well advised of their adversaries, they received with an eye to their actions, to see whether they were too strong for them, or not, and not ingenuously. To be revenged was in more request, then need to have received injurie. And for Oathes, when any were of reconciliation, being administered in the present necessity, were of force to such, as had otherwise no power: but upon opportunity, he that first durst, thought his revenge sweeter by the trust, then if he had taken the open way. For they did not onely put to account the fitnessse of that course, but having circumvented their Adversary by fraud, assumed to themselves withall a masterie in point of wit. And dishonest men for the most part are sooner called able, then simple men honest. And men are ashamed of this title, but take a pride in the other. The cause of all this is *desire of rule*, out of *Avarice* and *Ambition*, and the zeale of * contention from those two proceeding. For such as were of authority in the Cities, both of the one and the other Faction, preferring vnder decent titles, one the *politickall equality of the multitude*; the other the moderate *Aristocratie*, though in words they seemed to be servants of the Publique, they made it in effect but the Prize of their contention. And striving by whatsoever meanes to overcome, both ventured on most horrible outrages, and prosecuted their revenges still further, without any regard of iustice, or the publike good, but limiting them, each Faction, by their owne appetite: and stood ready, whether by vniust sentence, or with their owne hands, when they should get power, to satisfie their present spight. So that neither side made account to haue any thing the sooner done for Religion [of an Oath,] but hee was most commended, that could passe a businessse against the haire with a faire Oration. The neutrals of the Citie were destroyed by both Factions; partly, because they would not side with them, and partly for enuie that they should so escape.

E Thus was wickednesse on foot in euery kind, throughout all Greece, by the occasion of their sedition. Sincerity (whereof there is much in a generous nature) was laugh-

* By oath.

* φιλονεικία properly that spight which reigneth in two adversaries whilst they contend, or eager misse in pursuing.

In seditions and confusion, they that distrust their wits, suddenly use their hands, and defeat the Stratagems of the more subtil sort.

ed downe. And it was farre the best course, to stand confidently against each other, with their thoughts in battell array, which no speech was so powerfull, nor Oath terrible enough to disband. And being all of them, the more they considered, the more desperate of assurance, they rather contriued how to auoid a mischiefe, then were able to rely on any mans faith. And for the most part, such as had the least wit, had the best successe; for both their owne defect, and the subtilty of their aduersaries, putting them into a great feare to be ouercome in words, or at least in pre-insidiation, by their enemies great craft, they therefore went roundly to worke with them, with deedes. Whereas the other, not caring though they were perceiued, and thinking they needed not to take by force, what they might doe by plot, were thereby vnprouided, and so the more easily slaine.

In *Corcyra* then were these euils for the most part committed first; and so were all other, which either such men as haue beene gouerned with pride, rather then modesty, by those on whom they take reuenge, were like to commit in taking it; or which such men as stand vpon their deliury fro long pouerty, out of couetousnes (chiefly to haue their neighbours goods) would contrary to iustice giue their voices to: or which men, not for couetousnes, but assailing each other on equall termes, carried away with the vnrulinesse of their anger, would cruelly and inexorably execute.

And the common course of life being at that time confounded in the Citie; the nature of man, which is wont euen against Law to doe euill, gotten now aboue the Law, shewed it selfe with delight, to be too weake for passion, too strong for iustice, and enemy to all superiority. Else they would neuer haue preferred reuenge before innocence, nor lucre (whensoever the enuie of it was without power to doe them hurt) before iustice. And for the Lawes common to all men in such cases, (which, as long as they be in force, giue hope to all that suffer iniury) men desire not to leaue them standing, against the neede a man in danger may haue of the, but by their reuenges on others, to be beforehand in subuerting them. Such were the passions of the *Corcyraens* first of all other *Grecians*, towards one another in the City. And *Eurymedon* and the *Asbenians* departed with their Gallies.

The Athenian Fleet goes away.

After-

A Afterwards, such of the *Corcyreans* as had fled (for there escaped about 500. of them) hauing seized on the Forts in the Continent, impatronized themselues of their owne Territory on the other side, and from thence came ouer and robbed the Islanders, and did them much hurt; and there grew a great Famine in the Citie. They likewise sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth*, concerning their reduction; and when they could get nothing done, hauing gotten boates, and some auxiliary souldiers, they passed, a while after, to the number of about 600. B into the Iland. Where when they had set fire on their Boates, that they might trust to nothing, but to make themselues masters of the Field, they went vp into the Hill *Istone*, and hauing there fortified themselues with a Wall, infested those within, and were masters of the Territory.

In the end of the same Summer, the *Athenians* sent twenty Gallies into *Sicily*, vnder the command of *Laches* the sonne of *Melanopus*, and *Chariadas* the sonne of *Euphiletus*: For the *Syracusians* and the *Leontines* were now warring against each other. The Confederates of the *Syracusians* C were all the *Dorique* Cities (except the *Camarineans*) which also in the beginning of this Warre were reckoned in the League of the *Lacedæmonians*, but had not yet ayded them in the Warre. The Confederates of the *Leontines*, were the *Chalcidique* Cities, together with *Camarina*. And in *Italy*, the *Locrians* were with the *Syracusians*; but the *Rhegians*; according to their consanguinity, tooke part with the *Leontines*. Now the Confederates of the *Leontines*, in respect of their ancient alliance with the *Athenians*, as also D for that they were *Ionians* obtained of the *Athenians*, to send them Gallies; for that the *Leontines* were deprivied by the *Syracusians* of the vse both of the Land and Sea. And so the People of *Athens* sent ayde vnto them, pretending propinquity, but intending, both to hinder the transportation of Corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and also to tast the possibility of taking the States of *Sicily* into their own hands. These arriuing at *Rhegium* in *Italy*, ioyned with the Confederates, and beganne the Warre; and so ended this Summer.

E The next winter, the Sicknesse fell vpon the *Athenians* againe (hauing in deed neuer totally left the Citie, though there

500. of the Nobility that escaped, seized on such places as belonged to the *Corcyreans* in the Continent.

They come ouer & fortify themselues in *Istone*.

The *Athenians* send 20. Gallies into *Sicily*, in pretence to ayde the *Leontines*, but with intention to hinder the coming of corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and to spy out the possibility of subduing that Iland.

The end of the fifth Summer.

The Plague againe at *Athens*.

there was some intermission, and continued about a yeere **A** after. But the former lasted two yeeres: insomuch as nothing afflicted the *Athenians*; or empaiied their strength more then it. For the number that dyed of it, of men of Armes enrolled, were no lesse then 4400. and Horsemen, 300. of the other multitude, innumerable. There happened also at the same time many Earthquakes, both in *Athens*, and in *Eubœa*, and also amongst the *Bœotians*; and in *Bœotia*, chiefly at *Orchomenus*.

The *Athenians* invade the *Lipareans*, and Islands called the *Iles of Æolus*.

The *Athenians* and *Rhegians* that were now in *Sicily*, made Warre the same Winter on the Islands called the *1- B* lands of *Æolus*, with thirty Gallies. For in Summer it was impossible to Warre vpon them for the shallownesse of the Water. These Islands are inhabited by the *Lipareans*, who are a Colonie of the *Cnidians*, and dwell in one of the same Islands, no great one, called *Lipara*, and thence they goe forth, and husband the rest, which are *Dydime*, *Strongyle*, and *Hiera*. The Inhabitants of those places haue an opinion, that in *Hiera*, *Vulcan* exerciseth the craft of a Smith. For it is seene to send forth abundance of fire in the day time, and of Smoake in the night. These Islands **C** are adiacent to the Territorie of the * *Siculi*, and *Messanians*, but were Confederates of the *Syracusians*. When the *Athenians* had wasted their Fields, and saw they would not come in, they put off againe and went to *Rhegium*. And so ended this Winter, and the fifth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

* *Siculi*. There are in *Thucydides* mentioned *Σικελιοι* and *Σικελιώταις*, whereof the later is the name of the inhabitants of *Sicily* in generall, the former, are onely those that were of that name antiently in Italy, and coming over into *Sicily*, gave that name to the Island.

THE SIXTH
YEERE.

Earthquakes about *Eubœa*, and inundations.

The next Summer, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates came as farre as the *Isthmus*, vnder the conduct of *Agi* the Sonne of *Archidamus*, intending to haue invaded *Attica*; but by reason of the many Earthquakes that then **D** happened, they turned backe, and the inuasion proceeded not.

About the same time, (*Eubœa* being then troubled with Earthquakes) the Sea came in at *Orebia*, on the part which then was Land, and being impetuous withall, ouerflowed most part of the Citie, whereof part it couered, and part it washed downe, and made lower in the returne; so that it is now Sea, which before was Land. And the People, as many as could not preuent it by running vp into the higher ground, perished. Another inundation like vnto **E** this, hapned in the Ile of *Atalania*, on the Coast of *Locris* of

A of the *Opuntians*, and carried away part of the *Athenians* Fort there, and of two Gallies that lay on dry Land, it brake one in pieces.

Also there happened at *Peparethus* a certaine rising of the water, but it brake not in. And a part of the Wall, the * *Towne-house*, and some few houses besides, were ouerthrowne by the Earthquakes. The cause of such inundation, for my part, I take to be this; that the Earthquake, where it was very great, did there send off the Sea, and the Sea returning on a sudden, caused the Water to come on with greater violence. And it seemeth vnto me, that without an Earthquake, such an accident could neuer happen.

The same Summer, diuers others, as they had seuerall occasions, made Warre in *Sicily*. So also did the * *Sicilians* amongst themselues, and the *Athenians* with their Confederates. But I will make mention, onely of such most memorable things, as were done either by the Confederates there with the *Athenians*, or against the *Athenians* by the Enemye.

C *Charæades* the *Athenian* Generall being slaine by the *Syracusians*, *Laches*, who was now sole Commander of the Fleet, together with the Confederates, made Warre on *Myle*, a Towne belonging to *Messana*. There were in *Myle* two companies of *Messanians* in Garrison, the which also laid a certaine Ambush for those that came vp from the Fleet. But the *Athenians* and their Confederates, both put to flight those that were in ambush, with the slaughter of the most of them, and also assaulting their Fortification, forced them on composition, both to render the D Citadell, and to goe along with them against *Messana*. After this, vpon the approach of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, the *Messanians* compounded likewise, and gaue them Hostages, and such other security as was requisite.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* sent thirtie Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Demosthenes* the sonne of *Antisthenes*, and *Proclus* the sonne of *Theodorus*; and 60. Gallies more, with 2000. men of Armes, commanded by *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, E into *Me'os*. For the *Athenians*, in respect that the * *Melians* were Ilanders, and yet would neither bee their

* τὸ πύργον.
The naturall cause of Inundation giuen by the Author.

* Σικελιώται.

The *Athenians* win *Myle*.

And *Messana*,

The *Athenians* send *Demosthenes* with 30. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*.

And *Nicias* with 60. Gallies into the Iland of *Melos*.

* Μελιοί. The *Melians* mentioned a little after this, are not Ilanders, nor termed *Μελιοί*, but *Μελισσιοί*.

Subjects, nor of their League, intending to subdue them. A
But when vpon the wasting of their Fields they still
stood out, they departed from *Melos*, and sayled to *Oropus*,
in the opposite Continent.

Being there arrived within night, the men of Armes
left the Gallies, and marched presently by Land to *Tanagra*
in *Boeotia*. To which place, vpon a signe giuen, the
Athenians that were in the Citie of *Athens*, came also
forth with their whole Forces, led by *Hipponicius* the
sonne of *Callias*, and *Eurymedon* the sonne of *Thucles*, and
ioyned with them; and pitching their Campe, spent the B
day in wasting the Territory of *Tanagra*, and lay there the
night following.

The next day they defeated in Battell, such of the
Tanagrians as came out against them, and also certaine
succours sent them from *Thebes*; and when they had taken
vp the Armes of those that were slaine, and erected a
Trophie, they returned backe, the one part to *Athens*, the
other to their Fleet. And *Nicias* with his 60. Gallies,
hauing first sailed along the Coast of *Locris*, and wasted it,
came home likewise. C

About the same time, the *Peloponnesians* erected
the Colonie of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, with this intenti-
on: The * *Melians* in the whole containe these three
parts: *Paralians*, *Hierans*, and *Trachinians*. Of these the
Trachinians being afflicted with Warre from the *Oeteans*
their borderers, thought at first to haue ioyned themselues
to the *Athenians*; but fearing that they would not bee
faithfull vnto them, they sent to *Lacedemon*; choosng for
their Ambassadour *Tisamenus*. And the *Dorians*, who are
the Mother Nation to the *Lacedemonians*, sent their Am- D
bassadours likewise with him, with the same requests.
For they also were infested with Warre from the same
Oeteans.

Vpon audience of these Ambassadours, the *Laceda-
monians* concluded to send out a Colonie, both intending
the reparation of the iniuries done to the *Trachinians*
and to the *Doreans*; and conceiuing withall, that the
Towne would stand very commodiously, for their
Warre with the *Athenians*; inasimuch as they might
thereby haue a Naue ready, where the passage was E
but short, against *Eubœa*; and it would much further
their

The Army of Nicias, and
another Armie from the
Citie of Athens, meete
vpon a signe giuen, at
Tanagra in *Boeotia*.

They overcome the *Tanagrians* in battell.

The *Lacedemonians* build
the City *Heraclea*.

* *Μελῖταις*, A people of Thes-
saly, neere the *Melian*
Gulfe.

The commodious seate
of this new City for the
Warre.

A their conuoyance of Souldiers into *Thrace*. And they had their minde wholly bent to the building of the place.

First therefore they asked counsell of the Oracle in *Delphi*; and the Oracle hauing bidden them doe it, they sent Inhabitants thither, both of their owne people, and of the neighbours about them, and gaue leaue also to any that would, to goe thither, out of the rest of *Greece*, saue onely to the *Ionians*, *Achaïans*, and some few other Nations.

B The Conductors of the Colonie were three *Lacedæmonians*, *Leon*, *Alcidas*, and *Damagon*: who taking in it hand, built the Citie which is now called *Heraclea*, from the very Foundation; being distant from *Thermopyle* fortie Furlongs, and from the Sea twenty: Also they made houses for Gallies to lye vnder, beginning close to *Thermopyle*, against the very streight, to the end to haue them the more defensible.

The *Athenians*, when this Citie was peopled, were at first afraid, and thought it to bee set vp especially against

C *Eubæa*; because from thence to *Ceneum*, a Promontory of *Eubæa*, the passage is but short. But it fell out afterwards otherwise then they imagined; for they had no great harme by it. The reason whereof was this: That the *Theſſalians* who had the Townes of those parts in their power, and vpon whose ground it was built, afflicted these new planters with a continuall Warre, till they had worne them out, though they were many indeed in the beginning, (for being the foundation of the *Lacedæmonians*, euery one went thither boldly, conceiuing the Citie to bee

D an assured one) and chiefly the Gouvernours themselves; sent thither from *Lacedæmon*, vndid the businesse, and dispeopled the City by frightening most men away, for that they gouerned seuerely, and sometimes also vniustly, by which meanes their neighbours more easily preuailed against them.

The same Summer, and about the same time that the *Athenians* stayed in *Melos*, those other *Athenians* that were in the thirtie Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, slew first certaine Garrison Souldiers in *Ellomenus*, E a place of *Leucadia*, by Ambushment. But afterwards with a greater Fleet, and with the whole power of the

The *Theſſalians* infect the new Citie with continuall Warre, for feare they should be too great.

The seuerity of the *Lacedæmonians* gouernment dispeopled the Citie of *Heracles*, and frighted men from it.

The *Lacedæmonians* alwayes seuerer, not alwaies iust.

Demoſthenes warreth on *Leucæa*.

Acarnanians (who followed the Army, all (but the *Oenias* A
des) that could beare Armes) and with the *Zacynthians*,
and *Cephalonians*, and fiftene Gallies of the *Corcyreans*,
made Warre against the City it selfe of *Leucas*. The *Leu-*
cadians, though they saw their Territorie wasted by
them, both without the *Isthmus*, and within, (where the
Citie of *Leucas* standeth, and the Temple of *Apollo*) yet
they durst not stirre, because the number of the Enemie
was so great. And the *Acarnanians* entreated *Demothes*
the *Athenian* Generall to Wall them vp, conceauing that
they might easily be expugned by a Siege; and desiring to B
be rid of a Citie their continuall Enemy. But *Demothe-*
nes was perswaded at the same time by the *Messenians*, that
seeing so great an Armie was together, it would bee ho-
nourable for him to inuade the *Ætolians*, principally, as
being Enemies to *Naupactus*; and that if these were sub-
dued, the rest of the Continent thereabouts would easily
bee added to the *Athenian* dominion. For they alledged,
that though the Nation of the *Ætolians* were great and
Warlike, yet their habitation was in Villages vnwalled,
and those at great distances; and were but light-armed, C
and might therefore with no great difficulty bee all sub-
dued, before they could vnite themselues for defence.
And they aduised him to take in hand first the *Apodotians*,
next, the *Ophionians*, and after them the *Eurytians*, which
are the greatest part of *Ætolia*, of a most strange language,
and that are reported to eate raw flesh; for these beeing
subdued, the rest would easily follow.

Demothes inuadeth *Æ-*
tolia at the perswasion of
the *Messenians*.

The ambition of *Demo-*
thes, the chiefe cause of
his vniortunate Enter-
prize in *Ætolia*.

But hee, induced by the *Messenians*, whom he fauoured,
but especially because hee thought, without the Forces of
the People of *Athens*, with the Confederates onely of the D
Continent, and with the *Ætolians*, to inuade *Boeotia* by
Land, going first through the *Locri Ozole*, and so to *Cyti-*
nium of *Doris*, hauing *Pernassus* on the right hand, till the de-
scent thereof into the Territorie of the *Phocæans*, (which
people, for the friendship they euer bore to the *Athenians*,
would, he thought, be willing to follow his Armie, and
if not, might be forced) and vpon the *Phocæans* bordereth
Boeotia. Putting off therefore with his whole Armie, a-
gainst the minds of the *Acarnanians*, from *Leucas*, he sailed
vnto *Solium* by the shoare, and there hauing communica- E
ted his conceit with the *Acarnanians*, when they would not
approue

A approve of it, because of his refusall to besiege *Leucas*, he himselfe with the rest of his Armie, (*Cephalonians*, *Zacynthians*, and 300. *Athenians*, the Souldiers of his own Fleet, (for the fifteene Gallies of *Corcyra* were now gone away) warred on the *Ætolians*, hauing *Oeneon*, a Citie of *Locris*, for the seate of his Warre. Now these *Locrians* called *Ozola*, were Confederates of the *Athenians*, and were to meete them with their whole power in the heart of the Countrey. For being Confiners on the *Ætolians*, and vsing the same manner of arming, it was thought it would bee a
B matter of great vtility in the Warre, to haue them in their Armie; for that they knew their manner of fight, and were acquainted with the Countrey. Hauing lyen the night with his whole Armie in the* Temple of *Iupiter Nemeius*, (wherein the Poet *Hesiodus* is reported by them that dwell thereabout to haue dyed, foretold by an Oracle, that hee should dye in *Nemea*) in the morning betimes he dislodged, and marched into *Ætolia*.

* *Ætol.* The whole consecrated ground where a temple stood, not the Church only. *Hesiod* the Poet said to haue dyed in this Temple of *Iupiter Nemeus*.

The first day hee tooke *Potidania*, the second day, *Crocylum*, the third, *Tichium*. There he staid, and sent the
C booty hee had gotten, to *Eupolium* in *Locris*. For he purposed, when hee had subdued the rest, to inuade the *Ophionians* afterwards, (if they submitted not) in his returne to *Naupactus*.

Potidania.
Crocylum.
Tichium.

Ophionci.

But the *Ætolians* knew of this preparation when it was first resolved on; and afterwards, when the Armie was entred, they were vnited into a mighty Armie to make head. Inſomuch as that the furthest off of the *Ophionians*, that reach out to the *Melian Gulfe*, the *Bomians* and *Callians* came in with their aydes.

The *Ætolians* vnite against the inuasion of *Demoſthenes*.

Bomians.
Callians.

D The *Messenians* gaue the same aduice to *Demoſthenes* that they had done before; and alleading that the Conquest of the *Ætolians* would bee but easie, willed him to march with all speed against them, Village after Village, and not to stay till they were all vnited, and in order of Battell against him, but to attempt alwayes the place which was next to hand. Hee, perswaded by them, and confident of his fortune, because nothing had crossed him hitherto, without tarrying for the *Locrians* that should haue come in with their aides, (for his greatest want was
E of Darters light-armed) marched to *Ægirium*, which approaching, hee wonne by force, the men hauing fled secretly

Ægirium.

The *Ætoli*ans give *Demo-*
sthenes a great overthrow.

cretly out, and encamped themselves on the Hilles about A
it: for it stood in a Mountainous place, and about eighty
Furlongs from the Sea. But the *Ætoli*ans, (for by this time
they were come with their Forces to *Ægittum*) charged
the *Athenians* and their Confederates, and running downe
vpon them, some one way, some another, from the Hilles,
plyed them with their Darts. And when the Armie of
the *Athenians* assaulted them, they retired; and when it
retired, they assaulted. So that the Fight for a good
while, was nothing but alternate chase and retreat; and
the *Athenians* had the worst in both.

Neuertheless, as long as their Archers had Arrows, B
and were able to use them, (for the *Ætoli*ans, by reason they
were not armed, were put backe still with the shot) they
held out. But when vpon the death of their Captaine, the
Archers were dispersed, and the rest were also wearied,
hauing a long time continued the said labour of pursuing
and retyring, and the *Ætoli*ans continually afflicting them
with their Darts, they were forced at length to fly; and
lighting into Hollowes without issue, and into places
they were not acquainted withall, were destroyed. For C
Chromon a *Messenian*, who was their Guide for the wayes,
was slaine. And the *Ætoli*ans pursuing them still with
Darts, slew many of them quickly, whilst they fled, be-
ing swift of foot, and without Armour. But the most of
them missing their way, and entring into a Wood, which
had no passage through, the *Ætoli*ans set it on fire, and
burnt it about them.

All kinds of shifts to fly, and all kindes of destruction
were that day in the Armie of the *Athenians*. Such as re-
mained, with much adoe, got to the Sea, and to *Oeneon*, D
a Citie of *Locris*, from whence they first set forth.

There dyed very many of the Confederates, and a hun-
dred and twenty men of Armes of the *Athenians*; that
was their number, and all of them able men. These men
of the very best dyed in this Warre: *Procles* also was there
slaine, one of the Generals. When they had receiued
the bodies of their dead from the *Ætoli*ans vnder truce, and
were gotten againe to *Naupaetum*, they returned with the
Fleet to *Athens*. But they left *Demo*sthenes about *Naupaetum*,
and those parts, because hee was afraid of the *Athenian* E
People, for the losse that had happened.

*Demo*sthenes afraid to
come home.

About

A About the same time, the *Athenians* that were on the Coast of *Sicily*, sayled vnto *Locris*, and landing, ouercame such as made head; and tooke in *Peripolium*, situate on the Riuer *Halex*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in Sicily sayle to *Locris*, and take *Peripolium*.

The same Summer, the *Ætolians* hauing sent their Ambassadors, *Telephus* an *Ophionian*, *Boryades*, an *Eurytanean*, and *Tisander* an *Apodonian*, to *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon*, perswaded them to send an Armie against *Naupactus*, for that it harboured the *Athenians* against them. And the *Lacedæmonians*, towards the end of Autumne, sent them three thousand men of Armies, of their Confederates; of which five hundred were of *Heraclea*, the new-built Citie of *Trachiniae*. The Generall of the Armie was *Eurylochus* a *Spartan*, with whom * *Massarius* and *Menedæus* went also along, *Spartans* likewise.

The *Ætolians* and *Peloponnesians* make a iourney against *Naupactus*.

When the Armie was assembled at *Delphi*, *Eurylochus* sent a Herald to the *Locrians* of *Ozola*, both because their way lay through them to *Naupactus*, and also because hee desired to make them reuolt from the *Athenians*. Of all the *Locrians*, the *Amphissians* cooperated with him most, as standing most in feare for the enemie of the *Phocæans*. And they first giuing Hostages, induced others, (who likewise were afraid of the comming in of the Armie) to doe the like: the *Myonians* first, beeing their neighbours, (for this way is *Locris* of most difficult access) then the *Ipneans*, *Messapians*, *Triteans*, *Challæans*, *Tolophonians*, *Hesians*, and the *Oeantheans*. All these went with them to the Warre. The *Olpeans* gaue them Hostages, but followed not the Armie. But the *Hyeans* would giue them no Hostages, till they had taken a Village of theirs called *Polis*.

* These are afterwards called *Macarius* & *Menedæus*.

D When euery thing was ready, and hee had sent the Hostages away to *Cytinium* in *Doris*, hee marched with his Armie towards *Naupactus*, through the Territorie of the *Locrians*. And as hee marched, hee tooke *Oreone*, a Towne of theirs, and *Eupolium*, because they refused to yeeld vnto him.

When they were come into the Territorie of *Naupactus*, the *Ætolians* being there already to ioyne with them, they wasted the Fields about, and tooke the Suburbs of the Citie, being vnfortified. Then they went to *Molychrium*, a Colonie of the *Corinthians*, but subiect to the People of *Athens*.

E

Demosthenes relieueth Naupactus.

Athers, and tooke that. Now *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*, A
(for euer since the *Ætolian* businesse, he abode about *Naupactus*) hauing been praaduertised of this Army, and being afraid to lose the Citie, went amongst the *Acarnanians*; and with much adoe, because of his departure from before *Leucas*, perswaded them to relieue *Naupactus*, and they sent along with him in his Gallies 1000 men of Armes; which entring were the preservation of the City; for there was danger, the walles being of a great compasse, and the defendants few, that else they should not haue been able to make them good. *Eurylochus*, and those that were with B
him, when they perceyued that those forces were entred, and that it was impossible to take the Citie by assault, departed thence, not into *Peloponnesus*, but to *Æolia*, now called *Calydon*, and to *Pleuron*, and other places thereabouts, and also to *Proschion* in *Ætolia*. For the *Ambraciotes* coming to them, perswaded them to vndertake, together with themselves, the enterprize against *Argos*, and the rest of *Amphilochia*, and *Acarnania*, saying withall, that if they could ouercome these, the rest of that Continent would enter into the league of the *Lacedæmonians*. Whereunto *Eurylochus* assented, and dismissing the *Ætolians*, lay quiet in C
those parts with his Armie, till such time, as the *Ambraciotes* being come with their forces before *Argos*, he should haue need to aid them. And so this Summer ended.

The end of the sixt Summer.

The Athenians in Sicily assault *Nessa*.

* *Siculi*.

* *Nessa*; rather *Inessa*, The Inhabitants he calleth *Inessi*, lib. 6.

The *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, in the beginning of Winter, together with the *Grecians* of their league, and as many of the * *Siculi*, as hauing obeyed the *Syracusians* by force, or being their Confederates before, had now reuolted, warred ioyntly against * *Nessa*, a town of *Sicily*, the Citadell D
whereof, was in the hands of the *Syracusians*; and they assaulted the same; but when they could not winne it, they retyred. In the retreat, the *Syracusians* that were in the Citadell, sallied out vpon the Confederates, that retired later then the *Athenians*, and charging, put a part of the Army to flight, and killed, not a few.

After this, *Laches*, and the *Athenians*, Landed sometime at *Locri*; and ouercame in battell, by the Riuer *Caicius*, about 300 *Locrians*, who with *Proxenus* the sonne of *Capiton*, came out to make resistance; and when they had stripped them of their Armes, departed. E

Deles halloed.

The same Winter also, the *Athenians* hallowed the Ile of

A of *Delos*, by the admonition indeed of a certain Oracle. For *Pisistratus* also the Tyrant, hallowed the same before, not all, but onely so much as was within the prospect of the Temple. But now they hallowed it all over in this manner. They tooke away all Sepulchers whatsoever, of such as had dyed there before; and for the future, made an Edict, that none should bee suffered to dye, nor any Woman to bring forth child in the Island; but when they were neere the time, either of the one or the other, they should bee carried ouer into *Rhenea*.

An Edict, that none should be suffered to be borne or dye in *Delos*.

B This *Rhenea* is so little a way distant from *Delos*, that *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, who was once of great power by Sea, and had the dominion of the other Islands, when hee wonne *Rhenea*, dedicated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*, tying it vnto *Delos* with a Chaine. And now after the hallowing of it, the *Athenians* instituted the keeping, euery fifth yeere, of the *Delian* Games.

Rhenea an Island, tyed to *Delos* with a chaine, and dedicated to *Apollo* of *Delos*.

The *Athenians* institute the quinquennial Games at *Delos*.

There had also in old time beene great concourse in *Delos*, both of *Ionians*, and of the Islanders round about. For they then came to see the Games, with their Wiues and Children, as the *Ionians* doe now the Games at *Ephesus*.

There were likewise Matches set of bodily exercise, and of Musicke; and the Citties did feuerally set forth Dances. Which things to haue beene so, is principally declared by *Homer*, in these Verses of his Hymne to *Apollo*.

But thou, *Apollo*, takest most delight
In *Delos*. There asseble in thy sight,
The long-coate *Ions* with their Children deare,
And venerable Bedfellowes; and there,
In Matches set, of Buffets, Song, and Dance,
Both shew thee pastime, and thy Name advance.

Hom. Hym. ad Apollo. vers. 146:

That there were also Matches of Musique, and that men resorted thither to contend therein, hee againe maketh manifest in these Verses of the same Hymne. For after hee hath spoken of the *Delian* Dance of the Women, hee endeth their praise with these Verses, wherein also he maketh mention of himselfe.

Dd

But

A

from Homer, ad. Apoll. ver.
65.

But well: let Phoebus and Diana bee
Tropitious; and farewell you each one;
But yet remember me when I am gone:
And if of earthly men you chance to see
Any toyl'd Pilgrim, that shall aske you, Who,
O Damsels, is the man that living here,
Was sweet 'st in Song, and that most had your eare?
Then all, with a ioynt murmur, thereunto
Make answer thus; A man depriv'd of seeing,
In th' Ile of Sandie Chios is his being.

B

So much hath Homer witness'd touching the great meeting, and solemnity celebrated of old, in the Ile of Delos. And the Islanders, and the Athenians, since that time, haue continued it till to send Dancers along with their Sacrificers, but the Games, and things of that kind were worne out, as is likely, by aduersity. Till now that the Athenians restored the Games, and added the Horse-race, which was not before.

The Ambraciotes and Peloponnesians make Warre against the Acarnanians and Argives, unfortunatly.

They take Olpe.

The same Winter the Ambraciotes, (according to their promise made to Eurylochus) when they reteyned his Armie, made Warre vpon Argos in Amphilochia, with three thousand men of Armes, and inuading Argia, they tooke Olpe, a strong Fort on a Hill by the Sea-side, which the Acarnanians had fortified, and vsed for the place of their common meetings, for matters of Iustice, and is distant from the Citie of Argos, which stands also on the Sea-side, about twenty fise furlongs. The Acarnanians with part of their Forces, came to relieue Argos, and with rest they encamped in that part of Amphilochia which is called Crena, to watch the Peloponnesians that were with Eurylochus, that they might not passe through to the Ambraciotes without their knowledge; and sent to Demosthenes, who had beene Leader of the Athenians in the expedition against the Aetolians, to come to them, and bee their Generall.

D

The Acarnanians make Demosthenes their Generall.

The Ambraciotes at Olpe, send to the Acarnanians at home, to come to their ayde.

They sent also to the twenty Athenian Gallies, that chanced to be then on the Coast of Peloponnesus, vnder the Conduct of Aristoteles, the sonne of Timocrates, and Ierophon, the sonne of Antimnestus. In like manner the Ambraciotes that were at Olpe, sent a messenger to the Citie of Ambracia,

E

A *Ambracia*, willing them to come to their ayde with their whole power; as fearing that those with *Eurylochus* would not bee able to passe by the *Acarnans*; and so they should bee either forced to fight alone, or else haue an vn safe Retreat.

But the *Peloponnesians* that were with *Eurylochus*, as soone as they vnderstood that the *Ambraciotes* were come to *Olpea*, dislodging from *Proschion*, went with all speede to assist them. And passing ouer the Riuer *Achelous*, marched through *Acarnania*, (which, by reason of the aydes sent to *Argos*, was now disfurnished,) on their right hand they had the Citie of *Stratus*, and that Garrison; on the left, the rest of *Acarnania*. Hauing past the Territory of the *Stratians*, they marched through *Phytia*, and againe by the vtmost limits of *Medeon*, then through *Limnea*, then they went into the Territory of the *Agraeans*, which are out of *Acarnania*, and their friends, and getting to the Hill *Thianus*, which is a desert Hill, they marched ouer it, and came downe into *Argia*, when it was now night; and passing betweene the Citie of the *Argiues*, and the *Acarnans* that kept watch at the *Welles*, came vnseene, and ioyned with the *Ambraciotes* at *Olpea*.

When they were all together, they late downe about breake of day, at a place called *Metropolis*, and there encamped. And the *Athenians* not long after with their 20. Gallies, arriued in the *Ambracian* Gulfe, to the aide of the *Argiues*. To whom also came *Demosthenes* with 200. *Messenian* men of Armes, and threscore *Athenian* Archers. The Gallies lay at Sea, before the Hill vpon which the Fort of *Olpea* standeth. But the *Acarnaniens*, and those few *Anphilochians* (for the greatest part of them the *Ambraciotes* kept backe by force) that were come already together at *Argos*, prepared themselues to giue the Enemy Battell, and chose *Demosthenes* with their owne Commanders, for Generall of the whole League. Hee, when hee had brought them vp, neere vnto *Olpea*, there encamped. There was betweene them a great Hollow; and for fise dayes together, they stirred not; but the sixth day both sides put themselues into array for the Battell. The Armie of the *Peloponnesians* reached a great way beyond the other, for indeed it was much greater; but *Demosthenes*, fearing to bee encompassed, placed an

Demosthenes chosen Generall.

The Battell betweene
the Ambraciotes and Acarnanians.

Ambush in a certaine hollow way, and fit for such a A
purpose, of armed and vnarmed Souldiers, in all to the
number of 400. which in that part where the number
of the Enemies ouer-reached, should in the heate of the
battell rise out of Ambush, and charge them on their
backes. When the Battells were in order on either side,
they came to Blowes. *Demosthenes* with the *Messenians*,
and those few *Athenians* that were there, stood in the right
Wing; and the *Acarnanians* (as they could one after an-
other bee put in order) and those *Anphilochian* Darters
which were present, made vp the other. The *Pelopon-* B
nesians and *Ambraciotes* were ranged promiscuously, ex-
cept onely the *Mantineans*; who stood together, most of
them in the left Wing, but not in the utmost part of it,
for *Eurylochus* and those that were with him, made the ex-
tremity of the left Wing against *Demosthenes*, and the *Mes-*
senians.

The Ambraciotes and Pello-
ponnesians fly.

When they were in fight, and that the *Peloponnesians*
with that Wing ouer-reached, and had encircled the
right Wing of their Enemies, those *Acarnanians* that lay in
Ambush, comming in at their backes, charged them, and C
put them to flight, in such sort as they endured not the
first brunt; and besides, caused the greatest part of the
Armie through affright to runne away. For when they
saw that part of it defeated, which was with *Eurylochus*,
which was the best of their Armie, they were a great
deale the more affraid. And the *Messenians* that were in
that part of the Armie with *Demosthenes*, pursuing them,
dispatched the greatest part of the execution. But the
Ambraciotes that were in the right Wing, on that part,
had the Victorie, and chased the Enemie vnto the Citie of D
Argos; but in their Retreat, when they saw that the
greatest part of the Armie was vanquished, the rest of the
Acarnanians setting vpon them, they had much adoe to re-
couer *Olpe* in safety; and many of them were slaine,
whilest they ranne into it out of array, and in disorder.
Saue onely the *Mantineans*; for these made a more or-
derly Retreat then any part of the Armie. And so this
Battell ended, hauing lasted till the Euening.

* called before Menedatus
and Mallarius.

The next day, * *Menedaim*, (*Eurylochus* and * *Macari-* E
us beeing now slaine) taking the Command vpon him,
and not finding how, if hee staid, hee should bee able
to

A to sustaine a Siege, wherein hee should both bee shut vp by Land, and also with those *Attique Gallies* by Sea; or if hee should depart, how hee might doe it safely, had speech with *Demosthenes*, and the *Acarnian* Captaines, both about a Truce for his departure, and for the receiuing of the bodies of the slaine. And they deliuered vnto them their dead; and hauing erected a Trophie, tooke vp their owne dead, which were about three hundred; but for their departure they would make no Truce openly, nor to all: but secretly, *Demosthenes*, with his *Acarnian* fellow-Commanders, made a Truce with the *Mantineans*, and with *Menedaius*, and the rest of the *Peloponnesian* Captaines, and men of most worth, to bee gone as speedily as they could; with purpose to disguard the *Ambraciotes*, and multitude of mercenary Strangers, and withall to vse this as a meanes to bring the *Peloponnesians* into hatred with the *Grecians* of those parts, as men that had treacherously aduanced their particular interest. Accordingly they tooke vp their dead, and buryed them as fast as they could; and such as had leaue, consulted secretly touching how to bee gone.

Demosthenes suffereth the principall *Peloponnesians* to retire from *Olpæ* secretly; to disguard the *Ambraciotes* of their ayde, and procure the *Peloponnesians* the hatred of the Nations thereabouts.

Demosthenes and the *Acarnians* had now intelligence, that the *Ambraciotes* from the Citie of *Ambracia*, according to the message sent to them before from *Olpæ*, (which was, that they should bring their whole power through *Amphilochia* to their ayde) were already on their March, (ignorant of what had passed here) to ioyne with those at *Olpæ*. And hereupon he sent a part of his Armie presently forth, to beset the wayes with Ambushment, and to pre-occupate all places of strength, and prepared withall, to encounter with the rest of his Armie.

Demosthenes sendeth part of his Armie to lye in Ambush by the wayes by which the *Ambraciote* supplies were to come from the Citie.

In the meane time, the *Mantineans*, and such as had part in the Truce, going out, on pretence to gather Pot-herbs, and Fire-wood, stole away by small numbers, and as they went, did indeed gather such things as they pretended to goe forth for; but when they were gotten farre from *Olpæ*, they went faster away. But the *Ambraciotes*, and others that came forth in the same manner, but in greater troopes, seeing the others goe quite away, were eager to bee gone likewise, and ranne out-right, as desiring to ouertake those that were gone before. The *Acarnians* at first thought they had gone all without Truce alike,

The *Mantineans* retire from *Olpæ*.

The *Ambraciotes* goe after them, and are slaine to the number of 200.

alike, and pursued the *Peloponnesians*, and threw darts at A their owne Captaines for forbidding them, and for saying that they went away vnder truce, as thinking themselues betrayed. But at last they let goe the *Maninears*, and *Peloponnesians*, and slew the *Ambraciotes* onely. And there was much contention, and ignorance, of which was an *Ambraciote*, and which a *Peloponnesian*. So they slew about 200 of them, and the rest escaped into *Agræis*, a bordering Territory, where *Salynthius* King of the *Agræans*, and their friend, receiued them.

The rest escape to *Salynthius*, King of the *Agræans*.

Demosthenes goeth out to meet the supply of *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie.

The *Ambraciotes*, out of the Citie of *Ambracia*, were come B as farre as *Idomene*. *Idomene* are two high hills, to the greater whereof, came first vndiscovered that night, they whom *Demosthenes* had sent afore from the Campe, and seized it. But the *Ambraciotes* got first to the lesser, and there encamped the same night. *Demosthenes* after Supper, in the twilight, marched forward with the rest of the Army, one halfe whereof himselfe tooke with him, for the assault of the Campe, and the other halfe he sent about through the Mountaines of *Amphilochia*.

The *Ambraciotes* surprized in their lodgings.

And the next morning before day, he inuaded the *Ambraciotes*, whilest they were yet in their lodgings, and knew not what was the matter, but thought rather, that they had been some of their owne company. For *Demosthenes* had placed the *Messenians* on purpose in the formost rankes, and commanded them to speake vnto them as they went, in the *Dorique* Dialect, and to make the Sentinels secure; Especially, seeing their faces could not be discerned, for it was yet night. Wherefore they put the Army of the *Ambraciotes* to flight, at the first onset, and slew many vpon the place. The rest fled as fast as they could towards the Mountaines. But the wayes being beset, and the *Amphilochians* being well acquainted with their owne Territory, and armed but lightly, against men in Armour, vnacquainted, and vtterly ignorant which way to take; they light into hollow wayes, and to the places forelayed with Ambushes, and perished. And hauing been put to all manner of shift for their liues, some fled towards the Sea, and when they saw the Gallies of *Athens* sayling by the Shoare, (this accident concurring with their defeate,) swamme to them, and chose rather in their present feare, to E be killed of those in the Gallies, then by the *Barbarians*, and

The *Ambraciotes* put to flight.

A and their most mortall enemies the *Amphilocheians*. The *Ambraciotes* with this losse, came home a few of many in safety to their Citie. And the *Acarnerians* hauing taken the spoyle of the dead, and erected their Trophies, returned vnto *Argos*.

The next day there came a Herald from those *Ambraciotes* which fled from *Olpe*, into *Agræis*; to demand leaue to carry away the bodies of those dead, which were slaine after the first battell, when, without Truce, they went away together with the *Mantineans*, and with those that had

B Truce. But when the Herald saw the Armors of those *Ambraciotes*, that came from the City, he wondred at the number. For he knew nothing of this last blow, but thought they had been the Armors of those with them.

Then one asked him, *what hee wondred at, and how many hee thought were slaine*. For he that asked him the question thought, on the other side, that he had been a Herald, sent from those at *Idomene*. And he answered, *about 200*. Then he that asked, replied, and said, *Then these are not the armours of them, but of about a thousand*. Then, said he againe, *they belong*

C *not to them that were in the battell with vs*. The other answered, *yes, if you fought yesterday in Idomene*. But we fought *not yesterday at all, but the other day in our retreat*. But we yet fought yesterday with those *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie to ayde the rest. When the Herald heard that, and knew that the ayde from the Citie was defeated, he burst out into *Amaz*, and astonished with the greatnesse of the present losse, forthwith went his way, without his errand, and required the dead bodies no further. For this losse was greater then in the like number of dayes happened to any one

D Citie of Greece, in all this Warre. I haue not written the number of the slaine, because it was said to be such, as is incredible, for the quantity of the City. But this I know, that if the *Acarnerians*, and *Amphilocheians* as *Demofihenes*, and the *Athenians* would haue had them, would haue subdued *Ambracia*, they might haue done it even with the shoat of their voyces, but they feared now, that if the *Athenians* possessed it, they would proue more troublesome Neighbors vnto them then the other.

After this, hauing bestowed the third part of the spoyles E vpon the *Athenians*, they distributed the other two parts according to the Cities. The *Athenians* part was loit by Sea.

The conference of the Herald from the *Ambraciotes* in *Argos*, with one of *Demofihenes* his Army, about the number of the slaine.

The *Acarnerians* will not let the *Athenians* subaue the *Ambraciotes* utterly, because they thought the *Ambraciotes* better neighbours then the *Athenians*.

Sea. Forthole 300 compleat Armors which are dedica- A
ted in the Temples in *Attica* were pick'd out for *Demofthe-*
nes himfelfe, and he brought them away with him. His
returne was withall the fafer for this action, after his de-
feate in *Ægospotami*. And the *Athenians* that were in the twen-
ty Gallies returned to *Naupactus*.

League for 100 yeeres
betweene the *Ambraci-*
otes and *Acar-nanians*.

The *Acar-nanians*, and *Amphilochians*, when the *Athenians*,
and *Demofthenes* were gone, granted Truce at the Citie of
the *Oeniades* to thofe *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponnefians* that
were fled to *Salynthius*, & the *Agræans*, to retyre, the *Oeniades* B
being gone ouer to *Salynthius*, and the *Agræans* likewise. And
for the future, the *Acar-nanians*, & *Amphilochians* made a league
with the *Ambraciotes* for an hundred yeeres, vpon thefe
conditions. That neither the *Ambraciotes*, with the *Acar-*
nanians, fhould make Warre againft the *Peloponnefians*, nor
the *Acar-nanians* with the *Ambraciotes*, againft the *Atheni-*
ans. That they fhould giue mutuall ayde to one anothers Coun-
trei. That the *Ambraciotes* fhould reftore, whatfoeuer Townes
or bordering fields they held of the *Amphilochians*,; and that
they fhould at no time ayde *Anactorium*, which was in hoftility
with the *Acar-nanians*. And vpon this compofition, the C
Warre ended. After this, the *Corinthians* fent a Garrifon
of about 300 men of Armes of their owne Citie to *Ambr-*
acia, vnder the Conduët of *Xenocles* the fonne of *Euthycles*;
who with much difficulty pafing through *Epiru*, at
length arriued. Thus paffed the bufineffe in *Ambracia*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sy-*
cily, inuade *Himeræa*,
* *Σικελία*.

Pythodorus fent to take
the Fleet from *Laches*.

The fame Winter the *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, inua-
ded *Himeræa* by Sea, ayded by the * *Sicilians* that inuaded
the skirts of the fame by Land. They fayled alfo to the
Ilands of *Ægou*. Returning afterwards to *Rhegium*, they D
found there *Pythodorus*, the fonne of *Ifoechus*, with certaine
Gallies, come to receiue charge of the Fleet commanded
by *Laches*. For the *Sicilian* Confederates had fent to
Athens, and perfwaded the people, to affift them with a
greater Fleet. For though the *Syracufians* were matters
by Land, yet feeing they hindred them, but with few
Gallies from the liberty of the Sea, they made preparati-
on, and were gathering together a Fleet, with intention
to refift them. And the *Athenians* furnifhed out forty
Gallies to fend into *Sicily*, conceiuing that the Warre E
there would the fooner be at an end, and defiring withall
to

A to traine their men in nauall exercise. Therefore *Pythodorus*, one of the Commanders, they sent presently away with a few of those Gallies, and intended to send *Sophocles* the sonne of *Sostratides*, and *Eurymedon* the sonne of *Toucks*, with the greatest number afterwards. But *Pythodorus* hauing now the Command of *Laches* his Fleet, sayled in the end of Winter, vnto a certaine Garrison of the *Locrians*, which *Laches* had formerly taken, and ouerthrowne in a Battell there by the *Locrians*, retired.

B The same Spring, there issued a great * streame of Fire out of the Mountaine *Ætna*, as it had also done in former times, and burned part of the Territory of the *Cataneans*, that dwell at the Foot of *Ætna*, which is the highest Mountaine of all *Sicily*. From the last time that the fire brake out before, to this time, it is said to bee fifty yeeres. And it hath now broken out thrice in all, since *Sicily* was inhabited by the *Grecians*. These were the things that came to passe this Winter. And so ended the sixth yeere of this War, written by

THUCYDIDES.

* * *

The fire breaketh out of and *Ætna*, burneth the Fields of *Catanz*.

* *πῦρ τοῦ ἑρπύου*, a streame of fire; and was a kind of melted stone, gissing out of the sides of the mountaine.

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THE
FOVVRTH BOOK
OF THE HISTORY OF
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The Athenians take and fortifie Pylus in Laconia. The Lacedæmonians, to recover it, put ouer 400. of their best men into the Iland Sphaacteria: whom the Athenians, hauing ouercome the Lacedæmonian Fleet, doe there besiege. The Athenians and Syraculians fight in the Streight of Messina. Cleon engageth himselfe rashly to take or kill the Lacedæmonians in Sphaacteria within 20. dayes, and by good fortune performeth it. The Sedition ceaseth in Corcyra. Nicias invadeth Peloponnesus. The Sicilians agreeing, take from the Athenians their pretence of sayling vpon that Coast with their Fleet. The Athenians take Nisæa, but faile of Megara. The ouerthrow of the Athenians at Delium. The Cities on the Confin:s of Thrace, vpon the comming of Brasidas, revolt to the Lacedæmonians. Truce for a yeere. And this in three yeeres more of the same Warre.

D **T**HE Spring following, when Corne beganne to bee in the eare, tenne Gallies of *Syracusa*, and as many of *Locris*, went to *Messena* in *Sicily*, called in by the Citizens themselues, and tooke it; and *Messana* revolted from the *Athenians*. This was done by the practice chiefly of the *Syraculians*, that saw the place to bee commodious for inuasion of *Sicily*, and feared lest the *Athenians* some time or other hereafter, making it the seate of
E e 2 their

THE SEVENTH
YEERE.

Messina.

*Messana revolteth from
the Athenians,*

The *Locrians* were the Territory of *Rhegium*.

Rhegio.

The fifth inuasion of *Attica*.

The *Athenians* send forty Gallies into *Sicily*.

Who are to put in by the way at *Corcyra*, being still in sedition, the Outlawes holding the Field, and the Commons, the Citie.

Demoſthenes vrgeth to put in at *Pylus*.

their Warre, might come with greater forces into *Sicily*, A and inuade them from thence; but partly also of the *Locrians*, as being in hostility with the *Rhegians*, & desirous to make Warre vpon them on both sides. The *Locrians* had now also entred the Lands of the *Rhegians* with their whole power; both because they would hinder them from assisting the *Messenians* and because they were solicited thereunto by the banished men of *Rhegium*, that were with them. For they of *Rhegium* had beene long in Sedition, and were vnable for the present to giue them Battell, for which cause, they the rather also now inuaded them. B And after they had wasted the Countrey, the *Locrians* withdrew their Land-forces, but their Gallies lay still at the guard of *Messana*, and more were setting forth, to lye in the same Harbour, to make the Warre on that side.

About the same time of the Spring, and before Corne was at full growth, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, vnder the Conduct of *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, inuaded *Attica*, and there lay and wasted the Countrey about.

And the *Athenians* sent fortie Gallies into *Sicily*, the same C which they had provided before for that purpose, and with them the other two Generals, *Eurymedon* & *Sophocles*. For *Pythodorus*, who was the third in that Commission, was arriued in *Sicily* before. To these they gaue commandment also, to take order as they went by, for the state of those *Corcyraans* that were in the Citie, and were pillaged by the Outlawes in the Mountaine: and three-score Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* were gone out to take part with those in the Mountaine; who, because there was a great Famine in the Citie, thought they might easily be masters of that State. To *Demoſthenes* also (who euer since his returne out of *Acarnania* had liued priuately) D they gaue authority, at his owne request, to make vse of the same Gallies, if hee thought good so to doe, about *Peloponnesus*.

As they sayled by the Coast of *Laconia*, and had intelligence that the *Peloponnesian* Fleet was at *Corcyra* already, *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles* halted to *Corcyra*; but *Demoſthenes* willed them to put in first at *Pylus*, and when they had done what was requisite there, then to proceed in their E Voyage. But whilest they denyed to doe it, the Fleet

was

A was driven into *Pylus* by a Tempest that then arose by chance. And presently *Demosthenes* required them to fortifie the place, alledging that hee came with them for no other purpose, and shewing how there was great store of Timber and Stone, and that the place it selfe was naturally strong, and desert, both it, and a great deale of the Countrey about. For it lyeth from *Piræa* about 100. Furlongs, in the Territory that belonging once to the *Messenians*, is called by che *Lacedæmonians*, *Coryphasion*. But they answered him, that there were many desert Promontories

B in *Peloponnesus*, if they were minded to put the Citie to charges in taking them in. But there appeared vnto *Demosthenes* a great difference betweene this place and other places; because there was heere a Haven, and the *Messenians*, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, speaking the same language the *Lacedæmonians* did, would both be able to annoy them much by excursions thence, and be also faithfull Guardians of the place.

When hee could not preuaile, neither with the Generals, nor with the Souldiers, hauing also at last communicated the same to the Captaines of Companies, hee gaue it ouer, till at last, the weather not seruing to bee gone, there came vpon the Souldiers lying idle, a desire, occasioned by dissention, to Wall in the place of their owne accord. And falling in hand with the worke, they performed it, not with yron tooles to hew stone, but picked out such stones as they thought good, and afterwards placed them as they would severally fit. And for Morter, where it needed, for want of Vessels, they carried it on their backs, with their bodies enclining forward, so as it might best lye, and their hands clasped behinde, to stay it from falling; making all possible haste to preuent the *Lacedæmonians*, and to finish the most assailable parts, before they came to succour it. For the greatest part of the place was strong by nature, and needed no fortifying at all.

The *Lacedæmonians* were that day celebrating a certaine Holiday, and when they heard the newes, did set lightly by it; conceiuing, that whensoever it should please them to goe thither, they should finde them either already gone or easily take the place by force. Somewhat also they were retarded, by reason that their Armie was

in

The Fleet
by Weather.

The commodity of *Pylus*.

The Athenians build the
Fort of *Pylus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* at
home regard the taking
of *Pylus* but lightly.

in *Attica*. The *Athenians* hauing in fixe dayes finished the Wall to the Land, and in the places where was most need, left *Demosthenes* with fise Gallies to defend it, and with the rest, hastend on in their course for *Corcyra*, and *Sicily*.

The *Lacedemonians* army, and *Agis* take it more to heart.

The *Peloponnesians* that were in *Attica*, when they were aduertised of the taking of *Pylus*, returned speedily home. For the *Lacedemonians*, and *Agis* their King, tooke this accident of *Pylus* to concerne their owne particular. And the inuasion was withall so early, (Corne being yet greene) that the most of them were scanted with victuall; B the Armie was also much troubled with the weather, which was colder then for the season; so as for many reasons it fell out, that they returned sooner now, then at other times they had done; and this inuasion was the shortest; for they continued in *Attica*, in all but fiftene dayes.

The *Athenians* take *Eion* in *Thrace*, and lose it againe.

About the same time *Simonides* an *Athenian* Commander, hauing drawne a few *Athenians* together out of the Garrisons, and a number of the Confederates of those parts, tooke the Citie of *Eion* in *Thrace*, a Colonie of the *Mendaans*, that was their Enemy, by Treason; but was presently againe driuen out by the *Chalcideans* and *Bottiaans*, that came to succour it, and lost many of his Souldiers. C

The *Lacedemonians* by Sea and Land, seeke to recover *Pylus*.

When the *Peloponnesians* were returned out of *Attica*, they of the Citie of *Sparta*, and of other the next neighbouring Townes, went presently to the ayde of *Pylus*; but the rest of the *Lacedemonians* came slower on, as beeing newly come from the former Expedition. Neuerthelesse they sent about, to the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to require their assistance with all speed at *Pylus*; and also to their three-score Gallies that were at *Corcyra*. Which, transported ouer the *Isthmus* of *Leucas*, arriued at *Pylus*, vnseene of the *Athenian* Gallies lying at *Zacynthus*. And by this time their Armie of foot was also there. Whilest the *Peloponnesian* Gallies were comming toward *Pylus*, *Demosthenes* sent two Gallies secretly to *Eurymedon* and the *Athenian* Fleet at *Zacynthus*, in hall haste, to tell them, that they must come presently to him, for as much as the place was in danger to bee lost. And according as *Demosthenes* his message E imported, so the Fleet made haste. The *Lacedemonians* in the

Zante.

Demosthenes sends to call backe the fleet to helpe him.

A. The Campe of the Lacedemonians
 B. The Island Sphacteria. C. The fort
 of Pylus. D. Brasidas wth his gallies
 E. Demosthenes wth his forces on
 the Shoare. F. The battell in the
 haven. G. The Athenian Gallies
 watching about the Island.



A the meane time prepared themselves to assault the Fort both by Sea and Land; hoping easily to winne it, beeing a thing built in haste, and not many men within it. And because they expected the comming of the *Athenian* Fleet from *Zacynthus*, they had a purpose, if they tooke not the Fort before, to barre vp the entries of the Harbour. For the Iland called *Sphaacteria*, lying iust before, and very nere to the place, maketh the Hauen safe, and the entries straight; one of them, neerest to *Pylus*, and to the *Athenian* Fortification, admitting passage for no more but two Gallies in front; and the other which lyeth against the other part of the Continent, for not about eight or nine. The Iland, by beeing desart, was all Wood, and vntrodden, in bignesse about fiftene Furlongs ouer. Therefore they determined with their Gallies thicke set; and with the Beake-heads outward, to stop vp the entries of the Hauen. And because they feared the Iland, lest the *Athenians* putting men into it, should make Warre vpon them from thence, they carried ouer men of Armes into the same, and placed others likewise along the shoare of the Continent. For by this meanes, the *Athenians* at their comming should finde the Iland their Enemy, and no meanes of landing in the Continent. For the Coast of *Pylus* it selfe, without these two entries, being to the Sea harbourlesse, would afford them no place from whence to set forth to the ayde of their fellows. And they, in all probability, might by siege, without battell by Sea, or other danger, winne the place, seeing there was no prouision of Victuall within it, and that the Enemy tooke it but on short preparation. Having thus resolu'd, they put ouer into the Iland their men of Armes, out of euery Band by Lot; some also had beene sent ouer before by turnes; but they which went ouer now last, and were left there, were 420, besides the *Helotes* that were with them. And their Captaine was *Epitadas* the sonne of *Molobrus*,

Demosthenes, when he saw the *Lacedæmonians* bent to assault him, both from their Gallies, and with their Armie by Land, prepared also to defend the place. And when hee had drawne vp his Gallies, all that were left him, vn
E to the Land, hee placed them athwart the Fort, and armed the Mariners that belonged to them, with Bucklers though

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare themselves to assault the Fort.

The situation of the Ile *Sphaacteria*.

The *Lacedæmonians* put ouer 420. men of Armes, besides their seruants, into the Ile *Sphaacteria*, ouer against *Pylus*.

Demosthenes prepareth himselfe to keepe the *Lacedæmonians* from landing on the shoare.

though bad ones, and for the greatest part made of Osiers. **A**
 For they had no meanes in a desert place to provide themselves of *Armes*. Those they had, they tooke out of a Peiraticall Boate, of thirty Oares, and a * Light-horseman of the *Messenians*, which came by by chance. And the men of *Armes* of the *Messenians* were about 40. which hee made vse of amongst the rest. The greatest part therefore, both of armed and vnarmed, he placed on the parts of the Wall toward the Land, which were of most strength, and commanded them to make good the place against the Land-forces, if they assaulted it; and hee himselfe, with **B**
 60. men of *Armes*, chosen out of the whole number, and a few Archers, came forth of the Fort to the Sea-side, in that part where he most expected their landing. Which part was of troublesome accessse, and stonie, and lay to the wide Sea. But because their Wall was there the weakest, he thought they would be drawne to aduenture for that. For neither did the *Athenians* thinke they should euer haue beene mastred with Gallies, which caused them to make the place to the Sea-ward the lesse strong; and if the *Peloponnesians* should by force come to land, they made no other **C**
 account but the place would bee lost. Comming therefore in this part to the very brinke of the Sea, hee put in order his men of *Armes*, and encouraged them with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES to his Souldiers.

YOU that participate with mee in the present danger, let not any of you in this extremity, goe about to seeme wise, and reckon **D**
 euery perill that now besetteth vs; but let him rather come vp to the Enemy with little circumspection, and much hope, and looke for his safety by that. For things that are come once to a pinch, as these are, admit not debate, but a speedy hazard. And yet if wee stand it out, and betray not our aduantages with feare of the number of the Enemy, I see well enough, that most things are with vs. For I make account, the difficultie of their landing makes for vs: which, as long as wee abide our selues, will helpe vs, but if wee retire, though the place be difficult, yet when there is none to impeach them, they will land well enough. For whilst they are in their Gallies, they are most **E**
 easie to be fought withall; and in their disembarking being but on equall termes,

A termes, their number is not greatly to be feared; for though they be many, yet they must fight but by few, for want of room to fight in. And for an Armie to haue oddes by Land, is another matter, then when they are to fight from Gallies, where they stand in need of so many accidents to fall out opportunely from the Sea. So that I thinke their great difficulties doe but set them euen with our small number. And for you, that be Athenians, and by experience of disembarking against others, know, that if a man stand it out, and doe not, for feare of the sowing of a Waue, or the menacing approach of a Gallie, giue
B backe of himselfe, hee can neuer be put backe by violence; I expect that you should keepe your ground, and by fighting it out vpon the very edge of the water, preserue both your selues and the Fort.

Vpon this exhortation of Demosthenes, the Athenians tooke better heart, and went downe, and arranged themselves close by the Sea. And the Lacedemonians came and assaulted the Fort, both with their Armie by Land, and with their Fleet, consisting of three and fortie
C Gallies, in which was Admirall, Thrasymelidas, the sonne of Cratesicles, a Spartan; and he made his approach where Demosthenes had before expected him. So the Athenians were assaulted on both sides, both by Sea and by Land.

The Peloponnesians diuiding their Gallies into small numbers, because they could not come neere with many at once, and resting betweene, assailed them by turnes; vsing all possible valour, and mutuall encouragement, to put the Athenians backe, and gaine the Fort.

D Most eminent of all the rest was Brasidas: For hauing the Command of a Gallie, and seeing other Captaines of Gallies, and Steeremen (the place beeing hard of accesse) when there appeared sometimes possibility of putting ashore, to be affraid, and tender of breaking their Gallies, hee would cry out vnto them, saying, *They did not well, for sparing of Wood, to let the Enemy fortifie in their Countrey.* And to the Lacedemonians hee gaue aduice, to force landing with the breaking of their Gallies, and prayed the Confederates,
E that in requitall of many benefits, they would not sticke to bestow their Gallies at this time vpon the Lacedemonians, and run-

The Athenians take heart,

The Lacedemonians assault the Fort by Land, and seeke to force landing from their Gallies.

The valour of Brasidas.

ning them ashore, to use any meanes whatsoever to Land, **A**
and to get into their hands both the Men in the Ile, and the
Fort.

* *See* Cadpe, Ladders or
Planks to disbarke by.
brassau fwooneth by rea-
son of his wounds.

* *See* *Persepolis*. Fort, the
place on the outflow of the
Gulf, for Soldiers to stand
and fight on, between the
Romans and the water.

Thus hee vrged others; and hauing compelled the
Steeresman of his owne Gallie to runne her ashore, hee
came to the * Ladders, but attempting to get downe, was
by the *Athenians* put backe, and after he had receiued ma-
ny wounds, fwooned, and falling vpon the * ledges of the
Gallie, his Buckler tumbled ouer into the Sea, which
brought to Land, the *Athenians* tooke vp, and vsed after- **B**
wards in the Trophie which they set vp for this assault.
Also the rest endeauoured with much courage to come
aland; but the place being ill to land in, and the *Athenians*
not boudging, they could not doe it. So that at this time
Fortune came so much about, that the *Athenians* fought
from the Land, *Laconique Land*, against *Lacedæmonians* in
Gallies; and the *Lacedæmonians* from their Gallies,
fought against the *Athenians*, to get landing in their owne
now hostile Territory. For at that time there was an
opinion farre spred, that these were rather Land-men, **C**
and expert in a Battell of Foot; and that in maritime
and nauall actions the other excelled.

The *Lacedæmonians*, after
three dayes assault, with-
out effect, giue ouer that
courte.

This day then, and a part of the next, they made
fundry assaults, and after that gaue ouer. And the third
day they sent out some Gallies to *Asine*, for Timber,
wherewith to make Engines; hoping with Engines to
take that part of the Wall that looketh into the Hauen;
which, though it were higher, yet the landing to it
was easier.

The *Athenian Fleet* re-
turne from *Zacynthus*,
to ayde the *Athenians* in
Tylos.

In the meane time arriue the fortie *Athenian Gallies* **D**
from *Zacynthus*; for there were ioyned with them cer-
taine Gallies of the Garrison of *Naupactus*, and foure
of *Cbios*. And when they saw both the Continent and
the Iland full of men of Armes, and that the Gallies
that were in the Hauen would not come forth, not
knowing where to cast Anchor, they sayled for the
present to the Ile *Prote*, being neere, and desart, and there
lay for that night.

The next day, after they had put themselues in or-
der, they put to Sea againe, with purpose to offer them **E**
Battell, if the other would come forth into the wide
Sea

A Sea against them, if not, to enter the Hauen vpon them. But the *Peloponnesians* neither came out against them, nor had stopped vp the entries of the Hauen, as they had before determined, but lying still on the shoare, manned out their Gallies, and prepared to fight, if any entred, in the Hauen it selfe, which was no small one. The *Athenians* vnderstanding this, came in violently vpon them, at both the mouths of the Hauen, and most of the *Lacedemonian* Gallies, which were already set out, and opposed them, they charged, and put to flight. And in following the chase, which was but short, they brake many of them, and tooke siue, whereof one with all her men in her; and they fell in also, with them that fled to the shoare; and the Gallies which were but in manning out, were torne and rent, before they could put off from the Land. Others they tyed to their owne Gallies, and towed them away empty. Which the *Lacedamonians* perceiuing, and extremely grieued with the losse, because their fellowes were heereby intercepted in the Iland, came in with their ayde from the Land, and entring armed into the Sea, tooke hold of the Gallies with their hands, to haue pulled them backe againe; euery one conceiuing the businessse to proceed the worse, wherein himselfe was not present. So there arose a great affray about the Gallies, and such as was contrary to the manner of them both. For the *Lacedamonians* out of eagrenesse, and out of feare, did (as one may say) nothing else but make a Sea-fight from the Land; and the *Athenians*, who had the victory, and desired to extend their present fortune to the vtmost, made a Land-fight from their Gallies. But at length, hauing wearied and wounded each other, they fell asunder; and the *Lacedamonians* recouered all their Gallies, saue onely those which were taken at the first onset. When they were on both sides retired to their Campes, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, deliuered to the Enemie their dead, and possessed the wrecke, and immediately went round the Iland with their Gallies, keeping watch vpon it, as hauing intercepted the men within it. The *Peloponnesians* in the meane time, that were in the Continent, and were by this time assembled there with their succours from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, remained vpon the place at *Pylus*.

The Athenians ouercome
Peloponnesian fleet in the
Hauen of Pylu

The Athenians getting the
victory beseege the men
cut off from the army, in
the Iland.

The Magistrates of Sparta come to view the state of the Campe, and conclude there to send to Athens about peace.

Truce betwene the Athenians and Ambassadors ungracious to Athens.

As soone as the newes of what had passed was related at Sparta, they thought fit, in respect the losse was great, to send the Magistrates downe to the Campe, to determine, vpon view of the state of their present affaires there, what they thought requisite to be done. These, when they saw there was no possibility to relieue their men, and were not willing to put them to the danger either of suffering by Famine, or of being forced by multitude; concluded amongst themselves, to take Truce with the Athenian Commanders, as farre as concerned the particulars of Pylus, if they also would bee content, and to send Ambassadors to Athens, about agreement, and to endeavour to fetch off their men as soone as they could. The Athenian Commanders accepting the proposition, the Truce was made, in this manner.

The Articles of the Truce.

THAT the Lacedæmonians should deliuer vp, not onely those Gallies wherein they fought, but also bring to Pylus, and put into the Athenians hands, whatsoever Vessels of the long forme of building were any where else in Laconia.

That they should not make any assault vpon the Fort, neither by Sea nor Land. That the Athenians should permit the Lacedæmonians that were in the Continent, to send ouer to those in the Island a portion of ground corne, agreed on, to wit, to euery one two Attique * Chœmickes of Meale, and two * Cotyles of Wine, and a piece of Flesh; and to euery of their seruants halfe that quantitie.

That they should send this, the Athenians looking on, and not send ouer any Vessell by stealth.

That the Athenians should neuerthelesse continue garding of the Island, provided that they landed not in it; and should not invade the Peloponnesian Armie neither by Land nor Sea.

That if cyther side transgressed in any part thereof, the truce was then immediately to bee voyd, otherwise to hold good till the returne of the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors from Athens.

That the Athenians should conuoy them in a Gallie vnto Athens, and backe. That at their returne the Truce should end, and the Athenians should restore them their Gallies, in as good estate as they had receiued them.

Thus was the Truce made, and the Gallies were deliuered

* Out of this and other places in a pome, that the shape of those two was of two sorts, long and round. The long, which were called *Attique*, and the round, which were called *Chœmickes*. Of the first sort were *Cotyles*, and of the second sort were *Chœmickes*. Of the first sort were *Cotyles*, and of the second sort were *Chœmickes*. Of the first sort were *Cotyles*, and of the second sort were *Chœmickes*.

* *Chœmickes*, a measure of about three pints of wine.

* *Cotyles*, a quantity of a Chœmick.

Auered to the Athenians, to the number of about three score; and the Ambassadors were sent away; who arriving at Athens, said as followeth.

THE ORATION OF THE LACEDÆMONIAN Ambassadors.

MEN of Athens, the Lacedæmonians haue sent vs hither, conerring our men in the Iland, to see if wee can persuade you to such a course, as being most profitable for you. **B** may in this misfortune, be the most honourable for vs, that our present condition is capable of. We will not be longer in discourse then standeth with our custome, being the * fashion with vs, where few words suffice, there indeed not to vse many, but yet to vse more, when the occasion requireth that by words wee should make plaine that which is to bee done in actions of importance. But the words we shall vse, wee pray you to receiue, not with the minde of an Enemy, nor as if wee went about to instruct you, as men ignorant, but for a remembrance to you, of what you know, that you may deliberate wisely therein. It is now in your power to assure your present good fortune with reputation, holding what you haue, with the addition of honour and glory besides; and to auoyd that which befallerh men vpon extraordinary successe, who through hope, aspire to greater fortune, because the fortune they haue already, came vnlooked for. Whereas they that haue felt many changes of both fortunes, ought indeed to bee most suspicious of the good. So ought your Citie, and ours especially, vpon experience, in all reason to bee. Know it, by seeing this present misfortune fallne on vs, who being of greatest dignity of all the Grecians, come to you, to aske that, which before wee thought chiefly in our owne hands to giue. And yet wee are not brought to this through **D** weaknesse, nor through insolence vpon addition of strength; but because it succeeded not with the power wee had, as we thought it should. Which may as well happen to any other, as to our selues. So that you haue no reason to conceiue, that for your power, and purchases, fortune also must be therefore alwaies yours. Such wise men as safely reckon their prosperity in the account of things doubtfull, doe most wisely also addresse themselves towards aduersity; and not thinke that we are will so farre follow, and no further, as one shall please more or lesse to take it in hand; but rather so farre as fortune shall lead vs. Such men also seldome miscarrying, because they bee not pufft **E** vp with the confidence of successe, choose their principall, to giue ouer, when they are in their better fortune. And so it will bee good for

* Brevity of speech, was so customary and natural to the Lacedæmonians, that it grew to a proverb.

for you, men of Athens, to doe with vs; and not, if reiecting our A
advice, you chance to miscarry (as many wayes you may) to haue it
thought hereafter that all your present successes were but meere for-
tune.

Whereas, on the contrary, it is in your hands, without danger,
to leaue a reputation to posterity both of strength and wisdom.
The Lacedæmonians call you to a Peace, and end of the Warre,
giuing you peace, and alliance, and much other friendship and mutu-
all familiarity, requiring for the same, onely those their men that are
in the Iland; though also we thinke it better for both sides, not to
try the chance of Warre; Whether it fall out that by some occasion B
of safety offered, they escape by force, or being expugned by siege,
should be more in your power then they be. For wee are of this
mind, that great hatred is most safely canceled, not when one that
hauing beaten his enemy, and gotten much the better in the Warre,
brings him through necessity to take an oath, and to make peace on
vnequall termes; but when hauing it in his power, lawfully so to doe,
if he please, he overcome him likewise in goodnesse, and contrary to
what he expects, be reconciled to him on moderate conditions.
For in this case, his enemy being obliged, not to seeke reuenge, as
one that had beene forced, but to requite his goodnesse, will, for C
shame, be the more enclined to the conditions agreed on. And nat-
urally, to those that relent of their owne accord, men giue way re-
ciprocally, with content; but against the arrogant, they will hazard
all, euen when in their owne iudgements they be too weake. But for
vs both, if euer it were good to agree, it is surely so at this present,
and before any irreparable accident be interpos'd. Whereby wee
should be compelled besides the common, to beare you a particular
eternall hatred, and you be deprived of the commodities we now
offer you. Let vs be reconciled while matters stand vndecided,
and whilst you haue gained reputation, and our friendship, and we D
not suffered dishonour, and but indifferent losse. And we shall not
onely our selues preferre Peace before Warre, but also giue a ces-
sation of their miseries to all the rest of the Grecians, who will ac-
knowledge it rather from you, then vs. For they make Warre,
not knowing whether side begun; but if an end be made, (which is
now for the most part in your owne hands) the thanks will bee
yours.

And by decreeing the Peace, you may make the Lacedæmo-
nians your sure friends, in as much as they call you to it, and are
therein not forced, but gratified. Wherein consider how many E
commodities are like to ensue, for if we and you goe one way, you
know

[illegible]

The insolent demand
of the people of *Alban*,
by the advice of *Alcon*.

The *Lacedaemonians* desire to speak before a private Committee.

* *Viz.* for buying Peace at the
cost of the Confederates sub-
jection, for the thing they
durst not proponnd before the
people was that, that by the
aiding of these two great states
the rest of Greece would
be forced to serve them,
which they conceived not, but
obscurely in the last words of
their Oration, as I have no-
ted before.

The Ambassadors re-
turne without effect, and
the Truce endeth.
The *Arbians* rauill, and
keepe the Gallies of the
Lacedemonians.

The Warre at Pylus goes on.

ry to the Articles, and other matters of no great importance, refused to render them; standing vpon this, that it was said that the accord should be voyd, vpon whatsoever the lest transgression of the same. But the *Lacedæmonians* denying it, and protesting this detention of their Gallies for an iniury, went their wayes, and betooke themselves to the Warre. So the Warre at *Pylus* was on both sides renewed with all their power.

The *Athenians* went every day about the Iland with two Gallies, one going one way, another, another way, and lay at Anchor about it every night with their whole Fleet, except on that part which lyeth to the open Sea, and that onely when it was windy. From *Athens* also, there came a supply of thirty Gallies more, to guard the Iland, so that they were in the whole threescore and ten. And the *Lacedæmonians* made assaults vpon the Fort, and watched every opportunity that should present it selfe, to saue their men in the Iland.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight in the straight betwene *Messana* and *Rhegium*.
Messana.

Whilest these things passed, the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates in *Sicily*, adding to those Gallies that lay in Garrison at *Messana*, the rest of the Fleet which they had prepared, made Warre out of *Messana*, instigated thereto, chiefly by the *Locrians*, as enemies to the *Rhegians*, (whose Territory they had also inuaded with their whole forces by Land) and seeing the *Athenians* had but a few Gallies present, and hearing that the greater number which were to come to them, were employed in the siege of the * Iland, desired to try, with them a Battell by Sea; for if they could get the better with their Nauie, they hoped, lying before *Rhegium*, both with their Land-forces on the Field side, and with their Fleet by Sea, easily to take it into their hands, and thereby strengthen their affaires. For

* *Sphaacteria*.

* *Rhegium*, being a promontory, and denued from *Vulgius*, which signifies to breake, makes it probable that *Sicily* was once a part of *Italy*, and there broken off by some Earthquake, but yet *Scylla* is neerer to *Sicily* then *Rhegium* is.

* *Charybdis*, here taken for the name of the whole strait, is but a part neere to *Messana*, betwene it and *Vulgius*, subject to extraordinary agitation in stormy weather, but nothing to that it was, or was faim'd to be of old.

Rhegium a * Promontorie of *Italy*, and *Messana* in *Sicily* lying neere together, they might both hinder the *Athenians* from lying at Anchor there against them, and make themselves Masters of the Streight. This Streight is the Sea betwene *Rhegium* and *Messana*, where *Sicily* is neere to the Continent, and is that which is called * *Charybdis*, where *Ulysses* is said to haue passed through; which, for that it is very narrow, and because the Sea falleth in there, from two great maines, the *Tyrrhene* and *Sicilian*, and is rough, hath therefore not without good cause beene esteemed dangerous.

- A In this Straight then, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, with somewhat more then 30. Gallies, were constrained in the later end of the day to come to a Sea-fight, having bin drawne forth about the passage of a certaine Boat, to vnder-take 16. Gallies of *Athens*, and 8. of *Rhegium*; and being ouercome by the *Athenians*, fell off with the losse of one Gallie, and went speedily, each side to their own Campe at *Messana*, and *Rhegium*; and the night ouertooke them in the action. After this the *Locrians* departed out of the Territory of the *Rhegians*; and the Fleet of the *Syracusians* and their
- B Confederates came together to an Anchor at * *Peloris*, and had their Land-forces by them. But the *Athenians* and *Rhegians* came vp to them, and finding their Gallies empty of men, fell in amongst them, and by meanes of a Grapnel * cast into one of their Gallies, they lost that Gallie, but the men swam out. Vpon this the *Syracusians* went aboard, and whilest they were towed along the shore towards *Messana*, the *Athenians* came vp to them againe, and the *Syracusians* * opening themselues, charged first, and sunke another of their Gallies, so the *Syracusians* passed on to the Port of *Messana*, having had the better in their passage by the shore, and in the Sea-fight, which were both together in such manner as is declared.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight at Sea.

* a Promontory of Sicily, hard by *Messana*.

* cast in by the Souldiers on shore.

- The *Athenians*, vpon newes that *Camarina* should by *Archias* and his complices bee betrayed to the *Syracusians*, went thither. In the meane time the *Messanians* with their whole power, by Land, and also with their Fleet, warred on *Naxos* a * *Chalcidique* Citie, & their borderer. The first day having forced the *Naxians* to retire within their Walls, they spoiled their fields; the next day they sent their Fleet about in-
- D to the Riuer *Acesine*, which spoiled the Countrey as it went vp the Riuer, & with their Land-forces assaulted the City. In the meane time many of the *Siculi*, Mountainers, came down to their assistance against the *Messanians*; which when they of *Naxos* perceiued, they tooke heart, and encouraging themselues with an opinion, that the *Leontines*, and all the rest of the Grecians their Confederates, had come to succour them, sallied suddenly out of the Citie, and charged vpon the *Messanians*, and put them to flight, with the slaughter of a thousand of their Souldiers, the rest hard-
- E ly elcaping home. For the *Barbarians* fell vpon them, and slew the most part of them in the High-ways.

The *Messanians* warre on the Citie of *Naxos*, and receiue a great losse.

* of those which were founded by the *Chalcideans* of Greece.

* Syracusa and Locris.

The Athenians and Leontines attempt to take Messina.

The Athenians are much troubled to watch the Iland.

* The water which is found by digging in the Sea sands is commonly fishy, being strained, and so purged of the salt, in the passage of the water through the sand, but not so good as spring water off from the Sea.

The shift of the Lacedaemonians to relieve the besieged with victuall.

* to the people of the Country about.

And the Gallies that lay at *Messana*, not long after, divided themselves, and went to their * severall homes.

Hereupon the *Leontines* and their Confederates, together with the *Athenians*, marched presently against *Messana*, as being now weakned, and assaulted it, the *Athenians* with their Fleet, by the Haven; and the Land-forces, at the Wall to the Field. But the *Messanians*, and certaine *Locrians* with *Demoteles*, who after this losse had beene left there in Garrison, issuing forth, and falling suddenly vpon them, put a great part of the *Leontines* Armie to flight, and slew many; but the *Athenians*, seeing that, disbarked, B and relieved them; and comming vpon the *Messanians* now in disorder, chased them againe into the Citie. Then they erected a Trophie, and put ouer to *Rhegium*. After this, the *Grecians* of *Sicily* warred one vpon another, without the *Athenians*.

All this while the *Athenians* at *Pylus* besieged the *Lacedaemonians* in the Iland; and the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* in the Continent remained still vpon the place. This keeping of Watch was exceeding painefull to the *Athenians*, in respect of the want they had, both of Corne and C Water; for there was no Well but one, and that was in the Fort it selfe of *Pylus*, and no great one. And the greatest number turned vp the grauell, and drunke such water as they were * like to finde there. They were also scanted of roome for their Campe; and their Gallies not hauing place to ride in, they were forced by turnes, some to stay ashore, and others to take their victuall, and lye off at Anchor. But their greatest discouragement was, the time which they had stayed there, longer then they had thought to haue done; for they thought to haue famished them D out in a few dayes, being in a desert Iland; and hauing nothing to drinke but salt water. The cause hereof were the *Lacedaemonians*; who had * proclaimed that any man that would, should carry in Meale, Wine, Cheefe, and all other esculents necessary for a Siege, into the Iland, appointing for the same a great reward of siluer: and if any *Helote* should carry in any thing, they promised him liberty. Heereupon diuers with much danger, imported victuall; but especially the *Helotes*, who putting off from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, wheresoeuer they chanced to bee, came E in at the parts of the Iland that lay to the wide Sea. But they

A they had a care about all, to take such a time as to be brought in with the Wind. For when it blew from the Sea, they could escape the watch of the Gallies easily. For they could not then lye round about the Island at Anchor. And the *Holotes* were nothing tender in putting ashore, for they ranne their Gallies on ground, valued at a price in money, and the men of Armes also watched at all the landing places of the Island. But as many as made attempt when the weather was calme, were intercepted. There were also such as could diue, that swam ouer into the Island through the Hauen, drawing after them in a string, Bottles filled with * Poppy, tempred with Honie, and pounded Lintseed: wherof some at the first passed vnseene, but were afterwards watched. So that on either part they vsed all possible art, one side to send ouer food, the other to apprehend those that carried it.

The People of Athens being aduertised of the state of their Armie, how it was in distresse, and that victuall was transported into the Island, knew not what they should doe to it, and feared lest Winter should ouertake them in their Siege; fearing not onely that to prouide them of necessities about *Peloponnesus*, and in a desert place withall, would bee a thing impossible, but also that they should be vnable to send forth so many things as were requisite, though it were Summer; and againe, that the parts thereabout being without Harbour, there would bee no place to lye at Anchor in against them, but that the Watch there ceasing of it selfe, the men would by that meanes escape, or in some foule weather bee carried away in the same Boats that brought them meate. But that which they feared most, was, that the *Lacedamonians* seemed to haue some assurance of them already, because they sent no more to negotiate about them. And they repented now, that they had not accepted of the Peace. But *Cleon* knowing himselfe to be the man suspected for hindering the agreement, said, that they who brought the newes, reported not the truth. Whereupon, they that came thence, aduising them, if they would not beleue it, to send to view the estate of the Army, he and *Theogenes* were chosen by the *Athenians* to view it. But when hee saw that hee must of force eyther say as they said, whom hee before calumniated, or saying the contrary be proued a lyer, hee aduised the

* A medicine for hower and thrust, not meate. Scholiaster.

The *Athenians* are angry, that their Armie is detained so long in the siege of the Island.

Cleon to auoid the enuie of hindering the peace, engaged himselfe ere hee was aware, to fetch those that were besieged in the Island, home to Athens.

* *Magistrate* The Magistrate
whose authority was com-
mitted the trying and myste-
ring of Soldiers.

Cleon undertaketh to
fetch those in the Iland
prisoners to *Athens*.

Cleon taken at his word,
would haue declined the
employment, but cannot

* his power to his Soldiers.

A glorious boast of *Cleon*
well taken.

Athenians, seeing them enclined of themselves, to send ^A
thither greater forces, then they had before thought to
doe, that it was not fit to send to view the place, nor to
lose their opportunity by delay, but if the report seemed
vnto them to bee true, they should make a voyage against
those men, and glanced at *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, then
* *Generall*, vpon malice, and with language of reproach.
Saying it was easie, if the Leaders were men, to goe and
take them there in the Iland. And that himselfe, if hee had
the Command, would doe it. But *Nicias*, seeing the *Athe-*
nians to bee in a kinde of tumult against *Cleon*, for that ^B
when hee thought it so easie a matter, hee did not present-
ly put it in practice, & seeing also he had vpbraided him,
willed him to take what strength hee would, that they
could giue him, and undertake it. *Cleon* supposing at first
that he gaue him this leaue but in words, was ready to ac-
cept it; but when he knew he would giue him the authori-
ty in good earnest, then he shrunke backe, and said, that not
he, but *Nicias* was *Generall*; being now indeed afraid, and
hoping that he durst not haue giuen ouer the office to him.
But then, *Nicias* againe bade him doe it, and gaue ouer his ^C
command to him, for so much as concerned *Pylus*, and cal-
led the *Athenians* to witnesse it. They (as is the fashion of
the multitude) the more *Cleon* declined the Voyage, and
went backe from his word, pressed *Nicias* so much the
more to resigne his * power to him, and cryed out vpon
Cleon to goe. Insomuch as not knowing how to disengage
himselfe of his word, hee vndertooke the Voyage, and
stood forth, saying, that he feared not the *Lacedemonians*,
and that hee would not carry any man with him out of
the Citie, but onely the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians* that then ^D
were present, and those *Targettieres* that were come to
them from *Enus*, and 400. Archers out of other places,
and with these, he said, added to the Souldiers that were
at *Pylus* already, he would within twenty dayes, either
fetch away the *Lacedemonians* aliue, or kill them vpon the
place.

This vaine speech moued amongst the *Athenians* some
laughter, and was heard with great content of the wiser
sort. For of two benefits, the one must needs fall out; ei-
ther to be rid of *Cleon*, (which was their greatest hope) or ^E
if they were deceiued in that, then to get those *Lacedemo-*
nians

A *nians* into their hands. Now when he had dispatched with the Assembly, and the *Athenians* had by their voices decreed him the Voyage, he ioyned vnto himselfe *Demosthenes*, one of the Commanders at *Pylus*, and presently put to Sea. Hee made choice of *Demosthenes* for his Companion, because he heard that hee also, of himselfe, had a purpose to set his Souldiers aland in the Ile. For the Armie hauing suffered much by the straightnesse of the place, and being rather the besieged, then the besieger, had a great desire to put the matter to the hazard of a Battell: confirmed therein the more, for that the Iland had been burnt. For hauing beene for the most part wood, and (by reason it had lyen euer desart) without path, they were before the more afraid, and thought it the aduantage of the Enemy; for assaulting them out of sight, they might annoy a very great Armie that should offer to come aland. For their errours, being in the Wood, and their preparation could not so well haue beene discerned: whereas all the faults of their owne Armie should haue beene in sight. So that the Enemy might haue set vpon them suddenly, in what part soeuer they had pleased; because the onfet had beene in their owne election. Againes, if they should by force come vp to fight with the *Lacedemonians* at hand in the thicke Woods, the fewer, and skilfull of the wayes, hee thought would bee too hard for the many and vnskilfull. Besides, their owne Armie beeing great, it might receiue an ouerthrow before they could know of it, because they could not see where it was needfull to relieue one another.

D These things came into his head, especially from the losse hee receiued in *Æolia*. Which in part also happened, by occasion of the Woods. But the * Souldiers, for want of roomē, hauing beene forced to put in at the outside of the Iland, to dresse their dinners with a watch before them, and one of them hauing set fire on the Wood, it burnt on by little and little, and the Wind afterwards rising, the most of it was burnt before they were aware. By this accident, *Demosthenes* the better discerning that the *Lacedemonians* were more then hee had inagined, hauing before, by victuall sent vnto them, thought them not so many, did now prepare himselfe for the Enterprize, as a matter deseruing the *Athenians* vtmost care, and as hauing better

The reason why *Demosthenes* durst not land in the Iland, to subdue the besieged by fight.

* The Athenian Souldiers.

The word of the Iland burnt by accident.

Cleon arriveth at Pylos.

The Athenians invade the Iland :

And kill those that were in the first and most remote watch from Pylos.

** In the light-armed, * Thalamij, there were three ranks, a row of a-mong the Athenians, the * Hipparchij, called Thranij, the second * Zygij, and the last Thalamij or Thalamij. In the Gally called a * Borne, there were no Zygij, in a Tritone were all 3. ranks, in a Quadrivire and a Borne, all the middle ranks were Zygij : only the * Hipparchij were Thranij, and the most remote Thalamij.*

better commodity of landing in the Iland, then before he A
had ; and both sent for the forces of such Confederates as
were neere, and put in readinesse every other needfull
thing. And *Cleon*, who had sent a Messenger before to
signifie his coming, came himselfe also with those
forces which he had required, vnto *Pylos*. When they
were both together, first they sent a Herald to the Campe
in the Continent to know if they would command those
in the Iland to deliuer vp themselves and their Armes
without battell, to be held with easie imprisonment, till
some agreement were made touching the maine Warre. B
Which when they refused, the *Athenians* for one day held
their hands, but the next day, hauing put aboard vpon a
few Gallies, all their men of Armes, they put off in the
night, and landed a little before day on both sides of the
Iland, both from the Mayne, and from the Hauen, to the
number of about 800 men of Armes, and marched vpon
high speed towards the formost watch of the Iland. For
thus the *Lacedamonians* lay quartered. In this formost
watch were about thirty men of Armes. The middest,
and eueneſt part of the Iland, and about the water, was C
kept by *Epitadas* their Captaine, with the greatest part of
the whole number. And another part of them, which
were not many, kept the last guard towards *Pylos*, which
place to the Sea-ward was on a Cliffe, and least
assaileable by Land. For there was also a certaine Fort
which was old, and made of chosen, not of hewne stones,
which they thought would stand them in stead in case of
violent retreat. Thus they were quartered. Now the
Athenians presently killed those of the formost guard,
(which they so ran to) in their Cabins, and as they were D
taking Armes. For they knew not of their landing, but
thought those Gallies, had come thither to Anchor in the
night, according to custome, as they had been wont to doe.
As soone as it was morning, the * rest of the Army also
landed, out of somewhat more then 70 Gallies, every one
with such Armes as he had; being all that rowed, (except
only the * *Thalamij*) eight hundred Archers, Targuetiers as
many ; all the *Messenians* that came to aide them, and as
many of them besides, as held any place about *Pylos*, except
onely the Garrison of the Fort it selfe. *Demosthenes* then E
disposing his Army by two hundred, and more in a com-
pany,

A pany, and in some lesse, at certaine distances, seized on all the higher grounds, to the end that the enemies compassed about on euery side, might the lesse know what to doe, or against what part to set themselves in battel, and be subiect to the shot of the multitude from euery part; and when they should make head against those that fronted them, be charged behind; and when they should turne to those that were opposed to their flankes, be charged at once both behind and before. And which way soeuer they marched, the light-armed, and such as were meanliest prouided of Armes, followed them at the backe, with Arrowes, Darts, Stones, and Slings, who haue courage enough as farre off, and could not be charged, but would overcome flying, and also presse the enemies when they should retyre. With this designe, *Demosthenes*, both intended his landing at first, and afterwards ordered his forces accordingly in the action. Those that were about *Epitadus*, who were the greatest part of those in the Island, when they saw that the formost guard was slaine, and that the Army marched towards them, put themselves in array, and went towards the men of Armes of the Athenians, with intent to charge them; for these were opposed to them in front, and the light-armed Souldiers on their flankes, and at their backs. But they could neither come to ioyne with them, nor any way make vse of their * skill. For both the light-armed Souldiers kept them off, with shot from either side, and the men of Armes aduanced not. Where the light-armed Souldiers approached neereft, they were driuen backe; but returning, they charged them afresh, being men armed lightly, and that easily got out of their reach by running, especially the ground being vneasie, and rough, by hauing been formerly desert; so that the *Lacedemonians* in their Armour, could not follow them. Thus for a little while they skirmished one against another, a farre off. But when the *Lacedemonians* were no longer able to run out after them, where they charged, these light-armed Souldiers seeing them lesse earnest in chasing them, and taking courage chiefly from their sight, as being many times their number; and hauing also been vsed to them so much, as not to thinke them now so dangerous as they had done, for that they had not receiued so much hurt at their hands, as their subdued mindes,

E because

The Athenians diuide themselves into many troopes, against the maine body of the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers.

The fight betwene the Athenians, and the *Lacedemonians*, in the middle of the Island.

* The skill of fighting, a standing fight, was thought a peculiar vertue of the *Lacedemonians*, as the Sea fight was thought to the Athenians.

because they were to fight against the *Lacedæmonians*, had **A**
 at their first landing pre-iudged, contemned them, and
 with a great cry ran all at once vpon them, casting Stones,
 Arrowes, and Darts, as to euery man came next to hand.
 Vpon this cry, and assault, they were much terrified, as not
 accustomed to such kind of fight; and withall a great
 dust of the woods lately burnt, mounted into the ayre, so
 that by reason of the Arrowes, and Stones, that together
 with the dust flew from such a multitude of men, they
 could hardly see before them. Then the battell grew
 fore on the *Lacedæmonians* side, for their * Iackes now gaue **B**
 way to the Arrowes, and the Darts that were throwne,
 stucke broken in them, so as they could not handle them-
 selues, as neither seeing before them, nor hearing any dire-
 ction giuen them, for the greater noyse of the enemy; but
 (danger being on all sides) were hopelesse to saue them-
 selues vpon any side by fighting. In the end, many of them
 being now wounded, for that they could not shift their
 ground, they made their retreat in close order, to the last
 guard of the Island, and to the watch that was there. When
 they once gaue ground, then were the light-armed Soul- **C**
 diers much more confident then before, and pressed vpon
 them with a mighty noyse. And as many of the *Lacedæmo-*
nians as they could intercept in their retreat, they slew;
 but the most of them recouered the Fort, and together
 with the watch of the same, put themselues in order to
 defend it in all parts that were subiect to assault. The
Athenians following, could not now encompasse and
 hemme them in, for the strong situation of the place, but
 assaulting them in the face, sought onely how to put them
 from the wall. And thus they held out a long time,
 the better part of a day, either side tyred with the fight,
 and with thirst, and with the Sunne, one endeavouring to
 driue the enemy from the top, the other to keepe **D**
 their ground. And the *Lacedæmonians* defended them-
 selues easilier now then before, because they were
 not now encompassed vpon their flankes. When there
 was no end of the businesse, the Captaine of the *Messen-*
ians said vnto *Cleon*, and *Demosthenes*, that they spent their
 labour there in vaine, and that if they would deliuer vnto **E**
 him a part of the Archers, and light-armed Souldiers, to
 get vp by such a way as he himselfe should find out, and
 come

* *πῆλοι*. A kind of quilted
 Armour, or of Staffe close
 beaten like Felt.

The *Lacedæmonians* retire
 to the Fort, where the
 last guard was placed.

The *Athenians* assault
 them there.

A come behinde vpon their backs, hee thought the entrance might bee forced. And hauing receiued the Forces hee asked, hee tooke his way from a place out of sight to the *Lacedaemonians*, that hee might not be discouered; making his approach vnder the Cliffes of the Island, where they were continuall; in which part, trusting to the naturall strength therof, they kept no watch, and with much labour, and hardly vnseene, came behinde them. And appearing suddenly from aboue at their backs, both terrified the Enemies with the sight of what they expected not, and much confirmed the *Athenians* with the sight of what they expected. And the *Lacedaemonians* being now charged with their shot both before and behind, were in the same case (to compare small matters with great) that they were in at * *Thermopyle*. For then they were slaine by the *Persians*, shut vp on both sides in a narrow path. And these now being charged on both sides, could make good the place no longer, but fighting, few against many, and being weake withall for want of foode, were at last forced to giue ground, and the *Athenians* by this time, were also Masters of all the entrances.

But *Cleon* and *Demosthenes*, knowing that the more they gaue backe, the faster they would bee killed by their Armie, staid the fight, and held in the Souldiers, with desire to carry them aliuie to *Athens*; in case their spirits were so much broken, and their courage abated by this miserie, as vpon Proclamation made, they would bee content to deliuer vp their Armes. So they proclaimed, that they should deliuer vp their Armes and themselves to the *Athenians*, to be disposed of as to them should seeme good.

Vpon hearing heereof, the most of them threw downe their Bucklers, and shooke their hands about their heads, signifying their acceptation of what was proclaimed. Whereupon a Truce was made, and they came to treat, *Cleon* and *Demosthenes* of one side, and *Styphon* the sonne of *Pharax*, on the other side. For of them that had Command there, *Epitadas*, who was the first, was slaine; and *Hippagretes*, who was chosen to succeed him, lay amongst the dead, though yet aliuie; and this man was the third to succeed in the Command by the * Law, in case

Some of the *Athenians* clumbe vp behind the *Lacedaemonians* vnseene, and appeare at their backes.

* 5000. *Lacedaemonians*, vnder then King *Leonidas*, in the Straights of *Thermopyle*, withstood 300000. *Persians*, till they were circumuenied, and charged both before and behinde, and so all slaine. Herod. lib. 7.

The *Lacedaemonians* yeeld.

* This manner of bordaining diuers Commanders to be chiefe in succession, was in those times much vsed.

the others should miscarry. *Styphen*, and those that were A
 with him, said they would send ouer to the *Lacedæmonians*
 in the Continent, to know what they there would aduise
 them to; but the *Athenians* letting none goe thence, called
 for Heralds out of the Continent; and the question hauing
 beene twice or thrice asked, the last of the *Lacedæmonians*
 that came ouer from the Continent, brought them this
 Answer: *The Lacedæmonians bid you take aduice touching*
your selues, such as you shall thinke good, prouided you doe nothing
dishonourably. Whereupon hauing consulted, they yeilded
 vp themselves and their Armes; and the *Athenians* atten- B
 ded them that day, and the night following, with a watch.
 But the next day, after they had set vp their Trophie in
 the Iland, they prepared to bee gone, and committed the
 prisoners to the custody of the Captaines of the Gallies.
 And the *Lacedæmonians* sent ouer a Herald, and tooke vp
 the bodies of their dead. The number of them that were
 slaine and taken aliue in the Iland, was thus. There went
 ouer into the Iland in all, foure hundred and twenty men
 of Armes; of these were sent away aliue, three hundred
 wanting eight, and the rest slaine. Of those that liued, C
 there were of the Citie it selfe of *Sparta*, one hundred and
 twenty. Of the *Athenians* there dyed not many, for it was
 no standing fight.

The whole time of the siege of these men in the Iland,
 from the fight of the Gallies, to the fight in the Iland,
 was 72. dayes; of which, for 20. dayes, victuall was al-
 lowed to bee carried to them, that is to say, in the time
 that the Ambassadors were away, that went about the
 Peace; in the rest, they were fed by such onely as put in
 thither by stealth, and yet there was both Corne and other D
 food left in the Iland. For their Captaine *Epiradas* had
 distributed it more sparingly then hee needed to haue
 done. So the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians* departed
 from *Pylus*, and went home both of them with their Ar-
 mies. And the promise of *Cleon*, as senselesse as it was,
 tooke effect: For within twenty dayes he brought home
 the men, as he had vndertaken.

Of all the accidents of this Warre, this same fell out
 the most contrary to the opinion of the *Grecians*. For they
 expected that the *Lacedæmonians* should neuer, neither by E
 Famine, nor whatsoeuer other necessity, haue bin constrain-
 ned

The *Lacedæmonians* yeeld
 vp their Armes, and are
 carried prisoners to
Athens.

The number of the slain,
 and of the prisoners.

The yielding of the *Lac-*
dæmonians was contrary
 to the opinion had of
 their vertue.

A ned to deliuer vp their Armes, but haue dyed with them in their hands, fighting as long as they had beene able; and would not beleue that those that yeelded, were like to those that were slaine: and when one afterwards, of the *Athenian* Confederates, asked one of the prisoners, by way of insulting, if they which were slaine, were valiant men; hee answered, that a Spindle (meaning an Arrow) deserued to bee valued at a high rate, if it could know who was a good man. Signifying, that the slaine were such as the Stones and Arrowes chanced to light B on.

After the arriuall of the men the *Athenians* ordered, that they should be kept in bonds, till there should bee made some agreement; and if before that, the *Peloponnesians* should inuade their Territory, then to bring them forth & kill them. They tooke order also in the same Assembly, for the settling of the Garrison at *Pylus*. And the *Messenians* of *Naupactus*, hauing sent thither such men of their own as were fittell for the purpose, as to their natiue Countrey, (for *Pylus* is in that Countrey which belonged once to the C *Messinians*) infested *Laconia* with Robberies, and did them much other mischief, as being of the same Language.

The *Lacedemonians*, not hauing in times past beene acquainted with robberies, and such Warre as that, and because their *Helotes* ranne ouer to the Enemie, fearing also some greater innouation in the Countrey, tooke the matter much to heart; and though they would not be knowne of it to the *Athenians*, yet they sent Ambassadors, and endeououred to get the restitution both of the Fort of *Pylus*, and of their men. But the *Athenians* aspired to greater matters; and the Ambassadors, though they came often about it, yet were alwayes sent away without effect. These were the proceedings at *Pylus*. D

Presently after this, the same Summer, the *Athenians* with 80. Gallies, 2000. men of Armes of their own City, and 200. Horse, in boats built for transportation of Horses, made War vpon the Territory of *Corinth*. There went also with them, *Milesians*, *Andrians*, and *Carystians* of their Confederates. The Generall of the whole Army was *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, with 2. other in Commision with E him. Betimes in a morning, they put in at a place betweene *Chersonesus* and *Rheitus*, on that shore, aboue Hh 2 which

The *Lacedemonian* prisoners kept in bonds at *Athens*, to be made vse of in making the peace, or else vpon the first inuasion of *Athens* to be slaine.

Nicias warreth in the Territory of *Corinth* with good fortune.

The Corinthians hearing
of their coming, assem-
ble their forces to hinder
their landing.

The Athenians and Corin-
thians fight.

* A Hymne accustomed to be
sung, one before Battell, and
other after victory.

which standeth the Hill *Solygius*, whereon the *Dorians* in **A**
old time sate downe, to make Warre on the *Corinthians* in
the Citie of *Corinth*, that were then *Aeolians*, and vpon
which there standeth now a Village, called also *Solygia*.
From the shore where the Gallies came in, this Village is
distant twenty furlongs, and the Citie of *Corinth*, sixtie,
and the *Isthmus* twenty. The *Corinthians* hauing long be-
fore from *Argos* had intelligence, that an Armie of the
Athenians was coming against them, came all of them
with their forces to the *Isthmus*, (saue onely such as dwelt
without the *Isthmus*, and five hundred Garrison Souldiers, **B**
absent in *Ambracia* and *Leucadia*) all the rest of military age
came forth, to attend the *Athenians*, where they should put
in. But when the *Athenians* had put to shore in the night
vnseene, and that aduertisement thereof was giuen them
by signes put vp into the ayre, they left the one halfe of
their Forces in *Cenchrea*, till the *Athenians* should goe a-
gainst *Crommyon*, and with the other halfe made haste to
meete them. *Battus*, one of their Commanders, (for there
were two of them present at the Battell) with one Squa-
dron, went toward the Village of *Solygia*, being an open **C**
one, to defend it; and *Lycophron* with the rest charged the
Enemie. And first they gaue the onset on the right wing
of the *Athenians*, which was but newly landed before *Cher-
sonesus*, and afterwards they charged likewise the rest of
the Armie. The Battell was hot, and at hand-stroakes:
And the right wing of the *Athenians* and *Carystians* (for of
these consisted their vtmost Files) sustained the charge of
the *Corinthians*, and with much adoe draue them backe.
But as they rettyred, they came vp, (for the place was all
rising ground) to a dry Wall, and from thence, being on **D**
the vpper ground, threw downe stones at them; and after
hauing sung the * *Pæan*, came againe close to them; whom
when the *Athenians* abode, the Battell was againe at hand-
stroakes. But a certaine Band of *Corinthians* that came in, to
the ayde of their owne left wing, put the right wing of
the *Athenians* to flight, and chased them to the Sea-side.
But then from their Gallies they turned head againe, both
the *Athenians*, and the *Carystians*. The other part of their
Armie continued fighting on both sides, especially the
right wing of the *Corinthians*, where *Lycophron* fought a- **E**
gainst the left wing of the *Athenians*: for they expected
that

A that the *Athenians* would attempt to goe to *Solygia*; so they held each other to it a long time, neither side giuing ground. But in the end (for that the *Athenians* had Horsemen, which did them great seruice, seeing the other had none) the *Corinthians* were put to flight, and retired to the Hill, where they laid downe their Armes, and descended no more, but there rested. In this Retreat, the greatest part of their right wing was slaine, and amongst others, *Lycophron*, one of the Generals. But the rest of the Army being in this manner, neither much vrged, nor retiring in much halte, when they could do no other, made their Retreat vp the Hill, & there sate downe. The *Athenians* seeing them come no more downe to Battell, rifled the dead bodies of the Enemy, and tooke vp their owne, and presently erected a Trophie on the place. That halfe of the *Corinthians* that lay at *Cenchrea*, to watch the *Athenians*, that they went not against *Crommyon*, saw not this Battell, for the Hill *Oeneus*; but when they saw the dust, and so knew what was in hand, they went presently to their ayde: so did also the * old men of *Corinth* from the Citie, when they vnderstood how the matter had succeeded. The *Athenians*, when all these were comming vpon them together, imagining them to haue been the succours of the neighbouring Cities of *Peloponnesus*, retired speedily to their Gallies; carrying with them the booty, and the bodies of their dead, all saue two, which not finding, they left. Being aboard, they crossed ouer to the Islands on the other side, and from thence * sent a Herald, and fetched away those two dead bodies which they left behinde. There were slaine in this battell, *Corinthians*, two hundred and twelue, and *Athenians*, somewhat vnder fifty.

D The *Athenians* putting off from the Islands, sayled the same day to *Crommyon*, in the Territory of *Corinth*, distant from the City a hundred and twenty Furlongs: where anchoring, they wasted the Fields, and stayed all that night. The next day, they sailed along the shore, first to to the Territory of *Epidaurum*, whereinto they made some little incursion from their Gallies; and then went to *Metion*, betweene *Epidaurum* and *Træzen*, and there tooke in the *Isthmus* of *Chersonesus* with a Wall, and placed a Garrison in it, which afterwards exercised robberies in the Territories of *Træzen*, *Halias*, and *Epidaurum*; and when they

The *Corinthians* are put to flight.

* It was said before, that all the *Corinthians* of military age were come forth.

* To fetch off the dead by a Herald, was a confession of being the weaker; but yet *Nicias* chooseth rather to renounce the reputation of victory, then omit an act of pety. Besides, the people tooke mercenously ill the neglect of the dead bodies, as may appeare by their sentence on the Captaines after the Battell at *Arginusæ*.

The *Athenians* waste the other parts of the same Coast.

they had fortified this place, they returned home with A
their Fleet.

The execution of the
Corcyraeans banished men,
and end of that sedition.

ABOUT the same time that these things were in doing,
Eurymedon and *Sophocles*, after their departure from *Pylus*
with the *Athenian* Fleet, towards *Sicily*, arriving at *Corcyra*,
ioyned with those of the Citie, and made Warre vpon
those *Corcyraeans*, which lay encamped vpon the Hill *I-*
stone, and which, after the sedition, had come ouer, and both
made themselves masters of the Field, and much annoyed
the Citie: and hauing assaulted their fortification, tooke it.
But the men all in one troupe, escaped to a certaine high B
ground, and thence made their composition, which was
this; *That they should deliuer vp the Strangers that ayded them,*
and that they themselves, hauing rendred their Armes, should stand
to the iudgement of the People of Athens. Heereupon the
Generals granted them truce, and transported them to the
Iland of *Psychia*, to bee there in custodie till the *Athenians*
should send for them; with this condition, *That if any one*
of them should be taken running away, then the truce to bee broken
for them all.

Truce granted to the
banished men, with con-
dition that the same
should bee voyd, if any of
them offered to make an
escape.

The fraud of the *Corcyra-*
eans to entrappe the ba-
nished men.

BUT the Patrons of the Commons of *Corcyra*, fearing C
lest the *Athenians* would not kill them when they came
thither, deuise against them this plot. To some few of
those in the Iland, they secretly send their friends, and in-
struct them to say, as if, forsooth, it were for good will,
that it was their best course, with all speed, to get away,
(and withall, to offer to prouide them of a Boat) for that
the *Athenian* Commanders intended verily to deliuer them
to the *Corcyraean* people.

The truce broken, and
the outlawes put into
the hands of the Com-
mons.

When they were perswaded to doe so, and that a Boat
was treacherously prepared, as they rowed away, they D
were taken, and the Truce being now broken, were all
giuen vp into the hands of the *Corcyraeans*. It did much fur-
ther this Plot, that to make the pretext seeme more seri-
ous, and the agents in it lesse fearefull, the *Athenian* Gene-
rals gaue out, that they were nothing pleased that the
men should be carried home by others, whilst they them-
selves were to goe into *Sicily*, and the honour of it be ascri-
bed to those that should conuoy them. The *Corcyraeans*
hauing receiued them into their hands, imprisoned them
in a certaine Edifice, from whence afterwards they tooke E
them out by twenty at a time, and made them passe
through

The *Corcyraeans* take the
Outlawes out by scores,
and make them passe the
Pikes.

A through a Lane of men of Armes, bound together, and receiving strokes and thrusts from those on cyther side, according as any one espyed his Enemie. And to hatten the pace of those that went slowliest on, others were set to follow them with Whips.

They had taken out of the Roome in this manner, and flaine, to the number of threescore, before they that remained knew it, who thought they were but remoued, and carried to some other place. But when they knew the truth, some or other having told them, they then cry-

B ed out to the *Athenians*, and said, that if they would themselves kill them, they should doe it; and refused any more to go out of the Roome, nor would suffer, they said, as long as they were able, any man to come in. But neither had the

Corcyraens any purpose to force entrance by the doore, but getting vp to the top of the House, vncouered the rooffe, and threw Tyles, and shot Arrowes at them. They in prison defended themselves as well as they could, but many also slew themselves with the Arrowes shot by the

C gled themselves with the cords of certaine beds that were in the Roome, and with ropes made of their owne garments rent in pieces. And having continued most part of the night, (for night ouertooke them in the action) partly strangling themselves, by all such meanes as they found, and partly shot at from aboue, they all perished. When

day came, the *Corcyraens* laid them one * acrosse another in Carts, and carried them out of the City. And of their Wiues, as many as were taken in the Fortification, they made bond-women. In this manner were the *Corcyraens*

D that kept the * Hill, brought to destruction by the Commoners. And thus ended this farre-spredd sedition, for so much as concerned this present Warre: for of other seditions there remained nothing worth the relation. And the *Athenians* being arriued in *Sicily*, whither they were at first bound, prosecuted the Warre there, together with the rest of their Confederates of those parts.

In the end of this Summer, the *Athenians* that lay at *Naupactus*, went forth with an Armie, and tooke the City of * *Anactorium*, belonging to the *Corinthians*, and lying at
E the mouth of the *Ambracian* Gulfe, by Treason. And when they had put forth the *Corinthians*, the *Acarnanians* held

The outlawes refuse to goe out to execution.

They kill themselves.

The miserable end of the banished men, which was also the end of the sedition.

* *populorum*, significat propriè, *postea* the manner that *Mats* or *Haridles* are platted.

* *Isone*.

The *Athenians* take *Anactorium* from the *Cornithians*, and put it into the hands of the *Acarnanians*. * This City belongeth to the *Corcyraens* and *Corinthians* in common, but a little before this Warre, the *Corinthians* carry away captives the men that were in it, and possesse it alone: and those *Corcyraens* wrought the Sedition before related.

The end of the seventh Summer,

Artaphernes an Ambassadour from the King of Persia to the Lacedemonians, intercepted, and brought to Athens, and his Letters read.

The King of Persia's Letters to the Lacedemonians translated into Greeke, and read at Athens.

The Chians are suspected, and forced to pull downe their new built Wallies.

THE EIGHTH YEARE.

The Lesbian Outlawes make warre vpon the Athenians dominions, in the Continent neere Lesbos.

* Littoralles, Cities situate on the Sea-shore.

held it with a Colonie sent thither from all parts of their A
owne Nation. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, *Aristides* the sonne of *Archippus*, one of the Commanders of a Fleet which the Athenians had sent out to gather Tribute from their Confederates, apprehended *Artaphernes* a Persian, in the Towne of *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, going from the King to *Lacedemon*. When he was brought to Athens, the Athenians translated his Letters out of the Assyrian Language into Greeke, and read them: wherein, amongst many other things that were written to the Lacedemonians, the principall was this, B
That hee knew not what they meant; for many Ambassadors came, but they spake not the same things. If therefore they had any thing to say certaine, they should send somebody to him, with this Persian. But *Artaphernes* they send afterwards away in a Gallie, with Ambassadors of their owne, to *Ephesus*. And there encountering the newes, that King *Artaxerxes*, the the sonne of *Xerxes*, was lately dead, (for about that time he dyed) they returned home.

The same Winter also, the Chians demolished their new Wall, by command of the Athenians, vpon suspicion C
that they intended some innouation, notwithstanding they had giuen the Athenians their faith, and the best security they could, to the intent they should let them bee as they were. Thus ended this Winter, and the seventh yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer, in the very beginning, at a change of the Moone, the Sunne was eclipsed in part; and in the beginning of the same Moneth, happened an Earthquake.

At this time, the Mitylenian, and other Lesbian Outlawes, D
most of them residing in the Continent, with mercenary Forces out of *Peloponnesus*, and some which they leauied where they were, seaze on *Rhoetium*, and for two thousand Phocæan Staters, render it againe, without doing them other harme. After this they came with their Forces to *Antander*, and tooke that Citie also by Treason. They had likewise a Designe, to set free the rest of the Cities called * *Æliæ*, which were in the occupation formerly of the Mitylenians, but subiect to the Athenians: but about all the rest, *Antander*, which when they had once gotten, (for E
there they might easily build Gallies, because there was
store

A store of Timber, and mount *Ida* was about their heads) they might issue from thence with other their preparation, and infect *Lesbos* which was neere, and bring into their power the *Æolique* Townes in the Continent. And this were those men preparing.

The *Athenians* the same Summer, with sixty Gallies, 2000 men of Armes, and a few horsemen, taking with them also the *Milesians*, and some other of their Confederates made Warre vpon *Cythera*, vnder the Conduct of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, *Nicostratus* the sonne of *Diotrebhes*, and *Autocles* the sonne of *Tolmæus*. This * *Cythera* is an Iland vpon the Coast of *Laconia*; ouer against *Malea*. The Inhabitants be *Lacedæmonians*, of the same that dwell about them.

And euery yeere there goeth ouer vnto them from *Sparta* a Magistrate called * *Cytherodices*. They likewise sent ouer men of Armes from time to time, to lie in Garrison there, and tooke much care of the place. For it was the place where their * ships vsed to put in from *Egypt*, and *Libia*, and by which *Laconia* was the lesse-infested by cheeues from the Sea, being that way onely subiect to that mischiefe. For the Iland lyeth wholly out, into the *Sicilian* and *Creticke* Seas: The *Athenians* arriuing with their Army, with ten of their Gallies, and 2000 men of Armes of the *Milesians*, tooke a towne lying to the Sea, called *Scandea*, and with the rest of their forces, hauing landed in the parts of the Iland towards *Malea*, marched into the Citie it selfe of the *Cythereans*, lying likewise to the Sea. The *Cythereans* they found standing all in Armes prepared for them, and after the battell began, the *Cythereans* for a little while made resistance; but soone after turned their backs, and fled, into the higher part of the Citie; and afterwards compounded with *Nicias* and his fellow-Commanders, That the * *Athenians* should determine of them whatsoeuer they thought good, but death. *Nicias* had had some conference with certaine of the *Cythereans* before; which was also a cause that those things which concerned the accord both now and afterwards, were both the sooner, and with the more fauour dispatched. For the *Athenians* did but remoue the *Cythereans*, and that also because they were *Lacedæmonians*, and because the Iland lay in that maner vpon the coast of *Laconia*. After this composition, hauing as they went by

The *Athenians* led by *Nicias*, subdued *Cythera*, an Iland ouer against *Laconia*, and inhabited by *Lacedæmonians*

* Now *Cerigo*.

* The Iudges of *Cythera*.

* *Hexades*, ships of the round forme of building, Merchant ships.

The *Cythereans* yeeld to *Nicias*, referring themselves to the people of *Athens* for any thing but death.

* The *Athenian* people.

The *Athenians* remoued them from their seats.

The Lacedæmonians begin to be dejected with their great losses.

* Sphaſteria, where their men were taken, and carried to Athens.

* The Lacedæmonians relied only on their armed footmen, or men of Armes, in whose valour and skill in fight, they gloried much, as a peculiar virtue, and as for horsemen, and light-armed Souldiers, they made less reckoning, and only used such of them as were brought in by their Confederates.

* Sphaſteria.

The Athenians waste the Coast of Laconia.

* So called from *Νηυσ*, a Haven, because it is full of Havens.
* *Μαλινασία*.

received *Scandea*, a Towne lying vpon the Hauens, and put a **A** guard vpon the *Cythreans*, they sayled to *Asine* & most of the Townes vpon the Sea-side. And going sometimes a-land, and staying where they saw cause, wasted the Countrey for about seuen dayes together. The *Lacedæmonians* though they saw the *Athenians* had *Cythera*, and expected withall that they would come to Land, in the same manner, in their owne Territory, yet came not forth with their vnited forces to resist them; but distributed a number of men of Armes into sundry parts of their Territory, to guard it wheresoeuer there was need, **B** and were otherwise also exceeding watchfull, fearing lest some innouation should happen in the State; as hauing received a very great and vunexpected losse in the * *Iland*, and the *Athenians* hauing gotten *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and as being on all sides encompassed with a busie and vnauoydable Warre; In so much that contrary to their custome they ordayned 400. * *Horsemen*, and some *Archers*. And if euer they were fearefull in matter of Warre, they were so now, because it was contrary to their owne way, to contend in a *Naual* Warre, and against *Athenians*, who **C** thought they lost whatsoeuer they not attempted. Withall, their so many mis-fortunes, in so short a time, falling out so contrary to their owne expectation, exceedingly affrighted them. And fearing lest some such calamity should againe happen, as they had received in the * *Iland*, they durst the lesse to hazzard battell; and thought that whatsoeuer they should goe about, would miscarry; because their mindes not vied formerly to losses, could now warrant them nothing. As the *Athenians* therefore wasted the Maritime parts of the Countrey, and disbarked neere a **D** ny Garrison, those of the Garrison for the most part stirred not, both as knowing themselves singly to be too small a number, and as being in that maner dejected. Yet one Garrison fought about *Cortyrâ*, and *Aphrodisia*, and frightened in, the straggling rabble of light-armed Souldiers, but when the men of Armes had received them, it retyled againe, with the losse of a few whom they also rifled of their Armes. And the *Athenians*, after they had erected a *Trophe*, put off againe, and went to *Cythera*. From thence they sayled about to *Epidaurus*, called * *Limera*; and **E** hauing wasted some part of that Territory, came to *Thyrea*,

A *Thyrea*, which is of the Territory called *Cynuria*, but is nevertheless the middle border between *Argia* and *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* possessing this Citie, gaue the same for an habitation to the *Æginetæ*, after they were driuen out of *Ægina*, both for the benefit they had receiued from them, about the time of the Earthquake, and of the insurrection of the *Helots*, and also for that being subiect to the *Athenians*, they had neuertheless gone euery the same way with the *Lacedæmonians*. When the *Athenians* were coming towards them, the *Æginetæ* left the Wall which they hapned to be then building toward the Sea-side, and retired vp into the Citie aboue, where they dwelt, and which was not aboue tenne Furlongs from the Sea. There was also with them, one of those Garrisons which the *Lacedæmonians* had distributed into the seuerall parts of the Countrey, and these, though they helped them to build the Fort below, yet would not now enter with them into the Towne, (though the *Æginetæ* intreated them) apprehending danger in being coopt vp within the Walles; and therefore retiring into the highest ground, lay still there, as finding themselues too weake to giue them Battell. In the meane time the *Athenians* came in, and marching vp, presently, with their whole Armie, won *Thyrea*, and burnt it, and destroyed whatsoeuer was in it. The *Æginetæ*, as many as were not slaine in the affray, they carried prisoners to *Athens*; amongst whom *Tantalus* also, the sonne of *Patroclus*, Captaine of such *Lacedæmonians* as were amongst them, was wounded, and taken aliue. They carried likewise with them some few men of *Cythera*, whom for safeties sake they thought good to remoue into some other place. These therefore, the *Athenians* decreed, should be placed in the * Islands. And that the rest of the *Cythereans*, at the Tribute of foure Talents, should inhabite their owne Territorie. That the *Æginetæ*, as many as they had taken, (out of former inueterate hatred) should bee put to death. And that *Tantalus* should be put in bonds amongst those *Lacedæmonians* that were taken in the * Island.

In *Sicily* the same Summer, was concluded a cessation of Armes, first, betweene the *Camarinæans* and the *Geloans*. But afterwards the rest of the *Sicilians*, assembling by their Ambassadours out of euery City at *Gela*, held a Conference amongst themselues, for making of a Peace:

E wherein,

The *Athenians* burnt *Thyrea*, slay and make prisoners of all the Inhabitants being *Æginetæ*.

Tantalus a *Lacedæmonian* Captaine carried prisoner to *Athens*.

The Decree of the *Athenian* people concerning the *Cythereans*, the *Æginetæ* taken in *Thyrea*, and *Tantalus* a *Lacedæmonian* that was amongst them.
* *Cyclades*.
The *Æginetæ* put to death.

* *Sphacteria*.
The *Sicilians* make a general peace, by the aduice of *Democrates*, and so dismissthe the *Athenians*, that waited to take aduantage of their discord.

wherein, after many opinions deliuered by men disagree-
 ing, and requiring satisfaction, euery one as hee thought
 himselfe preiudiced, *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermion*, a
Syracusan, who also preuailed with them the most, spake
 vnto the Assembly, to this effect.

THE ORATION OF HER- MOCRATES for Peace.

MEN of Sicily, I am neither of the least Citie, nor of the
 most afflicted with Warre, that am now to speake, and to **B**
 deliuer the opinion which I take to conduce most to the common be-
 nefit of all Sicily. Touching Warre, how calamitous a thing it is,
 to what end should a man, particularizing the euils thereof, make a
 long speech before men that already know it? For neither doth the
 not knowing of them necessitate any man to enter into Warre, nor the
 feare of them, diuert any man from it, when he thinks it will turne
 to his aduantage. But rather it so fallies out, that the one thinks
 the gaine greater then the danger; and the other prefers danger be-
 fore present losse. But least they should both the one and the other
 doe it vnreasonably, exhortations vnto peace are profitable, and **C**
 will be very much worth to vs, if we will follow them, at this pre-
 sent. For it was out of a desire that euery Citie had to assure their
 owne, both that we fell our selues into the Warre, and also that wee
 endeavour now, by reasoning the matter, to returne to mutuall ami-
 ty. Which if it succeed not so well, that we may depart satisfied eu-
 ery man with reason, wee will be at Warres againe. Neuerthelesse
 you must know, that this Assembly, if we be wise, ought not to bee
 onely for the commodity of the Cities in particular, but how to pre-
 serue Sicily in generall, now sought to bee subdued (at least in my
 opinion) by the Athenians. And you ought to thinke, that the **D**
 Athenians are more vrgent perswaders of the Peace then any
 words of mine; who hauing, of all the Grecians, the greatest
 power, lye here with a few Gallies, to obserue our errours, and by
 a lawfull title of alliance, handsomely to accomodate their naturall ho-
 stility, to their best aduantage. For if wee enter into a Warre, and
 call in these men, who are apt enough to bring their Armie in, un-
 called, and if we weaken our selues at our owne charges, and withall
 cut out for them the dominion here, it is likely, when they shall
 see vs spent, they will sometime hereafter come vpon vs, with a
 greater Fleet, and attempt to bring all these States into their sub-
 iection. Now, if we were wise, we ought rather to call in **E**
 Confederates,

Aderates, and vndergoe dangers, for the winning of somewhat that is none of ours, then for the empayring of what we already haue; and to beleue, that nothing so much destroyes a Citie as Sedition; and that Sicily, though wee the inhabitants thereof, bee insidiated by the Athenians, as one body, is neuerthelesse Citie against Citie in Sedition within it selfe. In contemplation whereof, wee ought, man with man, and Citie with Citie, to returne againe into amity, and with one consent, to endenour the safety of all Sicily; and not to haue this conceit, that though the * Dorians be the Athenians enemies, yet the * Chalcideans are safe, as being of the race of the Ionians.

B For they inuade not these diuided races, vpon hatred of a side, but vpon a conetous desire of those necessities which we enioy in common. And this they haue proued themselues, in their comming hither to ayde the Chalcideans. For though they neuer receiued any aide by vertue of their League, from the Chalcideans; yet haue they on their part bene more forward to helpe them, then by the League they were bound vnto. Indeede the Athenians, that conet and meditate these things, are to be pardoned. I blame not those that are willing to reigne, but those that are most willing to be subiect. For it is the nature of man, euery where to command such as giue way, and to be shy of such

C as assaile. Wee are too blame, that know this, and doe not prouide accordingly, and make it our first care of all, to take good order against the common feare. Of which wee should soone bee deliuered, if wee would agree amongst our selues. For the Athenians come not against vs out of their owne Countrey, but from theirs here, that haue called them in. And so, not warre by warre, but all our quarrels shall be ended by peace, without trouble. And those that haue bene called in, as they came with faire pretence to iniure vs, so shall they with faire reason bee dismissed by vs without their errand. And thus much for the profit that will be found by aduising wisely concerning the Athenians.

D But when Peace is confessed by all men to be the best of things, why should wee not make it also in respect of our selues? Or doe you thinke perhaps, if any of you possesse a good thing, or bee pressed with an euill, that Peace is not better then warre, to remoue the later, or preserue the former, to both? or that it hath not honours, and eminence more free from danger? or whatsoeuer else one might discourse at large concerning warre? Which things considered, you ought not to make light of my aduice, but rather make vse of it, euery one to prouide for his owne safety. Now if some man bee strongly conceited to goe through with some designe of his, be it by right or by violence, let him take heed that hee faile not, so much the more to his griefe, as it is contrary to his hope; knowing that many men ere now,

hunting

* The Dorians and Ionians are two Nations, out of which almost all the people of Greece were descended. The Chalcideans and Athenians were Ionians, and the Lacedemonians, and most of Peloponnetus, were Dorians. Hence it is, that the Chalcideans would be thought safe, though the Athenians inuaded Sicily, but the Dorians not.

hunting after reuenge on such as had done them iniury, and others A
 trusting by some strength they haue had, to take away anothers right,
 haue the first sort, in stead of being reuenged, been destroyed, and the
 other, in stead of winning from others, left behind them what they had
 of their owne. For reuenge succeeds not according to Iustice, as that
 because an iniury hath beene done, it should therefore prosper, nor is
 strength therefore sure, because hopefull. It is the instabili-
 ty of Fortune, that is most predominant in things to come, which though
 it be the most deceiueable of all things yet appears to be the most pro-
 fitable. For whilst euery one feare it alike, we proceed against each
 other with the greater prouidence. Now therefore terrified doubly, B
 both with the implicate feare of the incertainty of euents, and with the
 terrour of the Athenians present, and taking these for hindrances
 sufficient, to haue made vs come short of what we had seuerally con-
 ceined to effect, let vs send away our enemies that bouer ouer vs, and
 make an eternall peace amongst our selues, or if not that, then a Truce,
 at least, for as long as may be, and put off our priuate quarrels to some
 other time. In summe, let vs know this, that following my counsell, we
 shall euery of vs haue our Cities free, whereby being Masters of our
 selues, we shall be able to remunerate according to their merit, such as
 doe vs good or harme. Whereas reiecting it and following the coun- C
 sell of others, our contention shall no more be how to be reuenged, or at
 the best, if it be, we must be forced to become friends to our greatest
 enemies, and enemies to such as we ought not. For my part, as I sayd
 in the beginning, I bring to this the greatest Citie, and which is rather
 an assaylant then assayled; and yet foreseeing these things, I hold it fit
 to come to an agreement, and not so to hurt our enemies, as to hurt our
 selues more. Nor yet through foolish * sight will I looke to be follow-
 ed as absolute in my will, and master of Fortune, which I cannot com-
 mand; but will also giue way where it is reason. And so I looke the rest
 should doe as well as I; and that of your selues, and not forced to it by D
 the enemy. For it is no dishonour to be overcome kinsmen of kinsmen,
 one Dorian of another Dorian; and one Chalcidean of another
 of his owne race, or in sum, any one by another of vs, being neighbours,
 and cohabiters of the same Region, encompassed by the Sea, and all cal-
 led by one name Sicilians. Who, as I conceiue, will both warre when
 it happens, and againe by common conferences make peace, by our owne
 selues. But when Forrainers inuade vs, we shall, if wise, vnite all of
 vs to encounter them; in as much as being weakned singly, wee are in
 danger vniuersally. As for Confederates, let vs neuer hereafter, call
 in any, nor Arbitrators. For so shall Sicily attaine these two bene- E
 fits, to be ridde of the Athenians, and of Domestique Warre for the
 present,

A present, and to be inhabited by our selves with liberty, and less infidiated by others for the time to come.

Hermocrates hauing thus spoken, the Sicilians followed his aduice, and agreed amongst themselves, That the Warre should cease, euery one retaining what they then presently enioyed. And that the Camarinæans should haue Morgantina, paying for the same vnto the Syracusians, a certaine summe of money then assessed.

B They that were Confederates with the Athenians, calling such of the Athenians vnto them, as were in authority, told them that they also were willing to compound, and be comprehended in the same Peace; And the Athenians approuing it, they did so; and hereupon the Athenians departed out of Sicily. The people of Athens, when their Generals came home banished two, namely Pythadorus and Sophocles; and laid a Fine vpon the third, which was Eurymedon, as men that might haue subdued the estates of Sicily, but had been *bribed to returne. So great was their fortune at that time, that they thought nothing could C crosse them, but that they might haue atchieued both easie, and hard enterprises with great & slender forces alike. The cause whereof, was the vireasonable prosperity of most of their designs, subministring strength vnto their hope.

The same Summer the Megareans in the Citty of Megara, pinched both by the Warre of the Athenians, who inuaded their Territory, with their whole forces, euery yeere twice, and by their owne Outlawes from Pega, who in a sedition driuen out by the Commons, grievously afflicted them with robberies, began to talke one to another, how it D was fit to call them home againe, and not to let their Citty by both these meanes to be ruined. The friends of those without, perceiuing the rumour, they also, more openly now, then before, required to haue it brought to Counsell. But the Patrons of the Commons, fearing that they with the Commons, by reason of the miseries they were in, should not be able to carry it against the other side, made an offer to Hippocrates the sonne of Aribbron, and Demosthenes the sonne of Alcisthenes, Commanders of the Athenian Army, to deliuer them the Citty, as esteeming that E course lesse dangerous for themselves, then the reduction of those whom they had before driuen out. And they

agreed,

The substance of the conditions of the Peace in Sicily.
Camarana.

The Athenians depart Sicily, and their Commanders punished as suspected to haue left Sicily for a bribe.

* Nothing was more frequent in the Athenian Assemblies at this time, then when they went amongst them, to declare one another of bribes for it was a sure way to win favour with the people, who thought that nothing was able to resist their power.

The Athenians attempt to take Megara by treason.

The heads of the Commons doe hinder the returne of the Outlawes plot, the betraying of the Citty to the Athenians.

The plot laid by the Traitors for the putting of the *Athenians* into the Towne.

* This Island lying before the Haven *Nisæa*, made the Port, and the *Athenians* kept in it, an ordinary Garrison, ever since they took it first, and could see all the Haven, and what vessels lay in it, but could not enter.

The plot of the Traitors, to give the *Athenians* the Long-walls.

* To get booty from the *Athenians*.

* Not the Gates of *Megara*, but the Gates in the Long-walls neere unto *Nisæa*, as appears by the Narration.
* a suspicion.

* To take it in, for it was almost morning.

The *Athenians* win the Long-walls.

* Those that watched in that part of *Nisæa*, which was neere to this Gate of the Long-walls.

agreed, that first, the *Athenians* should possesse themselves A
of the Long-walls, (these were about eight furlongs in length, and reached from the Citie to *Nisæa*, their Haven) thereby to cut of the aide of the *Peloponnesians*, in *Nisæa*, in which (the better to assure *Megara* to the side) there lay no other Souldiers in Garrison, but they. And then afterwards, that these men, would attempt to deliuer them the City about, which would the more easily succeed, if that were effected first. The *Athenians* therefore, after all was done, and said on both sides, and euery thing ready, sayled away by night to * *Minoa*, an Island of the *Megareans*, with 600 men of Armes led by *Hippocrates*, and sette downe in a certaine pit, out of which Bricks had beene made for the walles, and which was not farre off. But they that were with the other Commander *Demosthenes*, light-armed *Plateans*, and others called *Peripoli*, lay in ambush at the Temple of *Mars*, not so farre off as the former. And none of the Citie perceiued any thing of this, but onely such as had peculiar care to know the passages of this same night. When it was almost day, the *Megarean* Traitors did thus. They had beene accustomed long, C
as men that went out for * booty, with leaue of the Magistrates, of whom they had obtained by good Offices, the opening of the * Gates, to carry out a little Boate, * such as wherein the watermen vsed an Oare in either hand, and to conueigh it by night, downe the Ditch to the Sea-side in a Cart; and in a Cart to bring it backe againe, and set it within the Gates, to the end that the *Athenians* which lay in *Minoa*, might not know where to watch for them, no Boat being to be seene in the Haven. At this time was that Cart at the Gates, which was opened according to custome, as for the * Boate. And the *Athenians*, seeing it D
(for so it was agreed on) arose from their Ambush, and ran with all speed, to get in before the Gates should be shut againe, and to be there whilst the Cart was yet in the Gates and kept them open. And first those *Plateans*, and *Peripoli*, that were with *Demosthenes*, ranne in, in that same place where the Trophie is now extant; and fighting presently within the Gates (for those *Peloponnesians* that were * neere heard the stirre) the *Plateans* overcame those that resisted, and made good the Gates for the *Athe-* E
nian men of Armes, that were comming after.

After

A After this, the *Athenian* Souldiers, as they entred, went vpon euery one to the wall, and a few of the *Peloponnefians* that were of the Garrison, made head, at first, and fought, and were some of them slaine, but the most of them took their heeles; fearing in the night, both the enemy that charged them, and also the traitors of the *Megaraeans* that fought against them, apprehending that all the *Megaraeans* in generall had betrayed them. It chanced also that the *Athenian* Herald, of his owne discretion, made Proclamation, that if any *Megarean* would take part with the *Athenians*, he should

B come and lay downe his Armes. When the *Peloponnefians* heard this, they stayed no longer, but seriously beleeuing that they ioyntly warred vpon them, fled into *Nisaea*. As soone as it was day, the walls being now taken, and the *Megaraeans* being in a tumult within the Citie, they that had treated with the *Athenians*, and with them, the rest, as many as were conscious, said it was fit to haue the gates opened, and to goe out and giue the enemy battell. Now it was agreed on betweene them, that when the *gates were open, the *Athenians* should rush in. And that themselues would be

C easily knowne from the rest, to the end they might haue no harm done them, for that they would besmeare themselues with some ointment. And the opening of the gates would be for their greater safety. For the 4000 men of Armes of *Athens*, and 600 horsemen which according to the appointment were to come to the, hauing marched all night, were already arriued. When they had besmeared themselues and were now about the gates one of those who were priuy discovered the conspiracy to the rest that were not. These ioyning their strength, came all together to the gates, denying

D that it was fit to goe out to fight; (For that neither in former times whē they were stronger then now, durst they do so) or to put the Citie into so manifest a danger. And said, that if they would not be satisfied, the battell should be there right. Yet they discovered not that they knew of the practice, but only, as hauing giuen good aduice, meant to maintaine it. And they stayed at the gates, inso much as the traitors could not perform what they intended. The *Athenian* Comanders, knowing some crosse accident had hapned, and that they could not take the Citie by assault, fell to

E enclosing of *Nisaea* with a wall, which if they could take before ayde came, they thought *Megara* would the sooner yeeld. Iron was quickly brought vnto them from *Athens*,

K k

and

The Traitors giue aduice to open the Gates and giue battell.

* Of the City is selfe of Megara.

The Treason discovered.

The Athenians failing of Megara, take Nisaea, and demolisheth the Long-walls.

that part of the long
wall which they had built.

and Masons, and whatsoever els was necessary. And begin-
ning at the *wall they had won, when they had built crosse
ouer to the other side, from thence both wayes they drew
it on to the Sea on either side *Nisæa*, and hauing distri-
buted the worke amongst the Army, as well the Wall as
the Ditch, they serued themselues of the stones and bricke
of the suburbs, & hauing felled trees, and timber, they sup-
plied what was defectiue, with a strong Palisado; the
houses also themselues of the suburbs, when they had put
on battlements, serued them for a fortification. All that
day they wrought, the next day about Euening they had
within very little finished. But then, they that were in *Ni-
sæa*, seeing themselues to want victuall, (for they had none
but what came day by day from the Citie aboue) & with-
out hope that the *Peloponnesians* could quickly come to re-
lieue them, conceiuing also that the *Megareans* were their
enemies, compounded with the *Athenians* on these termes,
To be dismissed every one at a certaine ranfome in mony; to deliuer
vp their armes; and the *Lacedæmonians*, both the Captaine, and
whosoever of them else was within, to be at discretion of the *Athe-
nians*. Hauing thus agreed, they went out. And the *Atheni-
ans*, when they had *broken off the Long walls from the City
of *Megara*, and taken in *Nisæa*, prepared for what was fur-
ther to be done. *Brasidas* the sonne of *Tellis*, a *Lacedæmonian*,
happened at this time to be about *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, prepa-
ring of an army to go into *Thrace*. And when he heard of
the taking of the Long walls, fearing what might become of
the *Peloponnesians* in *Nisæa*, and lest *Megara* should be won,
sent vnto the *Bæotians*, willing them to meet him speedily
with their forces at *Tripodiscus* (a village of *Megara*, so cal-
led, at the foot of the hill *Geranion*) and marched presently
himselfe with 2700 men of armes of *Corinth*, 400 of *Pblus*,
600 of *Sicyon*, and those of his owne, all that he had yet le-
uiued; thinking to haue found *Nisæa* yet vntaken. When he
heard the contrary (for he set first towards *Tripodiscus* in
the night) with 300 men chosen out of the whole army,
before newes should arriue of his coming, he came vnseene
of the *Athenians* that lay by the Sea side; to the City of *Me-
gara*, pretending in word, & intending also in good earnest,
if he could haue done it, to attempt vpon *Nisæa*, but desiring
to get into *Megara* to confirme it, and required to be let in,
for that he was, he said, in hope to recouer *Nisæa*. But the
Megarean factions being afraid, *one, lest he should bring
in

* Not pulled them downe
quite, but only so farre, as
not to be a defence to any
part of the City, till they
came to the walls of the
Citie.

Brasidas saueh *Megara*
from being rendered to
the *Athenians*.

Brasidas desired to put
himselfe into the City.

* The Patrons of the Com-
mons.

A in the Outlawes, and cast out them; the * other, left the Commons, out of this very feare, should assault them, whereby the City (being at battell within it selfe, and the *Athenians* lying in wait so neere) would be lost, receiued him not, but resolu'd on both sides to sit still, and attend the successe. For both the one faction and the other expected, that the *Athenians*, and these that came to succour the City, would ioyne battell; and then they might with more safety, such as were the fauoured side, turne vnto them that had the victory. And *Brasidas*, not preuailing, went backe to the rest of the * Army. Betimes in the morning, arriued the *Bæotians*, hauing also intended to come to the aide of *Megara*, before *Brasidas* sent, as esteeming the danger to concerne themselues, and were then with their whole forces come forward as farre as *Platea*. But when they had receiued also this message, they were a great deale the more encouraged; and sent 2200 men of Armes, and 200 horse, to *Brasidas*, but went backe with the greater part of their Army. The whole Army being now together of no lesse then 6000 men of Armes. And the *Athenian* men of Armes lying indeed in good order, about *Nisæa*, and the Sea side, but the light-armed straggling in the Plaines, the *Bæotian* horsemen came vnexpected vpon the light-armed Souldiers, and droue them towards the Sea. For in all this time till now, there had come no aide at all to the *Megareans* from any place. But when the *Athenian* horse went likewise out to encounter them, they fought, and there was a battell between the horsemen of either side, that held long, wherein both sides claimed the victory. For the *Athenians* slew the Generall of the *Bæotian* horse, and some few others, and rifled them, hauing themselues bin first chased by them to *Nisæa*. And hauing these dead bodies in their power, they restored them vpon truce, and erected a Trophie. Neuer the lesse, in respect of the whole action, neither side went off with assurance, but parting asunder, the *Bæotians* went to the Army, and the *Athenians* to *Nisæa*.

After this, *Brasidas* with his Army, came downe neerer to the Sea, and to the City of *Megara*; and hauing seized on a place of aduantage, set his Army in battell array, and stood still. For they thought the *Athenians* would bee assaylants, and knew the *Megareans* stood obseruing whether side should haue the Victory;

The Nobility.

Brasidas goeth backe to
Tripodiscus.
• At Tripodiscus.

The *Bæotians* come with
their torces, and ioyne
with *Brasidas*.

The *Bæotian*, and *Atheni-*
an horse skirmish.

The whole Army on ei-
ther side, face one ano-
ther, but neither side
willing to begin.

* Brasidas if he saved the Town: from the Athenians had his end. Therefore in showing him selfe ready if the Athenians would not fight, he gained this, that he should bee let into the Towne, much more all he came for, and therefore might justly be counted * Victour.

* almost, without doubt.

* The period is somewhat long, and seems to be one of them that gave occasion to Dionysius Halicarnassius, to censure the Authors elocution.

The Megareans receiue Brasidas and his Army.

The Megarean Outlawes recalled, and sworn to forget former quarrell.

and that it must needs fall out well for them both wayes; A first, because they should not be the assaillants; and voluntarily begin the battell and danger, since hauing shewed themselves ready to fight, the victory must also * iustly be attributed to them, without their labour. And next it must fall out well in respect of the Megareans. For if they should not haue come in fight, the matter had not bene any longer in the power of fortune; but they had without all doubt been presently depriued of the City, as men conquered. Whereas now, if haply, the Athenians declined battell likewise, they should obtaine what they came for without stroke stricken. Which also indeed came to passe. * For the Megareans, when the Athenians went out and ordered their Army without the Long-walls, but yet (because the enemy charged not) stood also still; (their Commanders likewise, considering that if they should begin the battell, against a number greater then their owne, after the greatest part of their enterprize was already achieved, the danger would be vnequall; For if they should ouercome, they could win but Megara, and if they were vanquished, must lose the best part of their men of Armes; C Whereas the enemy, who out of the whole power, and number that was present in the field, did aduenture but euery one a part, would in all likelihood, put it to the hazard) And so for a while affronted each other, and neither doing any thing, withdrew againe, the Athenians first into Nisæa, and afterwards the Peloponnesians to the place from whence they had set forth; then, I say, the Megareans, such as were the friends of the Outlawes, taking heart, because they saw the Athenians were vnwilling to fight, set open the Gates to Brasidas as Victor, and to the rest of the Captaines of the seuerall Cities; And when they were in, D (those that had practised with the Athenians, being all the while in a great feare) they went to Councell. Afterwards, Brasidas, hauing dismissed his Confederates, to their seuerall Cities, went himselfe to Corinth, in pursute of his former purpose to leuy an Army for Thrace. Now the Megareans that were in the Citie, (when the Athenians also were gone home) all that had chiefe hand in the practice with the Athenians, knowing themselves discovered, presently slipt away; but the rest, after they had conferred E with the friends of the Outlawes, recalled them from

Pega,

A *Pege*, vpon great oathes administred vnto them, no more to remember former quarrels, but to giue the Citie their best aduice.

These, when they came into Office, tooke a view of the Armès, and disposing bands of Souldiers in diuers quarters of the Citie, picked out of their enemies, and of those that seemed most to haue co-operated in the treason with the *Athenians*, about a hundred persons; and hauing constrained the people to giue their sentence vpon them * openly, when they were condemned, slew them; and established in the Citie, the estate almost of an *Oligarchy*. And this change of gouernment, made by a few vpon sedition, did neuertheless continue for a long time after.

The same Summer, when *Antandrus* was to be furnished by the *Mitylenians* as they intended, *Demodicus*, and *Aristides*, Captaines of certaines Gallies, set forth by the *Athenians* to fetch in Tribute, being then about *Helleſpont* (for *Lamachus* that was the third in that Commiſſion, was gone with ten Gallies into *Pontus*) hauing notice of the preparation made in that place; and thinking it would be dangerous to haue it happen there, as it had done in *Anea*, ouer against *Samos*; in which the *Samian* Outlawes, hauing settled themselues, ayded the *Peloponnesians* in matters of the Sea, by sending them Steersmen, and both bred trouble within the Citie, and entertained such as fled out of it, leuyed an Army amongst the Confederates, and marched to it, and hauing ouercome in fight, those that came out of *Antandrus* against them, recovered the place againe. And not long after, *Lamachus* that was gone into *Pontus*, as he lay at Anchor in the Riuer *Calex*, in the territory of *Heraclaea*, much raine hauing fallen aboue in the Countrey, and the streame of a Land Flood comming suddenly downe, lost all his Gallies, and came himselfe and his Army through the Territory of the *Bithynians*, (who are *Thracians* dwelling in *Asia*, on the other side) to *Chalcedon*, a Colony of the *Megareans*, in the mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*, by Land,

The same Summer likewise, *Demosthenes*, Generall of the *Athenians*, with fortie Gallies, presently after his departure out of *Megara*, sayled to *Naupactus*. For certaine men in the Cities thereabouts, desiring to change the forme of the *Bæotian* gouernment, and to turne it into a

Democratic,

The *Outlawes* being in authority, put to death 100 of the aduersé faction.

* Because they should not dare but to condemn them, when they would not have done if their sentence had not by secret suggestion.

The *Mitylenian* Outlawes lose the City of *Antandrus* which they had intended to fortifie and make the seat of their Warre.

Lamachus loseth his ten Gallies by a sudden Land-flood, in *Pontus*.

Demosthenes goeth to *Naupactus*, vpon designe against the *Bæotians*.

The Plot laid be-
tweene certaine *Bæoti-*
ans, and the *Athenians*,
how to bring *Bæotia* into
the power of the *Atheni-*
ans.

Democratie, according to the gouernment of *Athens*, practi- A
sed with him and *Hippocrates*, to betray vnto him the
estates of *Bæotia*: Induced thereunto, principally by *Pæo-*
dorus a *Theban* Outlaw. And they ordered the designe
thus. Some had vndertaken to deliuer vp *Siphæ*. (*Siphæ*
is a Citie of the Territory of *Thespie*, standing vpon the
Sea side, in the *Crissaean* Gulfe) and *Charonea* (which was
a Towne that payed duties to *Orchomenus*, called heretofore
Orchomenus in *Minyæia*, but now *Orchomenus* in *Bæotia*) some
others, of *Orchomenus*, were to surrender into their hands.
And the *Orchomenian* Outlawes had a principall hand in B
this, and were hyring Soldiers to that end out of *Peloponne-*
sus. This *Charonea* is the vtmost Towne of *Bæotia* to-
wards *Phanocis* in the Countrey of *Phocis*, and some *Phoci-*
ans also dwelt in it. On the other side, the *Athenians* were to
seaze on *Delium*, a place consecrated to *Apollo*, in the Terri-
tory of *Tanagra*, on the part toward *Eubœa*. All this ought
to haue been done together vpon a day appointed, to the
end, that the *Bæotians* might not oppose them with their
forces vnited, but might be troubled euery one to defend
his owne. And if the attempt succeeded, and that they C
once fortified *Delium*, they easily hoped, though no change
followed in the state of the *Bæotians* for the present, yet be-
ing possessed of those places, and by that meanes, continual-
ly fetching in prey, out of the Countrey, because there was
for euery one a place at hand to retire vnto, that it could
not stand long at a stay; but that the *Athenians* ioyning with
such of them, as rebelled, and the *Bæotians* not hauing their
forces vnited, they might in time order the State to their
owne liking. Thus was the Plot layed.

* Towards *Delium*.

And *Hippocrates* himselfe, with the forces of the Citie, D
was ready when time should serue to * march; but sent
Demosthenes before, with forty Gallies to *Naupaetus*; to the
end that he should leuy an Army of *Acarnanians*, and other
their Confederates in these quarters, and sayle to *Siphæ*, to
receiue it by Treason. And a day was set downe betwixt
them, on which these things should haue been done toge-
ther.

Demosthenes, when he arriued and found the *Oeniades* by
compulsion of the rest of *Acarnania*, entred into the *Atheni-*
an Confederation, and had himselfe raised all the Confede- E
rates thereabouts, made Warre, first vpon *Salymbius*, and
the

A the *Agricans*, and hauing taken in other places thereof boats, stood ready when the time should require, to goe to *Siphac*.

About the same time of this Summer; *Brasidas* marching towards the Cities vpon *Thrace*, with 1700 men of Armes, when he came to *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, sent a Messenger before him to his friends at **Pharsalus*, requiring them to be guides vnto him, and to his Army. And when there were come vnto him, *Panercus*, and *Dorus*, and *Hippolochidas*, and *Toryllus*, and *Scrophacus*, (who was the publique Hoste of the *Phalacideans*) all which met him *Melitia*, a towne of *Achaia*, he marched on. There were other of the *Thessalians* also that conuoyed him; and from *Larissa*, he was conuoyed by *Niconidas* a friend of *Perdiccas*. For it had beene hard to passe *Thessaly* without a guide, howsoeuer, but especially with an Army. And to passe through a neighbour Territory without leaue, is a thing that all *Grecians* alike are ialous of. Besides, that the people of *Thessaly* had euer borne good affection to the *Athenians*. Insomuch, as if by custome, the government of that Countrey had not beene

C * Lordly, rather then a * Common-wealth he could neuer haue gone on. For also now as he marched forward, there met him at the Riuer *Enipeus*, others of a contrary mind to the former, that forbad him, and told him that he did vniustly to goe on without the common consent of all. But those that conuoyed him answered, that they would not bring him through against their wils; but that comming to them on a sudden, they conducted him as friends. And *Brasidas* himselfe said, he came thither a friend, both to the countrey, and to them; and that he bore Armes, not against them; but against the *Athenians* their enemies. And that he neuer knew of any enmity, between the *Thessalians*, & *Lacedaemonians*, whereby they might not vse one anothers ground; and that euen now he would not goe on without their consent; for neither could hee, but onely entreated them not to stop him. When they heard this, they went their wayes. And he, by the aduice of his guides, before any greater number should vnite to hinder him, marched on with all possible speed, staying no where by the way; and the same day he set forth from *Melitia*, he reached *Pharsalus*, and encamped by the Riuer *Apidanus*. From thence he went to *Phacium*. From thence, into *Perrebia*. The *Perrebian*, though

E subject

Brasidas collecteth through *Thessaly*, with 1500 men of Armes, to aide the *Chalcidians* that deliberated a rescue.

* *Swastia* absolute government under one part.
* *Isotomia* a equality of privilege in the whole.

The soft answer of *Brasidas*, notwithstanding hee was resolved to passe,

Brasidas goeth apace through *Thessaly*.

The cause why Perdiccas and the Chalcideans called in the Lacedæmonians into those parts.

The cause why the Lacedæmonians so willingly sent an army to them.

* By incursions and ravaging the Country, from Pylus, and the Island Cythera.

* their struments.

An impious Policy of the Lacedæmonians, in the destroying their Helotes.

subiect to the *Thessalonians*, set him at *Dion*, in the Domini- A
on of *Perdiccas*, a little City of the *Macedonians*, scituate at
the foot of *Olympus*, on the side toward *Thessalie*. In this
manner, *Brasidas* ran through *Thessalie*, before any there
could put in readinesse to stop him; and came into the
Territorie of the *Chalcideans*, and to *Perdiccas*. For *Per-*
diccas, and the *Chalcideans*, all that had revolted from the
Athenians, when they saw the affaires of the *Athenians* prosper, had drawne this Armie out of *Peloponnesus* for feare:
the *Chalcideans*, because they thought the *Athenians* would
make Warre on them first, as hauing been also incited B
thereto, by those Cities amongst them that had not revolted;
and *Perdiccas*, not that he was their open enemy,
but because he feared the *Athenians* for ancient quarrels;
but principally because he desired to subdue *Arribilau*,
King of the *Lyncestians*. And the ill successe which the
Lacedæmonians in these times had, was a cause that they
obtained an Armie from them, the more easily.

For the *Athenians* vexing *Peloponnesus*, and their particular * Territory *Laconia* most of all, they thought the
best way to diuert them, was to send an Armie to the C
Confederates of the *Athenians*, so to vex them againe.
And the rather, because *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcideans* were
content to maintain the Armie, hauing called it thither to
helpe the *Chalcideans* in their revolt. And because also
they desired a pretence to send away part of their * *He-*
lotas, for feare they should take the opportunity of the
present state of their affaires, the enemies lying now in
Pylus, to innouate. For they did also this further. Fearing
the youth, and multitude of their *Helotes*, (For the *Lace-*
dæmonians had euer many Ordinances, concerning how to D
look to theselues against the *Helotes*,) they caused Procla-
mation to be made, that as many of the, as claimed the esti-
mation, to haue done the *Lacedæmonians* best seruice in their
Warres should be made free; feeling them in this manner,
and conceiuing that as they should every one out of pride
deeme himselfe worthy to be first made free, so they
would soonest also rebell against the. And when they had
thus preferred about 2000, which also with Crownes on
their heads, went in procession about the Temples, as to
receiue their liberty, they, not long after made them a- E
way, and no man knew how they perished. And now at
this

A this time with all their hearts they sent away 700 men of Armes more of the same men, along with *Brasidas*. The rest of the Army were Mercenaries hired by *Brasidas*, out of *Peloponnesus*. But *Brasidas* himselfe the *Lacedæmonians* sent out, chiefly, because it was his owne desire. Notwithstanding the *Chalcideans* also longed to haue him, as one esteemed also in *Sparta*, euery way an actiue man. And when he was out, he did the *Lacedæmonians* very great seruice. For by shewing himselfe at that present iust, and moderate towards the Cities, hee caused the
 B most of them to reuolt, and some of them he also tooke by Treason. Whereby it came to passe, that if the *Lacedæmonians* pleased to come to composition (as also they did) they might haue Townes to render and receiue reciprocally.

The praise of *Brasidas*.

And also long after, after the *Sicilian Warre*, the vertue, and wisdom which *Brasidas* shewed now, to some knowne by experience, by others, beleued vpon from report, was the principall cause that made the *Athenian Confederates* affect the *Lacedæmonians*; For being the
 C * first that went out, and esteemed in all points for a worthy man, he left behind him an assured hope, that the rest also were like him.

Being now come into *Thrace*, the *Athenians* vpon notice, thereof, declared *Perdiccas* an enemy, as imputing to him this expedition, and reinforced the Garrisons in the parts thereabouts.

* The first that went abroad for Governour into other States, since this Warre. For fifty yeeres before this Warre, *Paulanias* hauing the government of the Grecian Confederates, at *Bizantium*, behaved himselfe insulently, and then *Cimon* an *Athenian* by the vertues now proued in *Brasidas*, got the Confederates to leaue the *Lacedæmonians*, and assist the *Athenians*. *Brasidas* ioyned with *Perdiccas*, marcheth towards *Linus*.

Perdiccas with *Brasidas* and his Army, together with his owne Forces, marched presently against *Arrhibæus* the sonne of *Bromerus*, King of the *Lyncæstheans*, a people of
 D *Macedonia*, confining on *Perdiccas* his dominion, both for a quarrell they had against him, and also as desiring to subdue him.

Brasidas refusing to make Warre on *Arrhibæus*.

When he came with his Army, and *Brasidas* with him, to the place where they were to haue fallen in, *Brasidas* told him that hee desired, before hee made Warre, to draw *Arrhibæus* by parly, if he could, to a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For *Arrhibæus* had also made some proffer by a Herald, to commit the matter to *Brasidas* arbitrement. And the *Chalcidean Ambassadors*
 E being present, gaue him likewise aduice, not to thrust himselfe into danger in fauour of *Perdiccas*, to the end
 L I they

For the offer of *Arrhibæus*.

And through the aduice of the *Chalcideans*.

they might haue him more prompt in their owne affaires. **A**
 Besides, the Ministers of *Perdiccas*, when they were at
Lacedæmon, had spoken there, as if they had meant to bring
 as many of the places about him as they could, into the
Lacedæmonian League. So that *Brasidas* fauoured *Arrhibæ-*
us, for the publique good of their owne State. But *Perdi-*
ccas said that he brought not *Brasidas* thither, to be a Iudge
 of his Controuersies, but to destroy those enemies which
 he should shew him. And that it will be an iniury, see-
 ing he payes the halfe of his Army, for *Brasidas* to parly
 with *Arrhibæus*. Neuerthelesse, *Brasidas* whether *Perdiccas* **B**
 would, or not, and though it made a quarrell, had confe-
 rence with *Arrhibæus*, by whom also hee was induced to
 withdraw his Army. But from that time forward, *Per-*
diccas in stead of halfe, paid but a third part of his Army,
 as conceiuing himselfe to haue been iniured.

The same Summer, a little before the Vintage, *Brasidas*
 hauing ioyned to his owne, the forces of the *Chalcideans*,
 marched to *Acanthus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*. And
 there arose sedition about receiuing him, betweene such as
 had ioyned with the *Chalcideans* in calling him thither, **C**
 and the common people. Neuerthelesse, for feare of their
 fruits which were not yet gotten in, The multitude was
 won by *Brasidas* to let him enter alone, and then (after
 he had said his mind) to aduise what to doe amongst them-
 selues. And presenting himselfe before the multitude, (for
 he was not vneloquent, though a *Lacedæmonian*,) he spake
 to this effect.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS.

MEN of *Acanthus*, The reason why the *Lacedæmoni-*
ans haue sent me, and this Army abroad, is to make good
 what we gaue out in the beginning for the cause of our
 Warre against the *Athenians*, which was, that we meant to make
 a Warre for the Libertie of Greece. But if we be come late, as
 deceiued by the Warre there, in the opinion we had, that we our
 selues should soone haue pulled the *Athenians* downe, without any
 danger of yours, no man hath reason therefore to blame vs. For we
 are come as soone as occasion serued, and with your helpe will do our
 best to bring them vnder. But I wonder why you shut me forth of
 your

meth therein disaste
to Perdiccas.

Brasidas commeth before
Acanthus.

And is receiued without
his army.

A your gates and why I was not welcome. For we Lacedæmonians have undergone this great danger, of passing many dayes iourne through the Territory of Strangers, and shewed all possible zeale, because we imagined that we went to such Confederates, as before wee came had vs present in their hearts, and were desirous of our coming. And therefore it were hard, that you should now bee otherwise minded, and withstand your owne, and the rest of the Grecians liberty; not onely in that your selues resist vs, but also because others whom I goe to, will be the lesse willing to come in; making difficulty, because you to whom I came first, hauing a flourishing City, and being esteemed wise, haue refused vs: For which I shall haue no sufficient excuse to pleade, but must be thought either to pretend to set v^p liberty vniustly, or to come weake, and without power to maintaine you against the Athenians. And yet against this same Army I now haue, when I went to encounter the Athenians at Nisæa, though more in number, they durst not hazzard battell. Nor is it likely that the Athenians will send forth so great a number against you, as they had in their Fleet there at Nisæa. I come not hither to hurt, but to set free the Grecians, and I haue the Lacedæmonian Magistrates bound vnto me by great Oathes, that whatsoever Confederates shall be added to their side, at least by mee, shall still enioy their owne Lawes. And that wee shall not hold you as Confederates to vs, brought in either by force, or fraud, but on the contrary, be Confederates to you, that are kept in seruitude by the Athenians. And therefore I clayme not onely that you be not iealous of mee, especially hauing giuen you so good assurance, or thinke me vnable to defend you, but also that you declare your selues boldly with mee. And if any man be vnwilling so to doe, through feare of some particular man, apprehending that I would put the Citie into the hands of a few, let him cast away that feare; for

D I came not to side, nor doe I thinke I should bring you an assured liberty, if neglecting the ancient vse here, I should enthrall, either the Multitude, to the Few, or the Few to the Multitude. For to be gouerned so, were worse then the domination of a Forrainger. And there would result from it to vs Lacedæmonians, not thanks for our labours, but in stead of honour and glory, an imputation of those

* crimes for which we make Warre amongst the Athenians, and which would be more odious in vs then in them, that neuer pretended the * vertue. For it is more dishonourable, at least, to men in dignity, to amplifie their estate by specious fraud, then by open violence. For the

E later assayleth with a certaine right o^f power giuen vs by Fortune, but the other, with the treachery of a wicked conscience.

* Ambition and desire to subuene other States.

* The desire to a^{tt} other States.

But besides the oath which they haue sworne already, the greatest A further assurance you can haue, is this, That our actions weighed with our words, you must needs beleue, that it is to our profit to doe, as I haue told you. But if after these promises of mine, you shall say, you cannot, and yet for as much as your affection is with vs, will claime impunity for reiecting vs; Or shall say that this liberty I offer you seemes to bee accompanied with danger, and that it were well done to offer it to such as can receiue it, but not to force it vpon any. Then will I call to witnesse the Gods, and * Heroes of this place, that my counsell which you refuse, was for your good, and will indenuour by wasting of your Territory to compell you to it. Nor shall I thinke I doe you therein, any wrong; But haue reason for it from two necessities, one, of the Lacedæmonians, lest whilest they haue your affections, and not your society, they should receiue hurt from your contribution of money to the Athenians; another, of the Grecians, lest they should be hindered of their liberty by your example; for otherwise indeed we could not iustly doe it; nor ought we Lacedæmonians to set any at liberty against their wills, if it were not for some common good. We couet not dominion ouer you, but seeing we haste to make others lay downe the same, we should doe iniury to the greater C part, if bringing liberty to the other States in generall, we should tolerate you to crosse vs. Deliberate well of these things, strue to be the beginners of Liberty in Greece, to get your selues eternall glory, to preserue euery man his priuate estate from dammage, and to inuest the whole Citie with a most honourable * Title. Thus spake Brasidas.

The Acanthians, after much said on either side, partly for that which Brasidas had effectually spoken, and partly for feare of their fruits abroad, the most of them decreed D to reuolt from the Athenians, hauing giuen their votes in secret. And when they had made him take the same oath, which the Lacedæmonian Magistrates tooke, when they sent him out; namely, that what Confederates soeuer he should ioine to the Lacedæmonians, should enioy their owne Lawes, they receiued his Army into the City. And not long after, reuolted Stagyrus, another Colony of the Andrians. And these were the Acts of this Summer.

In the very beginning of the next Winter, when the Bæotian Cities should haue been deliuered to Hippocrates and Demost-

* Semi-gods, fained by the Poets to haue been gotten between a god and a mortall.

* The Title of a free City.

The reuolt of Acanthus.

The reuolt of Stagyrus.

The end of the eighth Summer.

A *Demosthenes*, Generals of the *Athenians*, and that *Demosthenes* should haue gone to *Siphæ*, and *Hippocrates* to *Delium*, hauing mistaken the dayes, on which they should haue both set forward, *Demosthenes* went to *Siphæ* * first, and hauing with him the *Acarnans*, and many Confederates of those parts in his Fleet, yet lost his labour. For the Treason was detected by one *Nicomachus* a *Phocean*, of the Towne of *Phanotis*, who told it vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, and they againe vnto the *Bæotians*. Whereby the *Bæotians* concurring vniuersally to relieue those places, (for *Hippocrates* was not yet gone to trouble them in their owne seuerall Territories) preoccupied both *Siphæ*, and *Chæroneæ*. And the Conspirators knowing the error, attempted in those Cities no further.

But *Hippocrates* hauing raised the whole power of the Citie of *Athens*, both Citizens and others that dwelt amongst them, and all strangers, that were then there, arriued * afterwards at *Delium*, when the *Bæotians* were now returned from *Siphæ*, and there stayed, and tooke in *Delium* a Temple of *Apollo* with a wall, in this manner. Round about the Temple, and the whole consecrated ground, they drew a Ditch, and out of the Ditch, in stead of a wall, they cast vp the earth, and hauing driuen downe piles on either side, they cast thereinto the matter of the Vineyard about the Temple, which to that purpose they cut downe, together with the Stones and Bricks of the ruined buildings. And by all meanes heightened the fortification, and in such places as would giue leaue, erected Turrets of wood vpon the same. There was no Edifice of the Temple standing, for the Cloyster that had been was fallen downe. They began the worke, the third day after they set forth from *Athens*, and wrought all the same day, and all the fourth and the fift day, till dinner. And then being most part of it finished, the campe came backe from *Delium*, about ten Furlongs homewards. And the light-armed Souldiers went most of them presently away, but the men of Armes, laid downe their Armes there, and rested. *Hippocrates* staid yet behind, and tooke order about the Garrison, and about the finishing of the remainder of fortification. The *Bæotians* tooke the same time to assemble

E at *Tanagra*; and when all the Forces were come in, that from euery Citie were expected, and when they vnderstood

Demosthenes approacheth *Siphæ* by Sea, to take it by Treason, but faileth.

* Before *Hippocrates* went to *Delium*, whereas it might haue bene at the same time.

The Treason detected.

Hippocrates marcheth to *Delium*.

* After *Demosthenes* had been at *Siphæ* which was too late. He fortifieth *Delium*.

The army of the *Athenians*, hauing taken *Delium*, begin to retire.

The *Bæotians* follow them

* Battell signifies election in number.

* It seems that the General Sines of Boeotia being free of their cities, and being a League, were a united body, and so a little from their common interest, they had the making of the common forces by election.

flood that the Athenians drew homewards, though the rest A of the * Boeotian Commanders, which were eleven, approved not giving battell, because they were not now in Boeotia (for the Athenians, when they laid downe their Armes, were in the Confines of Oropia) yet Pagondas the sonne of Aioladas, being the * Boeotian Commander * for Thebes, whose turne it was to haue the leading of the Army, was, together with Arianthidas the sonne of Lysimachidas, of opinion to fight, and held it the best course to try the fortune of a battell, wherefore calling them vnto him euery Company by it selfe that they might not be all at once from their Armes, he exhorted the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and to hazzard battell, speaking in this manner.

THE ORATION OF PAGONDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Boeotia, it ought neuer to haue so much as entered into the thought of any of vs the Commanders, that because we finde not the Athenians now in Boeotia, it should therefore be vsfit to giue them battell. For they, out of a bordering Countrey haue entered Boeotia, and fortified in it, with intent to waste it, and are indeed enemies in whatsoever ground wee find them, or whence soeuer they come, doing the acts of hostility. But now if any man thinke it also vsfise, let him henceforth be of another opinion. For providence in them that are inuaded, endureth not such deliberation concerning their owne, as may be vsed by them, who retaining their owne, out of desire to enlarge, voluntarily inuade the estate of another. And it is the custome of this Countrey of yours, when a forraine enemy comes against you, to fight with him, both on your owne, and on your neighbours ground alike; but much more you ought to doe it, against the Athenians, when they be borderers. * For liberty with all men, is nothing else but to be a match for the Cities that are their neighbours. With these then that attempt the subigation, not onely of their neighbours, but of estates farre from them, why should we not try the utmost of our fortune? We haue for example, the estate that the Euboeans ouer against vs, and also the greatest part of the rest of Greece do liue in vnder them. And you must know, that though others fight with their neighbours, about the bounds of their Territories, wee if we be vanquished shall haue but one bound amongst vs all; so that

* So that so soon as a State hath a neighbour strong enough to inuade it, it is as much to be thought a free State.

A that wee shall no more quarrell about limits. For if they enter, they will take all our severall states into their owne possession by force. So much more dangerous is the neighbourhood of the Athenians, then of other people. And such as upon confidence in their strength invade their neighbours, (as the Athenians now doe) use to bee bolde in warring on those that sit still, defending themselves onely in their owne Territories; whereas they be lesse vrgent to those that are ready to meete them without their owne limits, or also to beginne the Warre when opportunity serveth. We haue experience bereof in these same men; for after wee had overcome them at Coronea, at what time
B through our owne sedition, they held our Countrey in subiection, wee established a great security in Boeotia, which lasted till this present. Remembring which, wee ought now, the elder sort to imitate our former acts there, and the younger sort, who are the children of those valiant Fathers, to endeuour not to disgrace the vertue of their Houses; but rather with confidence that the God, whose Temple fortified they unlawfully dwell in, will bee with vs, the Sacrifices wee offered him appearing faire, to march against them, and let them see, that though they may gaine what they couet, when they invade such as will not fight, yet men that haue the generosity to hold their owne in liberty by
C battell, and not invade the state of another vniustly, will neuer let them goe away vnfoughten.

Pagondas with this exhortation perswaded the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and making them * rise, led them speedily on, for it was drawing towards night, and when he was neere to their Army, in a place from whence by the interposition of a Hill they saw not each other, making a stand, he put his Armie into order, and prepared to giue Battell. When it was told Hippocrates, who was
D then at Delium, that the Boeotians were marching after them, he sends presently to the Armie, commanding them to bee put in array, and not long after hee came himselfe, hauing left some 300. Horse about Delium, both for a guard to the place, if it should be assaulted, and withall to watch an opportunity to come vpon the Boeotians when they were in fight. But for these, the Boeotians appointed some Forces purposely to attend them. And when all was as it should be, they shewed themselves from the toppe of the Hill. Where they sate downe with their Armes, in
E the same order they were to fight in; being about seuen thousand men of Armes, of light-armed Souldiers, aboue
 tenne

* It was the fashion in those times, for the Souldiers to sit downe with their Armes by them, when they stand any where in the Field.

The order of the Army of the Boeotians.

* The Lake Copais.

The order of the army of the Athenians.

tenne thousand, a thousand Horsemen, and five hundred A
 Targettiers. Their right Wing consisting of the *Thebans*,
 and their partakers; In the middle battell were the *Hali-*
artians, *Coroneans*, *Copeans*, and the rest that dwell about
 the * Lake; In the left were the *Thespians*, *Tanagreans*, and
Orchomenians. The Horsemen, and light-armed Souldi-
 ers were placed on either wing. The *Thebans* were orde-
 red by twenty five in File, but the rest, euery one as it fell
 out. This was the preparation and order of the *Bæo-*
tians.

The *Athenian* men of Armes, in number, no fewer than B
 the enemy, were ordered by eight in File throughout.
 Their Horse they placed on either Wing; but for light-
 armed Souldiers, armed as was fit, there were none, nor
 was there any in the City. Those that went out, follow-
 ed the Campe, for the most part without Armes, as being
 a generall expedition both of Citizens, and Strangers;
 and after they once began to make homeward, there stayed
 few behind. When they were now in their order, and rea-
 dy to ioyne battell, *Hippocrates* the Generall came into the
 Army of the *Athenians*, and encouraged them, speaking to C
 this effect.

THE ORATION OF HIPPOCRATES to his Souldiers.

MEN of Athens, my exhortation shall be short, but with
 valiant men, it hath as much force as a longer, and is for a
 remembrance, rather then a command. Let no man thinke,
 because it is in the Territory of another, that we therefore precipi-
 tate our selues into a great danger that did not concerne vs. For D
 in the Territory of these men, you fight for your owne. If wee get
 the victory, the *Peloponnesians* will neuer invade our Territo-
 ries againe, for want of the *Bœotian* Horsemen. So that in one
 battell, you shall both gaine this Territory, and free your owne.
 Therefore march on against the enemy, euery one as becommeth the
 dignity, both of his naturall Citie, (which he glorieth to be chiefe
 of all Greece) and of his Ancestors, who hauing ouercome these men
 at *Oenophyta*, vnder the Conduct of *Myronides*, were in times
 past Masters of all *Bœotia*.

Whiles *Hippocrates* was making this exhortation, and E
 had

A had gone with it ouer halfe the Army, but could proceed no further, the *Bæotians*, (for *Pagonas* likewise made but a short exhortation, and had there sung the *Peon*) came downe vpon them from the hill. And the *Athenians* likewise went forward to meet them, so fast, that they met together running. The vtmost parts of both the Armies neuer came to ioyne, hindred both, by one, and the same cause, for certaine currents of water kept them asunder. But the rest made sharpe battell, standing close, and striving to put by each others Bucklers. The left wing of the *Bæotians*, to
B the very middle of the Army was ouerthrowne, by the *Athenians*, who in this part had to deale, amongst others principally with the *Thebians*. For whilest they that were placed within the same wing, gaue backe, and were circled in by the *Athenians* in a narrow compasse, those *Thebians* that were slaine, were hewed downe in the very fight. Some also of the *Athenians* themselues, troubled with inclosing the, through ignorance slew one another. So that the *Bæotians* were ouerthrowne in this part, and fled to the other part, where they were yet in fight. But the right wing wherein
C the *Thebans* stood, had the better of the *Athenians*, and by little and little, forced them to giue ground, and followed vpon them from the very first. It hapned also that *Pagonas*, whilst the left wing of his Army was in distresse, sent two Companies of Horse secretly about the hill, whereby that wing of the *Athenians* which was victorious, apprehending vpon their sudden appearing that they had bin a fresh Army, was put into affright, and the whole Army of the *Athenians*, now doubly terrified, by this accident, and by the *Thebans* that continually won ground, & brake their ranks,
D betooke themselues to flight. Some fled toward *Delium*, and the sea; and some towards *Oropus*; others toward the mountaine *Parnethus*, and others other wayes, as to each appeared hope of safety. The *Bæotians*, especially their horse, & those *Locrians* that came in, after the enemy was already defeated, followed, killing the. But night surprising them the multitude of the that fled, was the easier saued. The next day, those that were gotten to *Oropus* and *Delium*, went thence by Sea to *Athens*, hauing left a Garrison in *Delium*, which place, notwithstanding this defeat, they yet retayned.
E The *Bæotians*, when they had erected their Trophy, taken away their owne dead, rifled those of the enemy, and left a

The *Bæotians* interrupt the Oracion.

The *Athenians* flie.

Dispute about giving
leave to the Athenians
to take up their dead.
The message of the Ba-
otians to the Athenians.

Dispute.

The message of the Athe-
nians to the Boeotians, by
a friend of their owne.

guard vpon the place, returned backe to Tanagra, and there A
entred into consultation, for an assault to be made vpon De-
lium. In the meane time, a Herald sent from the Athenians,
to require the bodies, met with a Herald by the way, sent
by the Boeotians, which turned him backe, by telling him he
could get nothing done till himselfe was returned from the
Athenians. This Herald, when he came before the Athenians,
deliuered vnto them what the Boeotians had giuen him in
charge; namely, That they had done iniustly, to transgresse the
vniuersall law of the Grecians; being a constitution receiued by them
all, that the Inuader of anothers countrey, shall abstaine from all holy B
places in the same. That the Athenians had fortified Delium, and
dwelt in it, and done whatsoeuer else men vse to doe in places profane,
and had drawne that water to the common vse, which was unlawfull
for themselves to haue touched, saue onely to wash their hands for the
sacrifice. That therfore the Boeotians, both in the behalfe of the god,
and of themselves, inuoking Apollo, and all the interessed *spirits,
did warne them to be gone, and to remoue their stuffe out of the Tem-
ple. After the Herald had said this, the Athenians sent a He-
rald of their owne to the Boeotians. Denying that either they had
done any wrong to the holy place already, or would willingly doe any C
hurt to it hereafter. For neither did they at first enter into it, to such
intent; but to requite the greater iniuries which had beene done vnto
them. As for the law which the Grecians haue, it is no other, but that
they which haue the dominion of any territory, great or small, haue euer
the Temples also, & besides the accustomed rites, may superinduce what
other they can. For also the Boeotians, and most men else, all that ha-
uing driven out another nation, possesse their territory, did at first in-
uade the Temples of others, and make them their owne. That therefore,
if they could win from them more of their Land, they would keepe it;
and for the part they were now in, they were in it with a good will, and D
would not out of it as being their owne. That for the water, they medled
with it vpon necessity, which was not to be ascribed to insolence, but to
this, that fighting against the Boeotians that had inuaded their ter-
ritory first, they were forced to vse it. For whatsoeuer is forced by War,
or danger hath in reason a kind of pardon, euen with the god himselfe.
For the Altars, in cases of inuoluntary offences, are a refuge; and
they are said to violate Lawes, that are euill without constraint, not
they that are a little bold vpon occasion of distresse.

That the Boeotians themselves, who require restitution of the ho-
ly places, for a redemption of the dead, are more irreligious by farre, E
then they, who, rather then let their Temples goe, are content to goe
without

A without that which were fit for them to receive. And they bad him say plainly, That they would not depart out of the Boeotian Territory, for that they were not now in it, but in a Territory which they had made their owne by the * Sword; And neuerthelesse, required Truce according to the Ordinances of the Countrey, for the fetching away of the dead. To this the Boeotians answered, That if the dead were in Boeotia, they should quit the ground, and take with them, whatsoeuer was theirs. But if the dead were in their owne Territory, the Athenians themselves knew best what to doe. For they thought, that though Oropia, wherein the dead lay. (for the battell was fought in the border betweene Attica and Boeotia) by subiection belonged to the Athenians, yet they could not fetch them off by force; and for Truce, that the Athenians might come safely on Athenian ground, they would giue none, but conceiued it was a handsome answer, to say, That if they would quit the ground, they should obtaine whatsoeuer they required. Which when the Athenian Herald heard, he went his way without effect. The Boeotians presently sent for Darters and Slingers from the Townes on the Melian Gulfe, and with these, and with two thousand men of Armes, of Corinth, and with the Peloponnesian Garrison that was put out of Nisaea, and with the Megareans, all which arriued after the battell, they marched forthwith to Delium, and assaulted the wall; and when they had attempted the same many other wayes, at length they brought to it an Engine, wherewith they also tooke it, made in this manner. Hauing slit in two a great Mast, they made hollow both the sides, and curiously set them together againe in forme of a Pipe. At the end of it in chaines they hung a Caldron, and into the Caldron from the end of the Mast, they conveyed a snowt of Iron, hauing with Iron also armed a great part of the rest of the wood. They carried it to the wall, being farre off in Carts, to that part where it was most made vp, with the matter of the Vineyard, and with wood. And when it was to, they applied a paire of great bellowes to the end next themselves, and blew. The blast passing narrowly through into the Caldron, in which were coales of fire, brimstone, and pitch, raised an exceeding great flame, and set the wall on fire; so that no man being able to stand any longer on it, but abandoning the same, and betaking themselves to flight, the wall was by that meanes taken.

• *describ'd by the Spectator*

• The reply of the Boeotians.

The forme of an Engine, wherewith they set the wall on fire.

Delium recovered by the Boeotians.

Of the Defendants, some were slain, and 200 taken A
prisoners. The rest of the number recovered their Gallies,
and got home. *Delium* thus taken on the seventeenth
day after the battell, and the Herald, which not long
after, was sent againe about the fetching away of the dead,
not knowing it, the *Bacotians* let him haue them, and an-
swered no more as they had formerly done. In the battell
there dyed *Bacotians* few lesse then five hundred. *Atheni-
ans*, few lesse then a thousand, with *Hippocrates* the Gene-
rall; but of light-armed Souldiers, and such as carried the
prouisions of the Army, a great number. B

The *Bacotians* deliuer to
the *Athenians* their dead,

Demoibenes landing in
Sicyonia, is beaten backe
by the Inhabitants.

Not long after this battell, *Demoibenes*, that had been
with his Army at *Sicilia*, seeing the Treason succeeded not,
hauing aboard his Gallies his Army of *Acarnanians*, and
Agræans, and foure hundred men of Armes of *Athens*, landed
in *Sicyonia*. But before all his Gallies came to Shoare, the
Sicyonians, who went out to defend their Territory, put
to flight such as were already landed, and chased them
backe to their Gallies; hauing also slain some, and taken
some aliue. And whē they had erected a Trophy, they gaue
Truce to the *Athenians* for the fetching away of their dead. C

Sitalces King of *Thrace*,
dyeth, and *Seuthes* his
brothers sonne succee-
deth him.

About the time that these things past at *Delium*, dyed *Si-
talces*, King of the *Odrysians*, ouercome in battell, in an ex-
pedition against the *Triballians*; And *Seuthes* the son of *Spar-
docus*, his brothers sonne, succeeded him, in the kingdome
both of the *Odrysians*, and of the rest of *Thrace*, as much as
was before subiect to *Sitalces*.

Brasidas goeth to *Amphi-
polis*,

The same Winter, *Brasidas*, with the Confederates in
Thrace, made Warre vpon *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *A-
thenians*, scituated on the Riuer *Strymon*. The place
whereon the City now standeth, *Aristagoras* of *Miletus*, had
formerly attempted to inhabite, when he fled from King
Darius, but was beaten away by the *Edonians*. Two and
thirty yeeres after this, the *Athenians* assayed the same, and
sent thither ten thousand of their owne Citie, and of others
as many as would goe. And these were destroyed all by
the *Thracians* at *Drabescus*. D

The originall of *Amphi-
polis*,

Agnon Founder of *Am-
phipolis*,

In the 29 yeere after, conducted by *Agnon* the sonne of *Ni-
fias*, the *Athenians* came againe, and hauing driuen out the
Edonians, became Founders of this place, formerly called
the *Nine-wayes*. This Army lay then at *Eion*, a Towne of E
Traffique by the Sea-side, subiect to the *Athenians*, at the
mouth

A mouth of the Riuer *Strymon*; five and twenty Furlongs from the Citie; *Agnon* named this City *Amphipolis*, because it was surrounded by the Riuer *Strymon*, that runnes on either side it. When he had taken it in, with a long wall from Riuer to Riuer, he put Inhabitants into the place, being conspicuous round about, both to the Sea, and Land.

Against this Citie marched *Brasidas* with his Armie, dislodging from *Arne* in *Chalcidea*. Being about twilight come as farre as *Aulon* and *Bromiscus*, where the Lake *Bolbe* B entreth into the Sea, hee caused his Armie to suppe, and then marched forward by night. The weather was foule, and a little it snowed, which also made him to march the rather, as desiring that none of *Amphipolis*, but onely the Traytors, should bee aware of his comming. For there were both *Argilians* that dwelt in the same Citie, (now *Argilus* is a Colonie of the *Andrians*) and others, that contriued this, induced thereunto, some by *Perdiccas*, and some by the *Chalcideans*. But aboue all, the *Argilians* beeing of a City neere vnto it, and euer suspected by the *Athenians*, and C secret enemies to the place, as soone as opportunity was offered, and *Brasidas* arriued, (who had also long before dealt vnderhand with as many of them as dwelt in *Amphipolis*, to betray it) both receiued him into their owne Citie, and renolting from the *Athenians*, brought the Armie forward the same night, as farre as to the bridge of the Riuer. The Towne stood not close to the Riuer, nor was there a Fort at the Bridge then, as there is now, but they kept it onely with a small guard of Souldiers. Hauing easily forced this guard, both in respect of the Treason, and of D the weather, and of his owne v unexpected approach, hee passed the Bridge, and was presently master of whatsoeuer the *Amphipolitans* had, that dwelt without. Hauing thus suddenly passed the Bridge, and many of those without beeing slaine, and some fled into the Citie, the *Amphipolitans*, were in very great confusion at it, and the rather, because they were iealous one of another. And it is said, that if *Brasidas* had not sent out his Armie to take bootie, but had marched presently to the Citie, hee had in all likelihood taken it then. But so it was, that he pitched E there, and fell vpon those without, and seeing nothing succeeded by those within, lay still vpon the place. But the

The *Argilians* conspire to betray *Amphipolis*.

Argilus reuolterh.

Brasidas winneth the Bridge, and is master of all betwene it and the Citie.

The *Amphipolitans* send
for aide to *Thucydides*,
the Author of this Hi-
storie.

the contrary Faction to the Traytors, being superiour in A
number, whereby the Gates were not opened presently,
both they and *Eucles* the Generall, who was then there for
the *Athenians*, to keep the towne, sent vnto the other Gene-
rall, *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus*, the Writer of this Hillo-
rie, who had charge in *Thrace*, and was now about *Thasus*
(which is an Island, and a Colonie of the *Parians*, distant
from *Amphipolis*, about halfe a dayes sayle) requiring him
to come and releue them.

When he heard the newes, he went thitherwards in all B
haste, with seuen Gallies which chanced to be with him
at that time. His purpose principally was, to preuent
the yeelding vp of *Amphipolis*, but if he should faile of that,
then to possesse himselfe of *Eion*, before *Brasidas* his com-
ming.

Brasidas in the meane time, fearing the aid of the Gallies,
to come from *Thasus*, and hauing also beene informed that
Thucydides possessed mines of gold in the parts of *Thrace*
thereabouts, and was thereby of ability amongst the prin-
cipall men of the Continent, hasted by all meanes to get C
Amphipolis, before he should arriue, lest otherwise at his
comming the Commons of *Amphipolis*, expecting that he
would leuy Confederates, both from the Sea side, and in
Thrace, and releue them, should thereupon refuse to yeeld.
And to that end, offered them a moderate composition,
causing to be proclaimed, That whesoeuer *Amphipolitan*,
or *Athenian* would, might continue to dwell there, and enioy his
owne, with counsell and like forme of gouernment. And that be that
would not, should haue five dayes respite to be gone, and carry away
his good.

Brasidas, fearing to be
preuented by *Thucydides*,
hasteth by cause condi-
tions, to procure the
Towne to yeeld.

When the Commons heard this, their mindes were tur- D
ned; and the rather, because the *Athenians* amongst them
were but few, and the most, were a promiscuous multi-
tude; And the kinsmen of those that were taken without,
flocked together within, and in respect of their feare, they
all thought the Proclamation reasonable. The *Athenians*
thought it so, because they were willing to goe out, as ap-
prehending their owne danger to be greater, then that of
the rest, and withall, not expecting aid in haste; and the
rest of the multitude, as being thereby both deliuered of
the danger, and withall to retaine their Citie, with the E
equall forme of gouernment. Infomuch, that they which
conspired

A conspired with *Brasidas*, now openly iustified the offer to be reasonable, and seeing the minds of the Commons were now turned, and that they gaue care no more to the words of the *Athenian* Generall, they compounded, and vpon the conditions proclaimed, receiued him. Thus did these men deliuer vp the City.

Amphipolis yeelded.

Thucydides with his Gallies, arriued in the euening of the same day at *Eion*. *Brasidas* had already gotten *Amphipolis* and waited but a night of taking *Eion* also, for if these Gallies had not come speedily to relieue it, by next morning it had bene had.

Thucydides commeth too late to relieue *Amphipolis*, and putteth himselfe into *Eion*.

After this, *Thucydides* assured *Eion*, so as it should bee safe, both for the present, though *Brasidas* should assault it, and for the future; and tooke into it, such as according to the Proclamation made came downe from *Amphipolis*. *Brasidas*, with many Boats came suddenly downe the Riuer to *Eion*, and attempted to seaze on the point of the ground lying out from the wall into the Sea, and thereby to command the mouth of the Riuer; he assayed also the same, at the same time by Land, and was in both beaten off; but

And defendeth it against *Brasidas*.

Amphipolis is furnished with all things necessary.

Then revolted to him *Myrcinus*, a City of the *Edonians*, (*Phitacus*, the King of the *Edonians*, being slaine by the sons of *Goaxus*, and by *Braure* his owne wife.) And not long after, *Gapselus* also, and *Oesyne*, Colonies of the *Thasians*. *Perdiccas* also, after the taking of these places, came to him, and helped him in assuring of the same. After *Amphipolis* was taken, the *Athenians* were brought into great feare; especially, for that it was a City that yeelded them much profit, both in Timber which is sent them for the building

Great inclination of the people of those parts to come in to *Brasidas*.

of Gallies, and in reuenue of money; and because also, though the *Lacedaemonians* had a passage open to come against their Confederates (the *Thessalians* conuoying them) as farre as to *Strymon*, yet if they had not gotten that Bridge, the Riuer being vpwards, nothing but a vast Fenne, and towards *Eion*, well guarded with their Gallies, they could haue gone no further, which now they thought they might easily doe; and therefore feared lest their Confederates should revolt. For *Brasidas* both shewed himselfe otherwise very moderate, and also gaue

The *Athenians* begin to feare.

out in speech, that he was sent forth to recouer the liberty of Greece. And the Cities, which were subiect to the

Athenians,

A *Eubæa*; The rest are *Thyffus*, *Cleona*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophyxus*, and *Dion*, and are inhabited by promiscuous *Barbarians* of two languages; some few there are also of the *Chalcidean* Nation; but the most are *Pelasgique*, of those *Tyrrhene* Nations that once inhabited *Athens*, and *Lemnos*; and of the *Eisaltique* and *Chrestonique* Nations, and *Edonians*; and dwell in small Cities, the most of which yeelded to *Brasidas*. But *Sane*, and *Dion* held out; for which cause he slayed with his Army and wasted their Territories. But seeing they would not hearken vnto him, he led his Army presently against *Torone* of *Chalcidea*, held by the *Athenians*. He was called in by the *Few*, who were ready withall to deliuer him the Citie, and arriuing there a little before breake of day, he sate downe with his Army at the Temple of *Cassior* and *Pollux*, distant about three Furlongs from the Citie. So that to the rest of the City, and to the *Athenian* Garrison in it, his comming was vnperceiued. But the Traitors knowing hee was to come, (some few of them, being also priuily gone to him) attended his approach, and when they perceiued he was come, they tooke in vnto them seuen men armed onely with Daggers, (for of twenty appointed at first to that seruice, seuen only had the courage to go in, and were led by *Lyfistratus* of *Olynthus*) which getting ouer the wal towards the main Sea vnseen, went vp (for the Towne standeth on a hils side) to the watch that kept the vpper end of the Towne, and hauing slaine the watchmen, brake open the Posterne Gate towards *Canastæ*. *Brasidas* this while, with the rest of his Army, lay still, and then comming a little forward sent 100 Targettiers before, who when the Gates should be opened, and signe agreed on be set vp, should run in first. These men expecting long, and wondering at the matter, by little and little were at length come vp close to the City. Those *Toroneans* within, which helped the men that entred to performe the enterprize, when the Posterne Gate was broken open, and the Gate leading to the Market place opened likewise, by cutting asunder the Barre, went first and fetcht some of them about to the Posterne, to the end that they might suddenly affright such of the Towne as knew not the matter, both behind, and on either side; and then they put vp the signe appointed, which was fire, and receiued the rest of the Targettiers by the Gate that leadeth to the Market place.

* The Greeke, and their
same Barbarian.

Torone reuolteth to *Brasidas*.

The manner how the
Towne was betrayed.

The Towne taken.

Brasidas, when he saw the signe, made his Army rise and A with a huge cry of all at once, to the great terrour of those within, entred into the City running. Some went directly in by the Gate, and some by certaine squared Timber-trees, which lay at the wall (which hauing been lately downe, was now againe in building) for the drawing vp of Stone. *Brasidas* therefore, with the greatest number, be- tooke himsele to the highest places of the City, to make sure the winning of it, by possessing the places of aduan- tage.

The Athenians escape into a Castle of the same name called *Lecythus*.

But the rest of the Rabble ran disperfed here and B there, without difference. When the Towne was taken, the most of the *Toroneans* were much troubled, because they were not acquainted with the matter, but the Con- spirators, and such as were pleased with it, ioyned them- selues presently with those that entred. The *Athenians* (of which there were about fifty men of Armes asleepe in the Market place) when they knew what had happened, fled all, except some few that were slaine vpon the place, some by Land, some by water in two Gallies that kept watch there, and saued themselues in *Lecythus*, which was C a Fort which they themselues held, cut off from the rest of the City to the Sea-ward, in a narrow *Isthmus*. And thither also fled all such *Toroneans* as were affected to them. Being now day, and the City strongly possessed, *Brasidas* caused a Proclamation to be made, that those *Toroneans* which were fled with the *Athenians*, might come backe, as many as would, to their owne, and Inhabite there in security. To the *Athenians* he sent a Herald, bidding them depart out of *Lecythus*, vnder Truce, with all that they had, as a place that belonged to the *Chalcideans*. The *Athenians* denyed to D quit the place, but the Truce they desired for one day, for the taking vp of their dead. And *Brasidas* granted it for two. In which two dayes, hee fortified the build- ings neere, and so also did the *Athenians* theirs. Hee also called an Assembly of the *Toroneans*, and spake vnto them, as hee had done before to the *Acanthians*, adding, That there was no iust cause, why either they that had practised to put the Citie into his hands, should be the worse thought of, or accounted Traitors for it, seeing that they did it, with no intent to bring the Citie into seruitude, nor were hired there- unto with money, but for the benefit, and libertie of E the

Brasidas his speech to the *Toroneans*.

A the Cities, or that they which were not made acquainted with it, should thinke, that themselves were not to reape as much good by it as the others. For he came not to destroy either City, or man. But had therefore made that Proclamation touching those that fled with the Athenians, because he thought them neuer the worse for that friendship, and made account when they had made tryall of the Lacedæmonians, they would shew as much good will also vnto them, or rather more, in as much as they would behaue themselves with more equity; and that their present feare, was onely vpon want of tryall.

Withall, he wished them to prepare themselves to be true Confederates for the future, and from hence forward, to looke to haue their faults imputed. For, for what was past he thought they had not done any wrong, but suffered it rather from other men that were too strong for them and therefore were to be pardoned, if they had in ought beene against him.

When he had thus said, and put them againe into heart, the Truce being expired, he made diuers assaults vpon *Lecæum*. The *Athenians* fought against them from the Wall, though a bad one, and from the houses, such as had Battlements, and for the first day, kept them off. But the next day, when the enemies were to bring to the Wall a great Engine, out of which they intended to cast fire vpon their Woodden Fences, and that the Army was now coming vp to the place where they thought they might best apply the Engine, and which was easiest to be assaulted, The *Athenians*, hauing vpon the top of the building, erected a Turret of Wood, and carried vp many Buckets of Water, and many men being also gone vp into it, the building ouercharged with weight, fell suddenly to the ground, and that with so huge a noyse, that though those which were neere and saw it, were grieved more then afraid, yet such as stood further off, especially the farthest of all, supposing the place to be in that part already taken, fled as fast as they could towards the Sea, and went aboard their Gallies.

Brasidas, when he perceiued the Battlements to be abandoned, and saw what had happened, came on with his Army, and presently got the Fort, and slew all that he found within it. But the rest of the *Athenians*, which before abandoned the place, with their Boats and Gallies, put themselves into *Pallene*.

There was in *Lecythus* a Temple of *MYNERVA*.

Brasidas taketh Lecythus.

* 92 pound, 15 shillings
sterling.

THE NINTH
YEERE.

Truce for a yeare.
The motives to Truce
on either side.

The Articles of the
Truce.

And when *Brasidas* was about to giue the assault, hee **A**
had made Proclamation, that whosoever first scaled the
wall, should haue * 30 *Mina* of siluer, for a reward. *Bra-*
*sid*as now conceiuing that the place was won, by meanes
not humane, gaue those 30 *mina*, to the Goddesse, to the
vse of the Temple. And then pulling downe *Lecythus*, he
built it anew, and consecrated vnto her the whole place.
The rest of this Winter, he spent in assuring the places he
had already gotten, and in contriuing the conquest of
more. Which Winter ending, ended the eighth yeere of
this Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, in the Spring of the
Summer following, made a cessation of Armes, presently,
for a yeere, hauing reputed with themselves, the *Athenians*,
that *Brasidas* should by this meanes cause no more of
their Cities to reuolt, but that by this leasure they might
prepare to secure them; and that if this suspension liked
them, they might afterwards make some agreement for a
longer time; The *Lacedæmonians*, that the *Athenians* fear-
ing what they feared, would vpon the taste of this inter-
mission of their miseries, and weary-life, be the willinger **C**
to compound, and with the restitution of their men, to
conclude a Peace for a longer time. For they would
faine haue recovered their men, whilest *Brasidas* his good
fortune continued, and whilest, if they could not recouer
them, they might yet (*Brasidas* prospering, and setting them
equall with the *Athenians*) try it out vpon euen termes, and
get the victory. Whereupon a suspension of Armes was
concluded, comprehending both themselves, and their
Confederates, in these words:

Concerning the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, it **D**
seemeth good vnto vs, that whosoever will, may without fraud, and
without feare, aske counsell thereat, according to the Lawes of his
Countrey. The same also seemeth good to the *Lacedæmonians*
and their Confederates, here present, and they promise moreouer, to
send Ambassadors to the *Boeotians* and *Phoceans*, and doe their
best to perswade them to the same.

That concerning the treasure belonging to the god, we shall take
care to find out those that haue offended therein, both wee and you,
proceeding with right and equity, according to the Lawes of our se-
uerall States. And that whosoever else will, may doe the same, euery **E**
one according to the Law of his owne Countrey.

If

A If the Athenians will accord that each side shall keepe within their owne bounds, retaining what they now possesse, the Lacedæmonians, and the rest of the Confederates, touching the same, thinke good thus,

That the Lacedæmonians in Coryphasium, stay within the mountaines of Buphras, and Tomeus, and the Athenians in Cythera, without ioyning together in any League, either we with them, or they with vs.

B That those in Nisæa and Minoa, passe not the high way, which from the Gate of Megara, neere the Temple of Nilus, leadeth to the Temple of Neptune, and so straight forward to the Bridge that lies ouer into Minoa. That the Megareans passe not the same Highway, nor into the Iland which the Athenians haue taken; Neither hauing commerce with other.

That the Megareans keepe what they now possesse in Trœzen, and what they had before by agreement with the Athenians, and haue free Navigation, both vpon the Coastes of their owne Territories, and their Confederates.

C That the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall passe the Seas not in a * long Ship, but in any other boat, rowed with Oares, of burden not exceeding 500 Talents. That the Heralds and Ambassadors that shall passe betweene both sides for the ending of the Warre, or for trials of Iudgement, may goe, and come, without impeachment, with as many followers as they shall thinke good, both by Sea, and Land.

That during this time of Truce, neither we nor you receiue one anothers fugitiues free, nor bond.

That you to vs, and we to you shall afford Law according to the Use of our severall States, to the end our Controuersies may be decided Iudicially, without Warre.

D This is thought good by the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates. But if you shall conceiue any other Articles more faire, or of more equity then these, then shall you goe and declare the same at Lacedæmon. For neither shall the Lacedæmonians, nor their Confederates refuse any thing that you shall make appeare to be iust. But let those that goe, goe with full Authority, euen as you doe now require it of vs. That this Truce shall be for a yeere.

The people decreed it. Acamantis was * President of the Assembly. Phanippus the * Scribe. Niciades * Ouerseer, and Laches pronounced these words: With good fortune to the people of Athens, a suspension of Armes is concluded; according as the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates haue agreed;

* Long Ships were of use for the Warre, and therefore here excluded yet they had leave to use vessels that went with the Oare, so they were of another forme.

* ἐκαστοῦ δὲ αὐτῶν.

* ἐκαστοῦ δὲ αὐτῶν.

* ἐκαστοῦ δὲ αὐτῶν, was the name of an Officer that kept the Cittaes, which Offi. was but for a day, and he that had it, was one of the Heralds.

* February.

* Somewhere, they sacrificed
at the making of all accords
between Cities.

The revolt of Scione.

Brasidas goeth over in a
a boat, but with a Gally
before him, and his rea-
son.

agreed; And they consented before the people, that the sullen on A
should continue for a yeere; beginning that same day being the four-
teenth of the moneth * Elaphebolion. In which time the Am-
bassadors and Heralds, going from one side to the other, should treat
about a finall end of the Warres. And that the Commanders of the
Army, and the Presidents of the City calling an Assembly, the Athe-
nians should hold a Councell touching the manner of Embassage, for
ending of the Warre first. And the Ambassadors there present should
now immediately sweare this Truce for a yeere. The same Ar-
ticles, the Lacedæmonians propounded, and the Confede-
rates agreed vnto, with the Athenians, and their Confede- B
rates in Lacedæmon, on the twelfth day of the Gerastion.
The men that agreed vpon these Articles and *sacrificed,
were these, viz. Of the Lacedæmonians, Taurus the sonne of
Echetimidas, Athenæus the sonne of Pericleidas, and Tilocharidas,
the sonne of Eryxidædas. Of the Corinthians, Aeneas the sonne of
Ogytes, and Euphamidas the sonne of Aristonymus. Of the Sicyoni-
ans, Damotimas the sonne of Naucrates, and Onesimus the sonne of
Megacles. Of the Megareans, Nicasus the sonne of Cenalus, and
Menecrates the sonne of Amphidorus. Of the Epidaurians, Amphi-
as the sonne of Eupæidas; Of the Athenians the Generals them- C
selues, Nicostratus the sonne of Diotrophes, Nicias the sonne of Ni-
ceratus, and Autocles the sonne of Tolmeus. This was the
Truce, and during the same, they were continually in Trea-
ty, about a longer Peace.

About the same time, whilst they were going to and
fro, Scione a City in Pallene revolted from the Athenians
to Brasidas. The Scioneans say that they be Pellenians def-
cended of those of Peloponnesus, and that their Ancestors
passing the Seas from Troy, were driuen in by a Tempest,
which tossed the Achæans vp and downe and planted them- D
selues in the place they now dwell in. Brasidas vpon
their revolt, went ouer into Scione by night, and though he
had a Gallie, with him that went before, yet he himselfe
followed a loose, in a Light-horseman. His reason was this,
that if his Light-horseman should be assaulted by some
greater Vessell, the Gally would defend it. But if hee
met with a Gally equall to his owne, hee made ac-
count that such a one would not assault his Boat, but ra-
ther the Gally, whereby he might in the meane time goe E
through in safety. When he was ouer, and had called
the Scioneans to assembly, he spake vnto them as hee had
done

A done before to them of *Acanthus*, and *Torone*, adding, That they of all the rest were most worthy to be commended, in as much as *Pallene*, being cut off in the *Ilhmus* by the *Athenians* that possesse *Potidea*, and being no other then *Ilanders*, did yet of their owne accord come forth to meet their liberty, and stayed not through cowardling, till they must of necessity haue been compelled to their owne manifest good. Which was an argument, that they would valiantly vndergoe any other great matter, to haue their State ordered to their mindes. And that he would verily hold them for most faithfull friends to the *Lacedæmonians*, and also otherwise doo them honour. The *Scioneans* were erected with these words of his, and now euery one alike encouraged, as well they that liked not what was done, as those that liked it, entertained a purpose, stoutly to vndergoe the Warre, and receiued *Brasidas* both otherwise honourably, and crowned him with a Crowne of gold, in the name of the Citie as the deliuerer of *Greece*. And priuate persons honoured him with Garlands, and came to him; as they vse to doe, to a Champion that hath wonne a prize. But he leauing there a small Garrison for the present, came backe;

C and not long after, carried ouer a greater Army, with designe, by the helpe of those of *Scione*, to make an attempt vpon *Menda* and *Potidea*. For he thought the *Athenians* would send succours to the place, as to an Island, and desired to preuent them. Withall he had in hand a practise with some within to haue those Citie betrayed. So he attended, ready to vndertake that enterprize.

But in the meane time, came vnto him in a Gally, *Aristonimus* for the *Athenians*, and *Athenaus* for the *Lacedæmonians*, that carried about the newes of the Truce. Whereupon

D he sent away his Army againe to *Torone*. And these men related vnto *Brasidas*, the Articles of the agreement. The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*, in *Thrace* approoued of what was done, and *Aristonimus* had in all other things satisfaction; But for the *Scioneans*, whose revolt by computation of the dayes, he had found to be after the making of the Truce, he denyed that they were comprehended therein. *Brasidas* said much in contradiction of this; and that the Citie revolted before the Truce; and refused to render it. But when *Aristonimus* had sent to *Athens*, to informe them of the matter, the *Athenians* were ready presently to haue sent an Army against *Scione*. The *Lacedæmo-*

nians

Brasidas his speech to the *Scioneans*.

The honour done to *Brasidas* by the *Scioneans*.

Brasidas receiueth newes of the suspension of Armes.

Difference betwene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, about the restitution of *Scione*, which revolted after the Truce made, but before the *Lacedæmonians* knew of it.

The Athenians prepare
to Warre on Scione.

Decree of the Athenians
against Scione.

The revolt of Menda.

* Sure he would not vaile
them.

Perdiccas and Brasidas
ioyntly invade Arrhibeum.

rians in the meane time, sent Ambassadors to the *Atheni-* **A**
ans, to tell them, that they could not send an Army against
it without breach of the Truce, and vpon *Erastidas* his
word, challenged the City to belong vnto them, offering
themselves to the decision of Law. But the *Athenians*
would by no meanes put the matter to iudgement. But
meant, with all the speed they could make, to send an Ar-
my against it. Being angry at the heart, that it should
come to this passe, that euen Ilanders durst revolt, & trust
to the vnprofitable helpe of the strength of the *Lacedemo-*
nians by Land. Besides, touching the time of the revolt, **B**
the *Athenians* had more truth on their side then themselves
alleadged. For the revolt of the *Scioneans* was after the
Truce two dayes. Whereupon, by the aduice of *Cleon*,
they made a Decree, to take them by force, and to put them
all to the Sword. And forbearing Warre in all places else,
they prepared themselves onely for that.

In the meane time revolted also *Menda* in *Pallene*, a Co-
lony of the *Eretrians*. These also *Brasidas* receiued into
protection, holding it for no wrong, because they came in
openly in time of Truce. And somewhat there was also, **C**
which he charged the *Athenians* with, about breach of the
Truce. For which cause the *Mendeans* had also beene the
bolder, as * sure of the intention of *Brasidas*, which they
might guesse at by *Scione*, in as much as he could not be
gotten to deliuer it. Withall, the *Few* were they, which
had practised the revolt, who being once about it, would
by no meanes giue it ouer, but fearing lest they should bee
discouered, forced the multitude, contrary to their owne
inclination to the same. The *Athenians* being hereof pre-
sently aduertised, and much more angry now then before, **D**
made preparation to Warre vpon both, and *Brasidas* expe-
cting that they would send a Fleet against them, receiued
the women and children of the *Scioneans*, and *Mendeans*
into *Olynthus* in *Chalcidea*, and sent ouer thither 500 *Pelopon-*
nesian men of Armes, and 300 *Chalcidean* Targettiers, and
for Commander of them all, *Polydamidas*. And those
that were left in *Scione*, and *Menda*, ioyned in the admini-
stration of their affaires, as expecting to haue the *Athenian*
Fleet immediately with them.

In the meane time *Brasidas*, and *Perdiccas*, with ioynt **E**
forces march into *Lyncus* against *Arrhibeus*, the second time.

Perdiccas

A *Perdiccas* led with him the power of the *Macedonians* his subiects, and such *Grecian* men of Armes as dwelt among them. *Brasidas* besides the *Peloponnesians* that were left him, led with him the *Chalcideans*, *Acanthians*, and the rest, according to the Forces they could feuerally make. The whole number of the *Grecian* men of Armes were about 3000. The horsemen, both *Macedonians*, and *Chalcideans*, somewhat lesse then 1000, but the other Rabble of *Barbarians* was great. Being entred the Territory of *Arrhibæus*, and finding the *Lyncestians* encamped in the field,

B they also sate downe opposite to their Campe. And the Foot of each side, being lodged vpon a hill, and a Plain lying betwixt them both, the horsemen ran downe into the same and a skirmish followed, first betweene the Horse onely of them both; but afterwards, the men of Armes of the *Lyncestians*, comming downe to aide their Horse from the hill, and offring battell first, *Brasidas* and *Perdiccas* drew downe their Army likewise, and charging put the *Lyncestians* to flight, many of which being slaine, the rest retired to the hill top, and lay still. After this, they erected a Trophy and stayed two or three dayes expecting the *Illyrians*,

C who were comming to *Perdiccas* vpon hire, and *Perdiccas* meant afterwards to haue gone on against the Villages of *Arrhibæus* one after another, and to haue sitten still there no longer. But *Brasidas*, hauing his thoughts on *Menda*, lest if the *Athenians* came thither before his returne, it should receiue some blow; seeing withall that the *Illyrians* came not, had no liking to doe so, but rather to retire. Whilest they thus varied, word was brought that the *Illyrians* had betrayed *Perdiccas*, & ioyned themselues with *Arrhibæus*. So

D that now it was thought good to retyre, by them both, for feare of these, who were a warlike people, but yet for the time when to march, there was nothing concluded by reason of their variance. The next night, the *Macedonians*, and multitude of *Barbarians* (as it is vsuall with great Armies to be terrified vpon causes vknownne) being suddenly affrighted and supposing them to be many more in number then they were, and euen now vpon them, betooke themselues to present flight, & went home. And *Perdiccas*, who at first knew not of it, they constrained when he knew, before he had

E spoken with *Brasidas*, (their Campes being farre asunder) to be gone also. *Brasidas* betimes in the morning, when hee

The *Lyncestians* flie.

Perdiccas expecteth mercenary aide out of *Illyria*.

The *Illyrians* come and turne to *Arrhibæus*.

The *Macedonians* vpon a sudden feare run away, and desert *Brasidas*.

Brasidas his retreat.

understood that the *Macedonians* were gone away without him, and that the *Illyrians*, and *Arrhibeans* were coming upon him, putting his men of Arms into a square forme, and receiving the multitude of his light-armed into the middlest, intended to retire likewise. The youngest men of his Souldiers, he appointed to run out upon the enemy, when they charged the Army any where with shot; and he himselfe with three hundred chosen men, marching in the Rere, intended, as he retired, to sustaine the foremost of the enemy fighting, if they came close up. But before the enemy approached, he encouraged his Souldiers, as the shortness of time gave him leave, with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Peloponnesus, If I did not mistrust, in respect you are thus abandoned by the Macedonians, and that the Barbarians which come upon you, are many, that you were afraid, I should not at this time instruct you, and encourage you as I doe. But now against this desertion of your companions, and the multitude of your enemies, I will endeavour with a short instruction and hortation, to give you encouragement to the full. For, to be good Souldiers, is unto you naturall, not by the presence of any Confederates, but by your owne valour; and not to feare others for the number, seeing you are not come from a Citie where the Many beare rule over the Few, but the Few over Many, and have gotten this for power by no other meanes then by overcoming in fight. And as these Barbarians, whom through ignorance you feare, you may take notice both by the former battels fought by us against them before, in favour of the Macedonians, and also by what I my selfe coniecture, and have heard by others, that they have no great danger in them. For when any enemy whatsoever maketh shew of strength, being indeed weak, the truth once knowne, doth rather serve to embolden the other side, whereas against such as have valour indeed, a man will be the boldest, when he knoweth the least. These men here, to such as have not tryed them, doe indeed make terrible offers; for the sight of their number, is fearefull; the greatnesse of their cry intolerable; and the

A vaine shaking of their weapons on high, is not without signification of menacing. But they are not answerable to this, when with such as stand them, they come to blowes. For fighting without order, they will quit their place without shame, if they be once pressed, and seeing it is with them, honourable alike to fight, or run away, their valours are neuer called in question. And a battell wherein euery one may doe as he list, affords them a more handsome excuse to saue themselves. But they trust rather in their standing out of danger, and terrifying vs a farre off, then in conning to hands with vs, for else they would rather haue taken that course then this. And you see manifestly, that all that was before terrible in them, is in effect little, and serues onely to urge you to be going, with their shew and noyse. Which if you sustaine at their first comming on, and againe withdraw your selues still, as you shall haue leasure, in your order and places, you shall not onely come the sooner to a place of safety, but shall learne also against hereafter, that such a Rabble as this, to men prepared to endure their first charge, doe but make a flourish of valour, with threats from a farre, before the battell; but to such as giue them ground, they are eageer enough to seeme couragious, where they may doe it safely.

C When *Brasidas* had made his exhortation, he led away his Army. And the *Barbarians* seeing it, pressed after them with great cryes and tumult, as supposing he fled. But seeing that those who were appointed to runne out vpon them, did so, and met them, which way soeuer they came on; and that *Brasidas* himselfe with his chosen band sustained them where they charged close, and endured the first brunt, beyond their expectation, and seeing also that afterwards continually when they charged, the other receiued them and fought, and when they ceased, the other retired, then at length the greatest part of the *Barbarians* forbore the *Grecians*, that with *Brasidas* were in the open field, and leauing a part to follow them with shot, the rest ranne with all speed after the *Macedonians* which were fled, of whom, as many as they ouertooke, they slew; and withall, præpossessed the passage, which is a narrow one betweene two hills, giuing entrance into the Countrey of *Arrhibæa*, knowing that there was no other passage, by which *Brasidas* could get away. And when he was come to the very strait, they were going about him,

E to haue cut him off. He, when he saw this, commanded the 300 that were with him, to runne euery man as fast

Brasidas draweth away his army, and the *Barbarians* follow him,

The *Illyrians* pursue the *Macedonians*, leauing part of their army to follow *Brasidas*.

Brasidas seazeth the top of the hill by which he was to passe.

as he could to one of the tops, which of them they could A
easiest get vp to, and try if they could driue downe those
Barbarians that were now going vp to the same, before any
greater number was about to hemme them in. These ac-
cordingly fought with, and ouercame those *Barbarians* vp-
on the hill, and thereby the rest of the Army marched the
more easily to the top. For this beating of them from the
vantage of the hill, made the *Barbarians* also afraid, so that
they followed them no further, conceiuing withall, that
they were now at the Confines, & already escaped through.
Brasidas, hauing now gotte the hills, & marching with more B
safely, came first the same day to *Amisæ*, of the dominion of
Perdiccas. And the Soldiers of these lues being angry with
the *Macedonians*, for leauing them behind, what soeuer teems
of Oxen, or fardles fallen from any man (as was likely to
happen in a retreat, made in feare, and in the night) they
lighted on by the way, the Oxen they cut in pieces, & took
the fardles to these lues. And from this time did *Perdiccas*
first esteeme *Brasidas* as his enemy, and afterwards hated the
Peloponnesians, not with ordinary hatred for the *Athenians*
sake, but being vicerly fallen out with him, about his own
particular interest, sought meanes as soone as he could, to
compound with these, & to be disleagued from the other. C

Brasidas at his retorne out of *Macedonia* to *Torone*, found
that the *Athenians* had already taken *Menda*, and therefore
staying there (for he thought it impossible to passe ouer in-
to *Pallene*, and to recouer *Menda*) he kept good watch vpon
Torone. For about the time that these things passed amongst
the *Lyncestians*, the *Athenians* after all was in readinesse, set
sayle for *Menda* and *Scione*, with 50 Gallies, whereof 10
were of *Chiu*, and 1000 men of Armes of their owne City,
600 Archers, 1000 *Thracian* Mercenaries, and other Tar- D
gettiers of their owne Confederates thereabouts, vnder the
conduct of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, and *Nicostratus* the son
of *Diotrephes*. These lanching from *Potidea* with their Gal-
lies, and putting in at the Temple of *Neptune*, marched pre-
sently against the *Mendeans*. The *Mendeans* with their own
forces, 300 of *Scione* that came to aide them, and the aydes
of the *Peloponnesians*, in all 700 men of Armes, and *Polyda-
midas* their Commander, were encamped vpon a strong hill
without the City. *Nicias* with 120 light-armed Souldiers E
of *Metbone*, and 60 chosen men of Armes of *Athens*, and all

his

The spight of *Brasidas*
Souldiers against the
Macedonians for abando-
ning them.

Perdiccas and *Brasidas* fall
out.

The *Mendeans* encampe
without the Citie.

A his Archers attempting to get up by a path that was in the hills side, was wounded in the attempt, and could not make his way by force. And *Nicostratus* with all the rest of the Army, going another way farther about, as he climbed the hill being hard of access, was quite disordered, and the whole Army wanted little of being utterly discomfited. So forthis day, seeing the *Mendeans* and their Confederates stood to it, the *Athenians* retired, and pitched their Campe. And at night the *Mendeans* retired into the City. The next day the *Athenians* lay lying about vnto that part of the City which is towards *Scione*, seized on the suburbs, and all that day wasted their fields, no man comming forth to oppose them; for there was also sedition in the Citie, and the 300 *Scioneans* the night following went home againe. The next day *Nicias* with the one halfe of the Army marched to the Confines, and wasted the Territory of the *Scioneans*; and *Nicostratus* at the same time with the other halfe, sate down against the City, before the higher Gates towards *Porideia*. *Polydamidas* (for it fell out that the *Mendeans*, & their aides had their Armes lying within the wall, in this part) set his men in order for the battell, and encouraged the *Mendeans* to make a sally. But when one of the faction of the Commons in sedition, said to the contrary, that they would not goe out, and that it was not necessary to fight, and was vpon this contradiction, by *Polydamidas* pulled and molested; the Commons in passion presently tooke vp their Armes, and made towards the *Peloponnesians*, and such other with them as were of the contrary faction, and falling vpon them, put the to flight, partly with the suddenesse of the charge, and partly through the feare they were in of the *Athenians*, to whom the Gates were at the same time opened. For they imagined that this insurrection was by some appointment made betweene them. So they fled into the Cittadell; as many as were not presently slaine, which was also in their owne hands before. But the *Athenians* (for now was *Nicias* also come backe, and at the Towne side) rushed into the City, with the whole Army, and rifled it, not as opened to them by agreement, but as taken by force. And the Captaines had much adoe to keepe them that they also killed not the men. After this, they bade the *Mendeans* use the same forme of government they had done before, and to giue iudgement vpon those they thought the principall

Nicias wounded.

Sedition in *Mende*.

The Gates opened to the *Athenians* vpon sedition.

Menda pillaged by the *Athenians*.

The Athenians lead their
army against Scione.

cipall authors of the reuolt, amongst themselves. Those A
that were in the Cittadell, they shut vp with a wall rea-
ching on both sides to the Sea, and left a guard to defend it;
and hauing thus gotten Menda, they led their Army against
Scione.

The Scioneans, and the Peloponnesians, coming out a-
gainst them, possessed themselves of a strong hill before the
Citie, which if the enemy did not winne, he should not be
able to enclose the City with a wall. The Athenians ha-
uing strongly charged them with shot, and beaten the de-
fendants from it, encamped vpon the hill, and after they B
had set vp their Trophy, prepared to build their wall a-
bout the Citie. Not long after, whilest the Athenians were
at worke about this, those aides that were besieged in the
Cittadell of Menda, forcing the watch by the Sea-side,
came by night, and escaping most of them through the
Campe before Scione, put themselves into that City.

Perdiccas maketh Peace
with the Athenians.

As they were enclosing of Scione, Perdiccas sent a He-
rald to the Athenian Commanders, and concluded a Peace
with the Athenians, vpon hatred to Brasidas, about the retreat
made out of Lynceus, hauing then immediately begun to C
treat of the same. For it happened also at this time that I/-
chagoras a Lacedemonian was leading an Army of foot, vnto
Brasidas. And Perdiccas partly because Nicias aduised him,
seeing the Peace was made, to giue some cleare token that
he would be firme, and partly because he himselfe desired
not that the Peloponnesians should come any more into
his Territories, wrought with his hostes in Thessaly, hauing
in that kind, euery vsed the prime men, and so stopped the
Army and Munition, as they would not so much as try the
Thesalians, whether they would let them passe or not. D
Neuerthelesse Ichagoras, and Ameinias, and Aristeu them-
selves went on to Brasidas, as sent by the Lacedemonians to
view the state of affaires there. And also tooke with them
from Sparta, contrary to the Law, such men as were but in
the beginning of their youth to make them gouernours of
Cities, rather then to commit the Cities to the care of such
as were there before. And Clearidas the sonne of Cleonymus,
they made gouernour of Amphipolis, and Epitelidas the sonne of
Hegeſander, gouernour of Torone.

The Lacedemonians make
young men gouernours
of Cities.

The walls of Theſpie de-
molished by the Thebans.

The same Summer, the Thebans demolished the walles E
of the Theſpians, laying Atticisme to their charge. And
though

A though they had euer meant to doe it, yet now it was easier, because the flower of their youth was slaine in the battell against the *Athenians*.

The Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos*, was also burnt downe the same Summer, by the negligence of *Chrysis* the Priest, who hauing set a burning Torch by the Garland, fell asleepe, inso much as all was on fire, and flamed out before shee knew. *Chrysis* the same night, for feare of the *Argiues*, fled presently to *Phlius*, and they according to the Law formerly vsed, chose another Priest in her roome, called *Phaeinis*. Now when *Chrysis* fled, was the eighth yeere of this Warre ended, and halfe of the ninth.

Sciione in the very end of this Summer was quite enclosed, and the *Athenians* hauing left a guard there, went home with the rest of their Army.

The Winter following, nothing was done betweene the *Athenians* and the *Lacedaemonians*, because of the Truce. But the *Mantineans*, and the *Tegeate*, with the Confederates of both, fought a battell at *Laodicea*, in the Territory of *Orestis*, wherein the victory was doubtfull, for either side put to flight one Wing of their enemies, both sides set vp Trophies, and both sides sent of their spoyles vnto *Delphi*. Neuerthelesse, after many slaine on either side, and equall battell, which ended by the comming of night, the *Tegeate* lodged all night in the place, and erected their Trophie then presently, whereas the *Mantineans* turned to *Bucolion*, and set vp their Trophie afterwards.

The same Winter ending, and the Spring now approaching, *Brasidas* made an attempt vpon *Potidea*; For coming by night, he applyed his Ladders, and was thitherto vndermined. He tooke the time to apply his Ladders, when the Bell passed by, and before he that carried it to the next, returned. Neuerthelesse, being discovered, he scaled not the Wall, but presently againe withdrew his Army with speed, not staying till it was day. So ended this Winter, and the ninth yeere of this Warre written by

THUCYDIDES.

* * *

The Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos* burnt by negligence of an old woman Priest.

Phaeinis, Priest of *Iuno*, in the place of *Chrysis*.

Siege laid to *Sciore*.
The end of the ninth Summer.

Battell betweene the *Mantineans* and the *Tegeate*.

Brasidas attempteth *Potidea*.

The end of the ninth yeere.



A



B

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

C

The former yeeres Truce ended, Cleon warreth on the Chalcidicke Cities, and recovereth Torone. Phæax is sent by the Athenians, to moue a Warre amongst the Sicilians. Cleon and Brasidas, who were on both sides the principall maintainers of the Warre, are both slaine at Amphipolis. Presently after their death, a Peace is concluded, and after that againe, a League betweene the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. Diuers of the Lacedæmonian Confederates hereat discontented, seeke the Confederacy of the Argiues. These make League, first with the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantineans, then with the Lacedæmonians; and then againe (by the artifice of Alcibiades) with the Athenians. After this the Argiues make Warre vpon the Epidaurians; and the Lacedæmonians vpon the Argiues. The Athenian Captaines and the Melians treat by way of Dialogue, touching the yeelding of Melos, which the Athenians afterwards besiege and winne. These are the Actes of almost sixe yeeres more of the same Warre.

D



THE Summer following, the Truce for a yeere, which was to last till the * *Pythian* Holidayes, expired. During this Truce, the Athenians remoued the *Delians* out of *Delos*; because though they were consecrated, yet for a certaine crime committed

E of old, they esteemed them polluted persons; because also they thought there wanted this part to make perfect the

P p

purgation

The Truce for a yeere expired:

* *Exercises dedicated to Apollo, and celebrated at Delphi, about the 12 of the month Elaphobolium, as may be gathered by the beginning of the Truce on that day.*

The *Delians* remoued out of *Delos*, vpon superstition.

* Lib. 3, pag. 101.

The *Delians* seat themselves in *Adramyttium*.

Cleon goeth out with an army, into the parts vpon *Thrace*.

He assaulteth *Torone*.

* Into the Haven of *Torone*.

Pasitolidas with the Garrison of the Towne, endeavoureth to defend it.

Cleon taketh *Torone*.

Pasitolidas, a *Lacedemonian* Captaine, taken aliue.

purgation of the Island; in the purging whereof, as I declared * before, they thought they did well to take vp the sepulchres of the dead. These *Delians* seated themselves afterwards, euery one as he came, in *Adramyttium* in *Asia*, a Towne giuen vnto them by *Pharnaces*.

After the Truce was expired, *Cleon* preuailed with the *Athenians*, to be sent out with a Fleet against the Cities, lying vpon *Thrace*; He had with him of *Athenians*, 1200 men of Armes, and 300 horsemen; Of Confederates more, and thirty Gallies. And first arriuing at *Scione*, which was yet besieged, he tooke aboard some men of Armes, of those that kept the siege, and sayled into the Haven of the *Colophonians*, not farre distant from the Citie of *Torone*. And there hauing heard by fugitiues, that *Brasidas* was not in *Torone*, nor those within sufficient to giue him battell, hee marched with his Army to the City, and sent ten of his Gallies about into the * Haven. And first he came to the New-wall, which *Brasidas* had raised about the Citie to take in the Suburbs, making a breach in the Old-wall, that the whole might be one Citie. And *Pasitolidas*, a *Lacedemonian*, Captaine of the Towne, with the Garrison there present, came to the defence, & fought with the *Athenians* that assaulted it. But being oppressed, (and the Gallies which were before sent about, being by this time come into the Haven) *Pasitolidas* was afraid, lest those Gallies should take the Towne, vnfurnished of defendants, before he could get backe, and that the *Athenians* on the other side should winne the wall, and he be intercepted betweene them both; and thereupon abandoned the wall, and ran backe into the Citie. But the *Athenians* that were in the Gallies, hauing taken the towne before he came, and the Land-army following in after him, without resistance, and entering the City by the breach of the Old-wall, slew some of the *Peloponnesians*, and *Toroneans* on the place, and some others, amongst whom was the Captaine *Pasitolidas*, they tooke aliue. *Brasidas* was now comming with aide towards *Torone*, but aduertised by the way, that it was already lost, went backe againe, being about forty Furlongs short of preuenting it. *Cleon* and the *Athenians* erected two Trophies, one at the Haven, another at the Wall.

The Women and Children of the *Toroneans*, they made Slaues, but the men of *Torone*, and the *Peloponnesians*, and such

A such *Chalcideans* as were amongst them, in all, about 700; they sent away prisoners to *Athens*. The *Peloponnesians* were afterward, at the making of the Peace, dismissed; the rest were redeemed, by the *Olynthians* by exchange of man for man.

About the same time the *Bacotians* tooke *Panaetum*, a Fort of the *Athenians*, standing in their Confines, by treason.

Cleon, after he had settled the Garrison in *Torone*, went thence by Sea about the mountaine *Athos*, to make Warre against *Amphipolis*.

B About the same time *Phæax* the sonne of *Erasistratus*, who with two others was sent Ambassador into *Italy*, and *Sicily*, departed from *Athens* with two Gallies. For the *Leontines*, after the *Athenians*, vpon the making of the Peace, were gone out of *Sicily*, receiued many strangers into the freedom of their City, and the *Commons* had a purpose also to haue made diuision of the Land. But the great men perceiuing it, called in the *Syracusians*, and draue the *Commons* out. And they wandred vp and down euery one as he chanced, & the great men, vpon conditions agreed on with the *Syracusians*, a-

C bandoning and deserting that city, went to dwell with the priuiledge of free Citizens in *Syracusa*. After this againe, some of them, vpon dislike, relinquished *Syracusa*, and seized on *Phocaæa* a certaine place, part of the City of the *Leontines*, and vpon *Bricinnia*, a Castle in the *Leontine* Territory; thither also came vnto them most of the *Commons*, that had before been driuen out, and settling themselues, made Warre froin those places of strength. Vpon intelligence hereof, the *Athenians* sent *Phæax* thither, to perswade their Confederates there, and, if they could, all the *Sicilians* ioyntly,

D to make Warre vpon the *Syracusians* that were now beginning to grow great, to try if they might thereby preferue the common people of the *Leontines*. *Phæax* arriuing, preuailed with the *Camarinians*, and *Agrigentines*: but the businesse finding a stop at *Gelas*, hee went vnto no more, as conceiuing he should not be able to perswade the. So he returned through the cities of the *Siculi* vnto *Catana*, hauing been at *Bricinnia*, by the way, and there encouraged them to hold out, and from *Catana* he set saile, and departed. In his voyage to *Sicily*, both going and comming, hee

E dealt as hee went by, with sundry Cities also of *Italy*, to enter into friendship with the *Athenians*.

Seuen hundred men sent prisoners to *Athens*.

Panaetum taken by the *Bacotians*.

Cleon goeth to *Amphipolis*.

Phæax sent Ambassador to the *Sicilians*.

The *Leontine* Commons driuen out of the City by the *Syracusians*.

The *Leontine* Nobility become *Syracusians*, and goe to *Syracusa* to dwell.

The *Leontines* make War on the *Syracusians*.

Phæax moueth the *Sicilians* to Warre vpon the *Syracusians*.

The *Gelans* stop the motion made by *Phæax*.

He also lighted on those *Locrians*, which having dwelt **A** once in *Messina*, were afterwards driuen out againe; being the same men, which after the Peace in *Sicily*, vpon a sedition in *Messina*, wherein one of the factious called in the *Locrians*, had been then sent to inhabite there, and now were sent away againe. For the *Locrians* held *Messina* for a while: *Pericles* therefore chancing to meet with these, as they were going to their owne City, did them no hurt, because the *Locrians* had been in speech with him about an agreement with the *Athenians*. For when the *Sicilians* made a generall Peace, these onely of all the Confederates, refused **B** to make any Peace at all with the *Athenians*. Nor indeed would they haue done in now; but that they were constrained thereto by the Warre they had with the *Ionians*; and *Melians* their owne Colonies and borders. And *Pharax*, after this, returned to *Athens*. *Cleon*, who was now gone from *Thrace* and come about to *Amphipolis*, making *Eion* the seat of the Warre; assaulted the Citie of *Brasidas*, a Colony of the *Amphians*; but could not take it; But *Gampselus*, a Colony of the *Thracians*, hee tooke by assault. And hauing sent Ambassadors to *Pericles*, to will him to come to him with his forces; according to the League; and other Ambassadors into *Thrace* vnto *Polis*, King of the *Odomyrians*, to take vp as many mercenary *Thracians*, as he could, he lay still in *Eion*, to expect their coming. *Brasidas* vpon notice hereof, fate downe ouer against him at *Cerdylum*. This is a place belonging to the *Argilians*; standing high, and beyond the Riuer; not farre from *Amphipolis*, and from whence hee might discerne all that was about him. So that *Cleon* could not but be seene; if he should rise with his Army to goe **D** against *Amphipolis*; which he expected he would doe; and that in contempt of his small number; he would goe vp with the Forces he had then present. Withall he furnished himselfe with 1500 mercenary *Thracians*, and tooke vnto him all his *Edonians*, both horsemen; and Targettiers. He had also of *Myrcinians*; and *Chalcideans*, 1000 Targettiers, besides them in *Amphipolis*. But for men of Armes, his whole number was at the most 1000; and of *Grecian* horsemen 300. With 1500 of these, came *Brasidas*, and fate down at *Cerdylum*, the rest stood ready ordered with *Cleavidas* their Captaine, within *Amphipolis*. *Cleon* for a while lay **E** still,

Pericles maketh Peace with the *Locrians*.

Cleon maketh Warre on *Amphipolis*.

* *Stagirus* the Citie where *Aristotle* was borne.
Gampselus taken by *Cleon*.

Brasidas setteth downe ouer against *Cleon*, at *Cerdylum*.

The Forces of *Brasidas*.

A still, but was afterwards forced to doe as was expected by *Brasidas*. For the Souldiers being angry with their stay there, and recounting with themselves, what a command his would be, and with what ignorance, and cowardize, against what skill and boldnesse of the other, and how they came forth with him against their wils; he perceiued their muttering, and being unwilling to offend them with so long a stay in one place, dislodged, and led them forward. And he tooke the same course there, which hauing succeeded well before at *Pyhus*, gaue him cause to thinke himselfe to haue some iudgement. For he thought not that any body would come forth to giue him battell, and gaue out, he went vp principally to see the place. And stayed for greater forces, not to secure him in case he should be compelled to fight, but that he might therewith enuiron the Citie on all sides at once, and in that manner take it by force. So he went vp, and set his Army down on a strong hill before *Amphipolis*, standing himselfe to view the Fens of the river *Stramon*, and the situation of the Citie towards *Thrace*; and thought he could haue retired againe at his pleasure without battell. For neither did any man appeare vpon the walls, nor come out of the Gates which were all fast shut; insomuch as he thought he had committed an errour, in coming without Engines, because he thought he might by such meanes haue wonne the Citie, as being without defendants. *Brasidas*, as soone as he saw the *Athenians* remoue, came downe also from *Cerazylum*, and put himselfe into *Amphipolis*. He would not suffer them to make any sally, nor to face the *Athenians* in order of battell, mistrusting his owne Forces, which he thought inferiour, not in number (for they were in a manner equall) but in worth (for such *Athenians* as were there, were pure, and the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians*, which were amongst them, were of the very ablest;) but prepared to set vpon them by a wile. For if he should haue shewed to the enemy, both his number, and their Armour, such as for the present they were forced to vse, he thought that thereby he should not so soone get the victory, as by keeping them out of sight, and out of their contempt, till the very point. Wherefore chusing to himselfe 150 men of Armes, and committing the charge of the rest to *Cleavidas*, he resolved to set suddenly vpon them before they should retire;

Cleav goeth vp to *Amphipolis* against his owne minde.

Cleav, not expecting a sally, vieweth the situation of the Towne.

Brasidas putteth himselfe into *Amphipolis*.

A stratagem of *Brasidas*.

retire; as not expecting to take them so alone another A
time, if their succours chanced to arrive. And when he
had called his Souldiers together, to encourage them, and
to make knowne vnto them his designe, he said as fol-
loweth.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Peloponnesus, as for your Country, how by va-
lour it hath euer retained her liberty; and that being Dori- B
ans, you are now to fight against Ionians, of whom you were
euer wont to get the victory, let it suffice that I haue touched it thus
briefly. But in what manner I intend to charge, that, I am now to
enforme you of; lest the venturing by few at once, and not altogether,
should seeme to proceed from weaknesse, and so dishearten you. I doe
coniecture that it was in contempt of vs, and as not expecting to bee
fought withall, that the enemy both came vp to this place, and that they
haue now betaken themselves carelesly, and out of order to view
the Country. But he that best obseruing such errorrs in his ene-
mies, shall also, to his strength, giue the onset, not alwayes openly, and C
in ranged battell, but as is best for his present aduantage, shall for the
most part attaine his purpose. And these wiles carry with them the
greatest glory of all, by which deceiuing most the enemy, a man doth
most benefit his friends. Therefore whilest they are secure without
preparation, and intend, for ought I see, to steale away, rather then to
stay, I say, in this their loosnesse of resolution, and before they put their
minds in order, I for my part, with those I haue chosen, will, if I can, be-
fore they get away fall in vpon the midst of their Army, running.
And you Clearidas, afterwards, as soone as you shall see me to haue
charged, and (as it is probable) to haue put them into affright, take those D
that are with you, both Amphipolitans, and all the rest of the
Confederates, and setting open the Gates, runne out vpon them, and
with all possible speed, come vp to stroke of hand (for there is great
hope this way to terrifie them, seeing they which come after, are euer of
more terrour to the enemy, then those that are already present, and in
fight.) And be valiant, as is likely you should that are a Spartan;
and you Confederates, follow manfully, and beleue that the parts of a
good Souldier, are willingnesse, sense of shame, and obedience to his
Leaders; and that this day you shall either gaine your selues liberty E
by your valour, and to be called Confederates of the Lacedæmonia-
ans, or else not onely to serue the Athenians your selues, and at the
best

A best if you be not led Captives, nor put to death, to be in greater servitude then before, but also to be the hinderers of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. But be not you cowards, seeing how great a matter is at stake: and I for my part will make it appeare, that I am not more ready to perswade another, then to put my selfe into action.

When *Brasidas* had thus said, he both prepared to goe out himselfe, and also placed the rest that were with *Cle-
ridas* before the Gates, called the *Thracian Gates*, to issue forth afterwards as was appointed. Now *Brasidas* hauing
B been in sight, when he came downe from *Cerdylum*, and againe when he sacrificed in the City, by the Temple of *Pallas*, which place might be seene from without, it was told *Cleon*, whilst *Brasidas* was ordering of his men, (for he was at this time gone off a little to looke about him) that the whole Army of the enemies was plainly to be discerned within the Towne, and that the feet of many men, and horses, ready to come forth, might be discerned from vnder the Gate. Hearing this, he came to the place, and when he saw it was true, being not minded to fight, vntill
C his aides arriued, and yet making no other account, but that his retreat would be discouered, he commanded at once to giue the signall of retreat, and that, as they went, the left Wing should march formost, which was the only meanes they had to withdraw towards *Eion*. But when he thought they were long about it, causing the right Wing to wheel about, and lay open their disarmed parts to the enemy, hee led away the Army himselfe. *Brasidas* at the same time, hauing spied his opportunity, and that the Army of the *Athenians* remoued, said to those about him, and the rest,
D These men stay not for vs; it is apparant by the wagging of their Speares, and of their heads. For where such motion is, they vse not stay for the charge of the enemy: Therefore open me some body the Gates appointed, and let vs boldly and speedily sally forth vpon them. Then hee went out himselfe at the Gate towards the Trench, and which was the first Gate of the Long-wall, which then was standing, and at high speed tooke the straight way, in which, as one passeth by the strongest part of the Towne, there standeth now a Trophy. And charging vpon the midst of the *Athenian Army*,
E which was terrified both with their owne disarray, and the valour of the man forced them to flie. And *Cle-
ridas*,

Brasidas prepareth to assault the army of the *Athenians*.

Cleon is admonished of a sally towards:

And leadeth his army backe.

Brasidas taketh this opportunity for this sally.

(as

*Brasidas is wounded and
killed.*

Cleon lieth, and is slaine.

*Brasidas his army getteth
the victory.*

*Brasidas liueth onely so
long as to know he had
the victory.*

*The honour done to
Brasidas after his death.*

** Killed sacrifices vnto him.*

** Or semed.*

** Whom was their true
Founder.*

(as was appointed) hauing issued out, by the *Thracian* A
Gates, was withall comming vpon them. And it fell
out that the *Athenians* by this vnexpected and sudden at-
tempt, were on both sides in confusion; and the left wing
which was next to *Eion*, and which indeed was marching
away before, was immediately broken off, from the rest
of the Army, and fled. When that was gone, *Brasidas*
comming vp to the right wing, was there wounded. The
Athenians saw not when he fell, and they that were neere,
tooke him vp, and carried him off. The right wing stood
longer to it; and though *Cleon* himselfe presently fled, (as B
at first he intended not to stay) and was intercepted by a
Myrcinian Targettier, and slaine, yet his men of Armes
casting themselues into a circle, on the top of a little hill,
twice or thrice resisted the charge of *Clearidas*, and shrunke
not at all, till begirt with the *Myrcinian* and (*Chalcidean*
horse, and with the Targettiers, they were put to flight
by their Darts. Thus the whole Army of the *Atheni-*
ans, getting away with much adoe ouer the hills, and by
seuerall wayes: all that were not slaine vpon the place, or
by the *Chalcidean* horse, and Targettiers, recouered *Eion*. C
The other side taking vp *Brasidas* out of the battell, and
hauing so long kept him aliuie, brought him yet breathing
into the City. And he knew that his side had gotten the
victory; but expired shortly after. When *Clearidas* with
the rest of the Army, were returned from pursute of the
enemy, they rifled those that were slaine, and erected a
Trophie.

After this the Confederates following the Corpses of
Brasidas, all of them in their Armes, buried him in the City
at the publike charge, in the entrance of that which is D
now the Market place. And the *Amphipolitans* afterwards
hauing taken in his Monument with a wall, * killed vnto
him, as to a * Heroe, honoured him with Games and an-
niuersary sacrifice, and attributed their Colony vnto him,
as to the Founder; pulling downe the Edifices of * *Ag-*
non, and defacing whatsoeuer Monument might main-
taine the memory of his foundation. This they did both
for that they esteemed *Brasidas* for their preseruer, and also
because at this time, through feare of the *Athenians*, they
courted the *Lacedæmonians* for a League. As for *Agnon*, E
because of their hostility with the *Athenians*, they thought
it

A it neither expedient for them to giue him honours, nor that they would be acceptable vnto him if they did. The dead bodies they rendred to the *Athenians*; of whom there were slaine about 400, and but seuen of the other side, by reason, that it was no set battell, but fought vpon such an occasion and precedent affright. After the dead were taken vp, the *Athenians* went home by Sea, and *Clearidas*, and those with him, stayed to settle the estate of *Amphipolis*.

About the same time of the Summer now ending, *Ramphias*, *Anocharidas*, and *Epicydidas*, *Lacedemonians*, were leading a supply towards the parts vpon *Thrace*, of 500 men of Armes, and when they were come to *Heraclea*, in *Trachinia* they stayed there, to amend such things as they thought amisse; Whilst they stayed, this battell was fought. And the Summer ended.

The next Winter they that were with *Ramphias*, went presently forward, as farre as the hill *Pierium* in *Thessaly*. But the *Thessalians* forbidding them to goe on, and *Brasidas* to whom they were carrying this Army being dead, they returned homewards; conceiuing that the opportunity **C** now serued not, both because the *Athenians* were vpon this ouerthrow gone away, and for that they themselues were vnable to performe any of those designs; which the other had intended. But the principall cause of their returne was this, that they knew at their comming forth, that the *Lacedemonians* had their mindes, more set vpon a Peace, then Warre.

Presently after the battell of *Amphipolis*; and returne of *Ramphias* out of *Thessaly*, it fell out, that neither side did any act of Warre, but were inclined rather to a Peace; **D** the *Athenians* for the blow they had receiued at *Delium*, and this other, a little after, at *Amphipolis*; and because they had no longer that confident hope in their strength, on which they relyed, when formerly they refused the Peace, as hauing conceiued vpon their present successe, that they should haue had the vpper hand.

Also they stood in feare, of their owne Confederates, lest emboldned by these losses of theirs; they should more and more reuolt, and repented that they made not the Peace after their happy successe at *Pylus*, when occasion **E** was offered to haue done it honourably. And the *Lacedemonians* on the other side did desire Peace, because

Supplies going to *Brasidas*, stay by the way at *Heraclea*.

The end of the tenth Summer. The supplies going to *Brasidas*, hearing of his death, returne to *Lacedemon*.

The *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians* incline to Peace.

The causes why the *Athenians* desired Peace.

The causes why the *Lacedemonians* desired peace.

because the Warre had not proceeded as they expected: for they had thought they should in a few yeeres haue warred downe the power of *Athens*, by waisting their Territory; and because they were false into that calamity in the Island, the like whereof had neuer happened vnto *Sparta* before: because also their Countrey was continually rauaged by those of *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and their *Helotes* continually fled to the Enemy; and because they feared lest those which remained, trusting in them that were runne away, should in this estate of theirs, raise some innouation, as at other times before they had done. Withall it hapned, that the 30. yeeres peace with the *Argiues* was now vpon the point of expiring, and the *Argiues** would not renue it, without restitution made them of *Cynuria*; so that to warre against the *Argiues* and the *Athenians* both at once, seemed impossible. They suspected also, that some of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* would reuolt to the *Argiues*, as indeed it came afterwards to passe. These things considered, it was by both parts thought good to conclude a Peace; but especially by the *Lacedemonians*, for the desire they had to recouer their men taken in the Island; for the *Spartans* that were amongst them, were both of the prime men of the City, and their kinsmen. And therefore they began to treat, presently after they were taken.

But the *Athenians*, by reason of their prosperity, would not lay downe the War at that time on equall termes. But after their defeat at *Delium*, the *Lacedemonians* knowing they would be apter now to accept it, made that Truce for a yeere, during which they were to meet, and consult about a longer time. But when also this other ouerthrow happened to the *Athenians* at *Amphipolis*, and that both *Cleon* and *Brasidas* were slaine (the which on either side were most opposite to the Peace; the one, for that hee had good success and honour in the Warre; the other, because in quiet times his euill actions would more appeare, and his calumniations bee the lesse beleueed) those two that in the two States aspired most to bee chiefe, *Pleistanax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, and *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, who in Military charges had bene the most fortunate of his time, did most of all other desire to haue the Peace goe forward; *Nicias*, because he was desirous, hauing hitherto neuer bene ouerthrowne, to carry his

* *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* were sent to *Argos* to renue the Peace; but the *Argiues* holding the *Lacedemonians* to be no dangerous Enemies without the *Athenians*, refused it.

Cleon and *Brasidas* opposers of the Peace for secular ends.

Pleistanax and *Nicias* persuaders to Peace.

Nicias his ends in seeking Peace.

A his good fortune through, and to giue both himselfe, and the Citie rest from their troubles for the present; and for the future to leaue a name, that in all his time hee had neuer made the Common-wealth miscarry: which hee thought might be done by standing out of danger, and by putting himselfe as little as hee might into the hands of Fortune: And to stand out of danger is the benefit of Peace. *Pleistoanax* had the same desire, because of the imputation laid vpon him, about his returne from exile, by his enemies, that suggested vnto the *Lacedæmonians* vpon
 B euery losse they receiued, that the same befell them, for hauing contrary to the Law repealed his banishment. For they charged him further, that hee and his Brother *Aristocles*, had suborned the Prophetesse of *Delphi*, to answer the * Deputies of the *Lacedæmonians* when they came thither, most commonly with this, *That they should bring backe the seed of the * Semigol, the sonne of Iupiter, out of a strange Countrey into his owne: and that if they did not, they should plow their land with a silver plough:* and so at length to haue made the *Lacedæmonians*, 19. yeeres after, with such Dances and Sa-
 C crifices as they who were the first founders of *Lacedæmon* had ordained to be vsed, at the enthroning of their Kings, to fetch him home againe, who liued in the meane time in exile in the Mountaine *Lyceum*, in a House whereof the one halfe was part of the Temple of *Iupiter*, for feare of the *Lacedæmonians*, as being suspected to haue taken a bribe to withdraw his Armie out of *Attica*.

Being troubled with these imputations, and considering with himselfe, there being no occasion of calamity in time of Peace, and the *Lacedæmonians* thereby recouering their
 D men; that he also should cease to bee obnoxious to the calumniation of his enemies; whereas in Warre, such as had charge, could not but bee quarrelled vpon their losses; hee was therefore forward to haue the Peace concluded.

And this Winter they fell to treaty, and withall the *Lacedæmonians* braued them with a preparation already making against the Spring, sending to the Cities about for that purpose, as if they meant to fortifie in *Attica*, to the end that the *Athenians* might giue them the better eare. When after many meetings, and many demands,
 E on eyther side, it was at last agreed, that Peace should

The reason why *Pleistoanax* desired the peace.

* *Sages.* Ambassadors to the Oracle: so called.

* *Hercules*, from whom *Pleistoanax* was descended.

Pleistoanax banished for withdrawing his Army out of *Attica*.

The *Lacedæmonians* desiring the peace, make shew of Warre.

Peace concluded.

The Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megareans, to be comprehended.

THE ARTICLES OF THE PEACE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS, AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

* Ambassadors about matters of Religion.

be concluded, each part rendring what they had taken in the Warre, saue that the Athenians should hold Nisea, (for when they likewise demanded Platea, and the Thebans answered that it was neither taken by force, nor by treason, but rendred voluntarily, the Athenians said that they also had Nisea in the same manner.) The Lacedæmonians calling together their Confederates, and all but the Boeotians, (Corinthians, Eleans, and Megareans, (for these disliked it) giuing their votes for the ending of the Warre, they concluded the Peace, and confirmed it to the Athenians with sacrifice, and swore it, and the Athenians againe vnto them, vpon these Articles.

The Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, haue made Peace, and sworne it, Citie by Citie, as followeth :

Touching the publike Temples, it shall bee lawfull to whomsoever Will, to sacrifice in them, and to haue acceffe vnto them, and to aske counsell of the Oracles in the same, and to send their * Deputies vnto them, according to the custome of his Countrey, securely both by Sea and Land.

The whole place, consecrate, and Temple of Apollo, in Delphi, C and Delphi it selfe, shall be gouerned by their owne Law, taxed by their owne State, and indged by their owne Iudges, both City and Territory, according to the institution of the place.

The Peace shall endure betweene the Athenians, with their Confederates, and the Lacedæmonians with their Confederates, for fiftie yeeres, both by Sea and Land, without fraud, and without harme-doing.

It shall not be lawfull to beare Armes, with intention of hurt, neither for the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, against the Athenians, nor for the Athenians and their Confederates, against the Lacedæmonians, by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

If any Controuersie shall arise betweene them, the same shall be decided dy Law, and by Oath, in such manner as they shall agree on.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall render Amphipolis to the Athenians.

The Inhabitants, of whatsoever City the Lacedæmonians shall render vnto the Athenians, shall be at liberty, to goe forth whither they will, with bagge and baggage.

Those Cities which paid the tribute, taxed in the * time of Ari- E sides, continuing to pay it, shall be gouerned by their owne Lawes, and

* Which was the first time that the Athenians began to command the rest of Greece for when in the end of the Median Warre, the Lacedæmonians left that command the Athenians undertooke it, and taxed the several Cities with tribute towards the Warre. The war ended, the tribute ended not.

A and now that the Peace is concluded, it shall be unlawfull for the Athenians, or their Confederates, to beare Armes against them, or to doe them any hurt, as long as they shall pay the said tribute. The Cities are these, Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus. And they shall be Confederates of neither side, neither of the Lacedæmonians, nor of the Athenians. But if the Athenians can perswade these Cities vnto it, then it shall bee lawfull for the Athenians to haue them for Confederates, hauing gotten their consent.

The Mecybernians, Sanæans, and Singæans, shall inhabite
B their owne Cities, on the same conditions, with the Olynthians and Acanthians.

The Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, shall render Panactum vnto the Athenians. And the Athenians shall render to the Lacedæmonians, * Coryphasium, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalante.

* The promontory wherein Pylus stood, put here for Pylus.

They shall likewise deliuer whatsoeuer Lacedæmonians are in the prison of Athens, or in any prison of what place soeuer, in the Athenian dominion; and dismisse all the Peloponnesians, besieged in Scione, and all that Brasidas did there put in, and whatsoeuer Confederates of the Lacedæmonians are in prison, either at Athens, or in the Athenian State. And the Lacedæmonians
C and their Confederates, shall deliuer whomsoeuer they haue in their hands of the Athenians, or their Confederates, in the same manner.

Touching the Scioneans, Toronæans, and Sermyliaus, and whatsoeuer other Citie belonging to the Athenians, the Athenians shall doe with them, what they thinke fit.

The Athenians shall take an Oath to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, Citie by Citie; and that Oath shall be the greatest that in each Citie is in vse; The thing that they shall sweare, shall be this. I stand to these Articles, and to this Peace, truly and sincerely. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall take the same Oath to the Athenians. This oath they shall on both sides euery yeere renew, and shall erect Pillars, [inscribed with this Peace] at Olympia, * Pythia, and in the Isthmus; at Athens, within the Cittadell; and at Lacedæmon, in the * Amycleum.

* By Delphi where the Pythian games were kept.

* Amycleum, a Temple of Apollo.

And if any thing be on either side forgotten, or shall be thought fit vpon good deliberation to be changed; it shall be lawfull for them to doe it, * in such manner as the Lacedæmonians, and Athenians shall thinke fit, ioyntly.

* This Article displeased the Confederates of Lacedæmon, because the Articles might by this be changed wthout them.

This

* February.

This Peace shall take beginning from the 24 of the moneth Artemisium, Pleistolas being Ephore, at Sparta, and the 15 of * Elaphebolium, after the account of Athens, Alcæus, being Archon.

They that tooke the Oath, and sacrificed, were these; of the Lacedæmonians, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ischagoras, Philocaridas, Zeuxidas, Antiphippus, Tellis, Alcénidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians these, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthidemus, Procles, Pythadorus, Agnon, Myrtillus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocœtes, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes

* It appears here that the Moneth Elaphebolion among the Athenians was the last Moneth of their winter quarter.

The time way of accounting the yeeres of this Warre.

The Lacedæmonians begin to performe the Articles, & presently deliuer their prisoners.

The Amphipolitans refuse to render themselues vnder the Athenians.

This Peace was made in the very * end of Winter, and the Spring then beginning, presently after the Citie Banchanal, and full tenne yeeres, and some few dayes ouer, after the first inuasion of Attica, and the beginning of this Warre. But now for the certainty hereof, let a man consider the times themselues, and not trust to the account of the names of such as in the seuerall places bare chiefe offices, or for some honour to themselues, had their names ascribed, for markes to the actions foregoing. For it is not exactly knowne who was in the beginning of his office, or who in the midst, or how he was, when any thing fell out. But if one reckon the same by Summers and Winters, according as they are written, hee shall finde by the two halfe yeeres, which make the whole, that this first Warre was of tenne Summers, and as many Winters continuance.

The Lacedæmonians (for it fell vnto them by lot to begin the restitution) both dismissed presently those Prisoners they had then in their hands, and also sent Ambassadors, Ischagoras, Menas, and Philocaridas into the parts vpon Thrace, with command to Clearidas to deliuer vp Amphipolis to the Athenians, & requiring the rest of their Confederates there to accept of the Peace in such manner as was for euery of them accorded. But they would not doe it, because they thought it was not for their aduantage. And Clearidas also, to gratifie the Chalcideans, surrendred not the City, alledging that hee could not doe it whether they would or not. And comming away soone after with those Ambassadors to Lacedæmon, both to purge himselfe, if he should

bee

A bee accused by those with *Ischageras*, for disobeying the States command, and also to try if the Peace might by any meanes be shaken : when he found it firme, hee himselve beeing sent backe by the *Lacedæmonians*, with command principally to surrender the place, and if he could not doe that, then to draw thence all the *Peloponnesians* that were in it, immediately tooke his journey. But the Confederates chanced to bee present themselves in *Lacedæmon*, and the *Lacedæmonians* required such of them as formerly refused, that they would accept the Peace. but they, vpon the same pretence on which they had reiected it before, said, B That vnlesse it were more reasonable, they would not accept it. And the *Lacedæmonians* seeing they refused, dismissed them, and by themselves entred with the *Athenians* into a League; because they imagined that the *Argives* would not renew their Peace (because they had refused it before, when *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* went to *Argos*,) and held them for no dangerous Enemies without the *Athenians* : and also conceiued, that by this meanes the rest of *Peloponnesus* would not stirre; for if they could, they would turne to the *Athenians*. Wherefore the Ambassadors of *Athens* being then present, and conference had, they agreed, and the Oath and League was concluded on, in the termes following.

Claridas endeauoureth to dissolue the Peace.

The *Lacedæmonians* make league with the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* shall be Confederates with the *Athenians* for fiftie yeeres.

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BETWEENE THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND THE ATHENIANS.

If any enemy inuade the territory of the *Lacedæmonians*, and doe the *Lacedæmonians* any harme, the *Athenians* shall ayde the *Lacedæmonians* against them in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the Enemy, after he hath spoiled the Countrey, shall be gone away, then that Citie shall be held as enemy both to the *Lacedæmonians* and to the *Athenians*, and shall be warred vpon by them both; and both Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre ioyntly. And this to be done iustly, readily, and sincerely.

And if any enemy shall inuade the Territories of the *Athenians*, and doe the *Athenians* any harme, then the *Lacedæmonians* shall ayde the *Athenians* against them, in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the enemy, after hee hath spoiled the Countrey, shall bee gone away, then shall that Citie be held for enemy both to the *Lacedæmonians* and to the *Athenians*, and shall bee warred vpon by both; and both the Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre together.

together. And this to bee done iustly, readily, and sincerely.

A

If their slaues shall rebell, the Athenians shall assise the Lacedæmonians with all their strength possible:

These things shall be sworne vnto by the same men on eyther side that swore the peace, and shall be euery yeere renewed by the Lacedæmonians at their comming to the *Bacchanals at Athens; and by the Athenians at their going to the Hyacinthian Feast at Lacedæmon; and either side shall erect a Pillar [inscribed with this League] one at Lacedæmon, neere vnto Apollo in the Amyleum, another at Athens, neere Minerua in the Citadell.

If it shall seeme good to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians to adde or take away anything touching the League, it shall be lawfull for them to doe it ioyntly.

Of the Lacedæmonians tooke the Oath, these, Pleistoanax, Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antheippus, Alcinaas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians, Lampon, Istmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus and Demosthenes.

C

The Athenians deliuer the prisoners taken at Pylos.

This League was made not long after the Peace. And the Athenians deliuered to the Lacedæmonians the men they had taken in the Iland; and by this time began the Summer of the eleuenth yeere. And hitherto hath beene written these tenne yeeres which this first Warre continued, without intermission.

THE ELEVENTH YEERE.

After the Peace and League made betweene the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, after the tenne yeeres Warre, Pleistolas being Ephore at Lacedæmon, and Alcibiades Archon of Athens; though there were Peace to those that had accepted it; yet the Corinthians and some Cities of Peloponnesus, endeououred to ouerthrow what was done, and presently arose another stirre, by the Confederates, against Lacedæmon. And the Lacedæmonians also after a while became suspect vnto the Athenians, for not performing somewhat agreed on in the Articles. And for sixe yeeres and tenne moneths, they abstayned from entring into each others Territories with their Armes: but the Peace being but weake, they did each other abroad what harme they could; and in the end, were forced to dissolue the Peace, made

D

The Lacedæmonians slacke in performance of the Articles of the Peace.

E

A made after those ten yeeres, and fell againe into open War. This also hath the same *Thucydides* of *Athens*, written from point to point, by Summers and Winters, as euery thing came to passe, vntill such time as the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, had made an end of the *Athenian* domination, and had taken their *Long-walls*, and *Peiræus*. To which time from the beginning of the War, it is in all 27 yeeres.

From the beginning to this end of the Warre 27 yeeres.

As for the composition betweene, if any man shall thinke it not to be accounted with the War, he shal think amisse. For let him look into the actions that passed as they are distinctly set down, and he shall find, that, that deserueth not to be taken for a Peace, in which they neither rendred all, nor accepted all, according to the Articles. Besides, in the *Mantinean* and *Epidaurian* wars, and in other actions, it was on both sides infringed. Moreouer, the Confederates on the borders of *Thrace* continued in hostility as before; and the *Bæotians* had but a truce from one ten dayes to another. So that with the first ten yeeres war, and with this doubtfull cessation, & the war that followed after it, a man shal find, counting by the times, that it came to iust so many yeeres,

The time of this Peace, not to be esteemed Peace.

C and some few dayes; & that those who built vpon the prediction of the Oracles, haue this number onely to agree. And I remember yet, that from the very beginning of this War, and so on, till the end, it was vttered by many, that it should be of thrice 9 yeeres continuance. And for the time therof I liued in my strength, & applied my mind to gaine an accurate knowledge of the same. It hapned also that I was banished my countrey for 20 yeeres, after my charge at *Amphipolis*; whereby being present at the affaires of both, and especially of the *Lacedæmonians*, by reason of my exile, I could, at leasure the better learn the truth of all that passed.

The number of yeeres which the whole Warre lasted.

D The quarrels therefore, & perturbations of the Peace, after those ten yeres, & that which followed, according as from time to time the Warre was carried, I will now pursue.

Thucydides for his ill success at *Amphipolis*, banished *Athens* for 20 yeeres.

E After the concluding of the 50 yeeres Peace, and the League which followed, and when those Ambassadors which were sent for, out of the rest of *Peloponnesus*, to accept the said Peace, were departed from *Lacedæmon*, the *Corinthians* (the rest going all to their owne Cities) turning first to *Argos*, entred into Treaty with some of the *Argiue* Magistrates, to this purpose, That the *Lacedæmonians* had made a Peace and League with the *Athenians*, their heretofore mortall enemies, tending not to the

The *Corinthians* contriue with the *Argiues* to make a League in *Peloponnesus* without the *Lacedæmonians*.

benefit, but to the enslaving of *Peloponnesus*, it behoued A them to consider of a course, for the safety of the same, and to make a Decree, That any City of the *Grecians* that would, and were a free City, and admitted the like, and equall trials of Iudgement with theirs, might make a League with the *Argiues*, for the one mutually to aide the other, and to assigne them a *Few* men, with absolute authority from the State, to treat with; and that it should not be motioned to the People, to the end, that if the multitude would not agree to it, it might be vnknowne that euer they had made such a motion; affirming that many would B come into this Confederacy vpon hatred to the *Lacedemonians*. And the *Corinthians*, when they had made this ouerture, went home. These men of *Argos*, hauing heard them, and reported their proposition, both to the Magistrates, & to the People, the *Argiues* ordered the same accordingly, and elected 12 men, with who it should be lawfull for any *Grecian* to make the League that would, except the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, with neither of which they were to enter into any League, without the consent of the *Argiue* People. And this the *Argiues* did the more willingly admit, as well for that they saw the *Lacedemonians* would C make Warre vpon them, (for the Truce betweene them was now vpon expiring) as also because they hoped to haue the Principality of *Peloponnesus*. For about this time *Lacedemon* had but a bad report, and was in contempt for the losses it had receiued. And the *Argiues* in all points were in good estate, as not hauing concurred in the *Attique* War, but rather been in peace with both, and thereby gotten in their reuenue. Thus the *Argiues* receiued into League all such *Grecians* as came vnto them.

Twelue men chosen at *Argos* to treat about a League.

The *Mantineans* enter League with the *Argiues*.

First of all therefore, came in, the *Mantineans*, and their D Confederates; which they did for fear of the *Lacedemonians*. For a part of *Arcadia*, during the warre of *Athens*, was come vnder the obedience of the *Mantineans*, ouer which, they thought, the *Lacedemonians*, now they were at rest, would not permit them any longer to command. And therefore they willingly ioyned with the *Argiues*, as being they thought, a great City, euer enemy to the *Lacedemonians*, & gouerned as their owne by Democracy. When the *Mantineans* had reuolted the rest of *Peloponnesus* began also to mutter amongst themselves, that it was fit for them to do the like; conceiuing E that there was somewhat in it, more then they knew, that made

The rest of *Peloponnesus* incline to the same League.

A made the *Mantineans* to turne; and were also angry with the *Lacedæmonians* amongst many other causes, for that it was written in the *Articles* of the *Antique Peace*, That it should be lawfull to add to, or take away from the same, what so ever should seeme good to the two Cities of the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. For this was the Article that the most troubled the *Peloponnesians*, and put them into a ieaiousie that the *Lacedæmonians* might haue a purpose ioyning with the *Athenians* to bring them into subiection. For in iustice the power of changing the *Articles*, ought to haue beene ascribed to all the *Confederates* in generall. Whereupon many fearing such an intention, applied themselues to the *Argiues*, euery one feuerally struiuing to come into their League.

The Article of adding and altering misliked.

The *Lacedæmonians* perceiuing this stirre to begin in *Peloponnesus*, and that the *Corinthians* were both the contriuer of it, and entred themselues also into the League with *Argos*, sent Ambassadors vnto *Corinth*, with intention to preuent the sequell of it, and accused them, both for the whole designe; and for their owne reuolt in particular, which they intended to make from them, to the League of the *Argiues*; saying that they should therein infringe their oath, and that they had already done vniustly, to refuse the Peace made with the *Athenians*; for as much as it is an Article of their * League, that what the maior part of the *Confederates* should conclude, vnlesse it were hindred by some God or Heroe, the same was to stand good. But the *Corinthians* (those *Confederates* which had refused the Peace as well as they, being now at *Corinth*; for they had sent for them before) in their answer to the *Lacedæmonians*, did not openly alledge the wrongs they had receiued; as that the *Athenians* had not restored *Solium*, nor *Anactorium*; nor any thing else they had in this Warre lost; but pretended not to betray those of *Thrace*, for that they had in particular taken an oath vnto them, both when (together with *Potidea*) they first reuolted, and also another afterwards. And therefore they said they did not breake the oath of their League, by reiecting the Peace with *Athens*. For hauing sworne vnto them by the Gods, they should in betraying them, offend the Gods. And whereas it is said, Vnlesse some God or Heroe hinder it, This appeareth to be a Diuine hinderance. Thus they answered for their old oath.

The *Lacedæmonians* ex-
postulate with the *Corin-
thians*, about this League
with *Argos*.

* The *Peloponnesian*
League against *Athens*.

The Apologie of the *Co-
rinthians* for their refusing
the Peace.

Their answer touching
their League with *Argos*.

Then, for their League with the *Argives*, they gaue this **A**
 answer: That when they had aduised with their friends,
 they would doe afterwards what should be iust. And
 so the Ambassadors of *Lacedæmon* went home. At the
 same time were present also in *Corinth*, the Ambassadors
 of *Argos*, to inuite the *Corinthians* to their League, and that
 without delay. But the *Corinthians* appointed them to
 come againe at their next sitting.

The *Eleans* make a league
 first with *Corinth*, then
 with *Argos*.

* The decree of the *Argives*
 that any Grecian that would
 make a league with
 them, treating with the 12
 Commissioners by token clo-
 sing to that purpose.

* 180 pound ten shillings
 sterling.

Quarrell of the *Eleans*
 against the *Lacedæmoni-
 ans*.

The *Corinthians*, and the
 Townes vpon *Thrace* en-
 ter into the league with
 a god.

Presently after this, came vnto them an Ambassage al-
 so from the *Eleans*. And first, they made a League with the
Corinthians; and going thence to *Argos*, made a League **B**
 with the *Argives*; according to the * declaration before
 mentioned. The *Eleans* had a quarrell with the *Lacedæmo-
 nians* concerning *Lepreum*. For the *Lepreates*, hauing here-
 tofore warred on certaine of the *Arcadians*, and for their aid
 called the *Eleans* into their Confederacy, with condition to
 giue the moiety of the Land to be won from them, when
 the Warre was ended, the *Eleans* gaue vnto the *Lepreates*,
 the whole Land to be enioyed by themselves, with an im-
 position thereon of a * Talent to be paid to *Iupiter Olympi-
 an*, which they continued to pay, till the beginning of the **C**
Athenian Warre. But afterwards, vpon pretence of that
 Warre, giuing ouer the payment, the *Eleans* would haue
 forced them to it againe. The *Lepreates* for helpe, hauing
 recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the cause being referred
 to their decision, the *Eleans* afterwards, vpon suspicion that
 the *Lacedæmonians* would not do them right, renounced the
 reference, and wasted the Territory of the *Lepreates*. The
Lacedæmonians neuerthelesse gaue sentence, That the *Lepre-
 ates* should be at liberty to pay it, or not, and that the *Eleans* did
 the iniury; and because the *Eleans* had not stood to the re-
 ference, the *Lacedæmonians* put into *Lepreum*, a Garrison of
 men of Armes. The *Eleans* taking this, as if the *Lacedæmo-
 nians* had receiued their reuolted City, and producing the
 Article of their League, That what euery one possessed, when
 they entred into the *Attique* Warre, the same they should possesse
 when they gaue it ouer, reuolted to the *Argives*, as wrong'd,
 and entred league with them, as is before related.

After these, came presently into the *Argie* League, the
Corinthians, and the *Chalcideans* vpon *Thrace*. The *Bæotians*
 also, and *Megareans* threatned as much, but because they **E**
 thought the *Argie* Democracy would not be so commodi-
 ous

Aous for them, who were governed according to the government of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Oligarchie*, they stirred no further in it.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Athenians* expugned *Scione*, slew all that were within it at mans estate, made slaves of the women and children, and gaue their Territory to the *Plateans*.

They also replanted the *Delians*, in *Delos*, both in consideration of the defeats they had received after their expulsion and also because the Oracle at *Delphi* had commanded it.

The *Phocians* and *Locrians* also began a Warre at that time against each other.

And the *Corinthians* and *Argives*, being now leagued, went to *Tegæa*, to cause it to revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*; conceiving it to be an important piece of *Peloponnesus*, and making account, if they gained it to their side, they should easily obtaine the whole. But when the *Tegeates* refused to become enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, who till then had beene very forward, grew lesse violent, and were afraid, that no more of the rest would come in.

C Neuerthelesse they went to the *Bœotians*, and solicited them to enter into league with them; and the *Argives*, and to doe as they did. And the *Corinthians* further desired the *Bœotians* to goe along with them to *Athens*, and to procure for them the like ten dayes Truce, to that which was made betweene the *Athenians* and *Bœotians*, presently after the making of the fifty yeeres Peace, on the same termes that the *Bœotians* had it; and if the *Athenians* refused, then to renounce theirs, and make no more Truces hereafter without the *Corinthians*. The *Corinthians* hauing made this request, the *Bœotians* willed them touching the League with the *Argives* to stay a while longer, and went with them to *Athens*, but obtained not the ten dayes Truce, the *Athenians* answering, that if the *Corinthians* were Confederates with the *Lacedæmonians*, they had a Peace already. Neuerthelesse, the *Bœotians* would not relinquish their ten dayes Truce, though the *Corinthians* both required the same, and affirmed that it was so before agreed on. Yet the *Athenians* granted the *Corinthians* a cessation of Armes, but * without solemne ratification.

The same Summer the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole power,

The *Athenians* recouert *Scione*.

The *Delians* replanted in *Delos*.

Phocis and *Locris* in Warre

The *Corinthians* seeke to turne the Cities of *Peloponnesus* and other Confederates from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Argives*.

The *Corinthians* seeke the ten dayes Truce with *Athens*, as the *Bœotians* had it.

The *Bœotians* take time to answer, concerning a League with *Argos*.

The *Athenians* deny the ten dayes Truce to the *Corinthians*.

* *ἀπορροή*.
The *Lacedæmonians* demolish the Fort of *Cysia*.

power, vnder the Conduct of *Pleistoanax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, made Warre vpon the *Parrhasians* of *Arcadia*, subiects of the *Mantineans*, partly as called in, by occasion of sedition, and partly because they intended, if they could, to demolish a fortification which the *Mantineans* had built, and kept with a Garrison in *Cypsela*, in the Territory of the *Parrhasians*, towards *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore wasted the Territory of the *Parrhasians*. And the *Mantineans* leauing their owne Citie to the Custody of the *Argines*, came forth to aide the *Parrhasians* their Confederates. But being vn-
A
B

The *Lacedæmonians* put a Garrison into *Lepreum*, of men newly enfranchised.

The same Summer, when those Souldiers which went out with *Brasidas*, and of which *Clearidas*, after the making of the Peace, had the charge, were returned from the parts vpon *Thrace*, the *Lacedæmonians* made a decree, that those *Helots* which had fought vnder *Brasidas*, should receiue their liberty, and inhabite where they thought good; but
C

* *Sphacteria*, ouer against *Pylus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* disabled those that were taken in *Sphacteria*, to beare office, or to make bargain.

Fearing also lest those Citizens of their owne, which had been taken in the * *Iland*, and had deliuered vp their Armes to the *Athenians*, should vpon apprehension of disgrace for that calamity, if they remained capable of honours; make some innouation in the State, they disabled them, though some of them were in office already; and
D

The *Dictideans* take *Thysfus* from the *Athenians*.

Jealousie betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

The same Summer also, the *Dictideans* tooke *Thysfus*, a Towne in Mount *Atbos*, and Confederate of the *Athenians*.

This whole Summer there was continuall commerce betweene the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians*; neuertheless they began, both the *Athenians*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to haue each other in suspicion immediately after the Peace, in respect of the places not yet mutually surrendered.
E
 For the *Lacedæmonians*, to whose lot it fell to make restitu-
tion

A tion first, had not rendred *Amphipolis*, and the other Cities, nor had caused the Peace to be accepted by the Confederates vpon *Thrace*, nor by the *Boeotians*, nor *Corinthians*, though they had euer professed, that in case they refused, they would ioyne with the *Athenians*, to bring them to it by force, and had prefixed a time (though not by writing) within the which, such as entred not into this Peace, were to be held as enemies vnto both. The *Athenians* therefore, when they saw none of this really performed, suspected that they had no sincere intention, and thereupon refused to
B render *Pylus*, when they required it; nay, they repented that they had deliuered vp the prisoners they tooke in the Island; and detained the rest of the Townes they then held, till the *Lacedæmonians* should haue performed the conditions on their part also. The *Lacedæmonians*, to this, alledged, That they had done what they were able to doe. For they had deliuered the *Athenian* prisoners that were in their hands, and had withdrawne their Souldiers from the parts vpon *Thrace*, and whatsoever else was in their owne power to performe. But *Amphipolis*, they said, was not in their power to surrender. That they would
C endeavour to bring the *Boeotians* and *Corinthians*, to accept the Peace, and to get *Panaetum* restored, and all the *Athenian* prisoners in *Boeotia*, to be sent home. And therefore desired them to make restitution of *Pylus*, or if not so, at least to draw out of it, the *Messenians* and *Helotes* (as they for their part had drawne their Garrisons out of the Townes vpon *Thrace*) and, if they thought good, to keepe it with a Garrison of *Athenians*. After diuers, and long Conferences had this Summer, they so farre preuailed with the *Athenians*; at the last, as they drew thence, all the *Messenians*, and *Helotes*, and all other *Laconian* fugitiues and placed them in *Cranij*, a City of *Cephalenia*. So
D for this Summer there was Peace, and free passage from one to another.

Amphipolis not yett rendred, nor the Peace accepted in the parts about *Thrace*, nor by the *Boeotians*, and *Corinthians*.

The *Athenians* refuse to render *Pylus*.

The Apologie of the *Lacedæmonians* for not performing the duties.

The *Athenians* draw the *Messenians* and *Helotes* out of *Pylus*.

The end of the eleuenth Summer.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ephores endeavour to dissolue the peace.

In the beginning of Winter, (for now there were other Ephores in office; not those in whose time the Peace was made, but some of them that opposed it) Ambassadors being come from the Confederates; and the *Athenian*, *Boeotian*, and *Corinthian* Ambassadors being already there, and hauing had much conference together, but concluded nothing, *Cleobulus*, and *Xenares*, Ephores that most desired the
E dissolution of the Peace, when the rest of the Ambassadors were gone home, entred into priuate Conference with

A proposition of a league
betweene the *Lacedæmo-
nians*, *Argives*, *Bæotians*
and *Corinthians*.

with the *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*, exhorting them to **A**
runne both the same course; and aduised the *Bæotians* to
enduour first to make a League themselues with the
Argives, and then to get the *Argives* together with
themselues, into a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For
that they might by this meanes avoyd the necessity of ac-
cepting the Peace with *Athens*. For the *Lacedæmonians*
would more regard the friendship and League of the *Ar-
gives*, then the enmitie and dissolution of the Peace with
the *Athenians*. For hee knew the *Lacedæmonians* had euer
desired to haue *Argos* their friend vpon any reasonable con- **B**
ditions, because they knew that their Warre without
Peloponnesus, would thereby bee a great deale the easier.
Wherefore they entreated the *Bæotians* to put *Panaetum*
into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the end that if they
could get *Pylus* for it in exchange, they might make War
against the *Athenians* the more commodiously.

The *Argives* propound a
League to the *Bæotians*
and *Corinthians*.

The *Bæotians* and *Corinthians* being dismissed by *Xenares*
and *Chobulus*, and all the other *Lacedæmonians* of that Fa-
ction, with these points to be deliuered to their Common- **C**
wealths, went to their seuerall Cities. And two men of
Argos, of principall authority in that Citie, hauing wait-
ted for, and met with them by the way, entred into a trea-
ty with them, about a League betweene the *Argives* and
the *Bæotians*, as there was betweene them and the *Corinti-
ans*, and the *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* already. For they
thought, if it succeeded, they might the more easily haue
either Warre or Peace, (forasmuch as the cause would
now bee common) either with the *Lacedæmonians*, or
whomsoever else it should be needfull.

And promise to send
Ambassadours into *Bæo-
tia* to that purpose.

Whē the *Bæotian* Ambassadors heard this, they were wel **D**
pleased. For as it chanced, the *Argives* requested the same
things of them, that they, by their friends in *Lacedemon*,
had beene sent to procure of the *Argives*. These men there-
fore of *Argos*, when they saw that the *Bæotians* accepted of
the motion, promised to send Ambassadors to the *Bæoti-
ans* about it, and so departed.

When the *Bæotians* were come home, they related there
what they had heard, both at *Lacedemon*, and by the way,
from the *Argives*. The Gouvernours of *Bæotia* were glad
thereof, and much more forward in it now, then formerly **E**
they had beene, seeing that not onely their friends in *La-
cedemon*

A *Lacedæmon* desired, but the *Argives* themselves hastned to haue done the selfe-same thing. Not long after this, the Ambassadors came to them from *Argos*, to sollicite the dispatch of the businesse before propounded, but the gouernours of *Bæotia* commended onely the proposition, and dismissed them, with promise to send Ambassadors about the League to *Argos*. In the meane time the Gouernours of *Bæotia* thought fit, that an oath should first be taken by themselves, and by the Ambassadors from *Corinth*, *Megara*, and the Confederates vpon *Thrace*, to giue mutuall assistance vpon any occasion to them that should require it, and neither to make War nor Peace without the common consent. And next that the *Bæotians* and *Megareans*, (for these two ran the same course) should make a League with the *Argives*. But before this oath was to be taken, the Gouernours of *Bæotia* communicated the busines to the 4 *Bæotian* Councils, in the which the whole authority of the State consisteth, and withall presented their aduice, That any City that would, might ioyne with them, in the like oath for mutuall assistance. But they that were of these Councils approued not the proposition, because they feared to offend the *Lacedæmonians* in being sworne to the *Corinthians*, that had reuolted from their confederacy. For the Gouernours of *Bæotia* had not reported vnto them, what had past at *Lacedæmon*, how *Cleobulus*, and *Xenares* the *Ephores*, and their friends there, had aduised them, to enter first into league with the *Argives*, and *Corinthians*, and then afterwards to make the same league with the *Lacedæmonians*. For they thought that the Councils, though this had neuer been told them, would haue decreed it no otherwise then they vpon premeditation should aduise: So the businesse was checked, and the Ambassadors from *Corinth*, and from the Cities vpon *Thrace*, departed without effect. And the Gouernours of *Bæotia*, that were before minded, if they had gotten this done, to haue leagued themselves also with the *Argives*, made no mention of the *Argives* in the Councils at all, nor sent the Ambassadors to *Argos*, as they had before promised, but a kind of carelesse-nesse and delay possessed the whole businesse.

The same Winter the *Olynthians* tooke *Mecyberne*, held with a Garrison of the *Athenians* by assault.

E After this the *Lacedæmonians* (for the conferences betweene the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* about restitution

The *Bæotians* propound an oath betwene themselves, the *Corinthians*, *Chalcidians*, and *Megareans*, of mutuall assistance.

The *Argive* league with the *Bæotians*, falleth off.

Mecyberne taken from the *Athenians* by assault.

The *Lacedæmonians* enter into a League with the *Bæotians*, knowing it to be againe Justice.

tion reciprocal continued still) hoping that if the *Athenians* should obtaine from the *Boeotians*, *Panaetum*; that then they also should recover *Pylus*, sent Ambassadors to the *Boeotians*, which request that *Panaetum*, and the *Athenian* prisoners might be put into the hands of the *Lacedemonians*; that they might get *Pylus* restored in exchange. But the *Boeotians* answered, that unless the *Lacedemonians* would make a particular League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*, they would not doe it. The *Lacedemonians*, though they knew they should therein wrong the *Athenians*, for that it was said in the Articles, that neither party should make either League, or Warre, without the others consent, yet such was their desire to get *Panaetum*, to exchange it for *Pylus*, and withall, they that longed to breake the Peace with *Athers*, were so eager in it that at last they concluded a league with the *Boeotians*, Winter then ending, and the Spring approaching. And *Panaetum* was presently pulled downe to the ground. So ended the eleuenth yeere of this Warre.

THE TWVELETH
YEERE.

The *Argives* seeke Peace
with the *Lacedemonians*.

In the Spring following, the *Argives*, when they saw that the Ambassadors which the *Boeotians* promised to send unto them, came not; and that *Panaetum* was razed, and that also there was a priuate league made betweene the *Boeotians* and the *Lacedemonians*, were afraid lest they should on all hands be abandoned, and that the Confederates would all goe to the *Lacedemonians*. For they apprehended that the *Boeotians* had been induced, both to raze *Panaetum*, and also to enter into the *Athenian* Peace, by the *Lacedemonians*; and that the *Athenians*, were priuy to the same. So that now they had no meanes to make league with the *Athenians* neither, whereas before they made account that if their truce with the *Lacedemonians* continued not, they might vpon these differences, haue ioyned themselues to the *Athenians*. The *Argives* being therfore at a stand, and fearing to haue Warre all at once with the *Lacedemonians*, *Tegeats* *Boeotians*, and *Athenians*, as hauing formerly refused the truce with the *Lacedemonians*, and imagined to themselues the principallity of all *Peloponnesus*, they sent Ambassadors with as much speed as might be, *Eusepphus* & *Aeson* persons, as they thought most acceptable vnto them, with this cogitation, that by compounding with the *Lacedemonians*, as well as for their present estate they might, how soeuer the world went, they should at least liue at quiet.

When

A When these Ambassadors were there, they fell to treat of the Articles vpon which the agreement should be made. And at first the *Argives* desired to haue the matter referred, either to some priuate man, or to some City, concerning the Territory of *Cynuria*, about which they haue alwayes differed, as lying on the borders of them both (it containeth the Cities of *Thyrea* and *Athena*, and is possessed by the *Lacedæmonians*) But afterwards, the *Lacedæmonians* not suffering mention to be made of that, but that if they would haue the Truce goe on as it did before, they might;

B the *Argive* Ambassadors, got them to yeeld to this, That for the present, an accord should be made for fifty yeeres, but withall, that it should be lawfull neuertheless, (if one challenged the other thereunto) both for *Lacedæmon*, and *Argos* to try their Titles to this Territory by battell, so that there were in neither City, the Plague or a Warre to excuse them; (as once before they had done, when as both sides thought they had the victory.) And that it should not be lawfull for one part to follow the chase of the other further then to the bounds either of *Lacedæmon* or *Argos*.

The Territory of *Cynuria*, ground of the quarrels betweene *Lacedæmon* and *Argos*.

An odd condition of a Truce.

C And though this seemed to the *Lacedæmonians* at first to be but a foolish proposition, yet afterwards, (because they desired by all meanes to haue friendship with the *Argives*) they agreed vnto it, and put into writing what they required. Howsoeuer, before the *Lacedæmonians* would make any full conclusion of the same, they willed them to returne first to *Argos*, and to make the People acquainted with it, and then, if it were accepted, to returne at the *Hyacinthian* Feast and sweare it. So these departed.

Whilest the *Argives* were treating about this, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Andromenes*, and *Phacimus*, and *Antimidas*, Commissioners for receiuing of *Panaetum*, and the prisoners from the *Boeotians*, to render them to the *Athenians*, found that *Panaetum* was demolished, and that their pretext was this; That there had been anciently an Oath by occasion of difference betweene the *Athenians* and them, That neither part should inhabite the place solely, but ioyntly both. But for the *Athenian* prisoners, as many as the *Boeotians* had, they that were with *Andromenes* receiued, conuoyed and deliuered them vnto the *Athenians*, and withall

E told them of the razing of *Panaetum*, alledging it as rendred, in that no enemy of *Aibens* should dwell in it hereafter.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors require *Pylus* in exchange for *Panaetum*.

The *Athenians* take in euill part, both the razing of *Panactum*, and the League made with the *Bœotians*.

The *Argiues* make League with *Athens*, by meanes of *Alcibiades*.

The cause why *Alcibiades* desireth to breake with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Alcibiades sendeth for the *Argiues* to *Athens* to make a League.

But when this was told them, the *Athenians* made it a **A** haynous matter, for that they conceived that the *Lacedæmonians* had done them wrong, both in the matter of *Panactum* which was pulled downe, and should haue beene rendered standing; and because also they had heard of the priuate League made with the *Bœotians*, whereas they had promised to ioyne with the *Athenians* in compelling such to accept of the Peace, as had refused it; withall they weighed whatsoeuer other points the *Lacedæmonians* had beene short in, touching the performance of the *Articles*, and thought themselues abused; so that they answered the **B** *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors roughly, and dismissed them.

This difference arising betweene the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, it was presently wrought vpon by such also of *Athens*, as desired to haue the Peace dissolued.

Amongst the rest was *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, a man though yong in yeeres, yet in the dignity of his Ancestors honoured as much as any man of what Citie soeuer: Who was of opinion, that it was better to ioyne with the *Argiues*; not onely for the matter it selfe, but also out of stomacke, labouring to crosse the *Lacedæmonians*, because they **C** had made the Peace by the meanes of *Nicias*, and *Laches*, without him; whom for his youth they had neglected, and not honoured, as for the ancient hospitality betweene his house and them, had been requisite, which his father had indeed renounced, but he himselfe by good Offices done to those prisoners, which were brought from the Iland, had a purpose to haue renewed. But supposing himselfe on all hands disparaged, he both opposed the Peace at first, alledging that the *Lacedæmonians* would not be constant; and that they had made the Peace, onely **D** to get the *Argiues* by that meanes away from them, and afterwards to invade the *Athenians* againe, when they should be destitute of their friends; And also as soone as this difference was on foote, he sent presently to *Argos* of himselfe, willing them with all speed to come to *Athens*, as being thereunto inuited, and to bring with them the *Eleans* and *Mantineans*, to enter with the *Athenians* into a League, the opportunity now seruing; and promising that he would helpe them all he could.

The *Argiues* hauing heard the message, and knowing **E** that the *Athenians* had made no League with the *Bœotians*,

A *tians*, and that they were at great quarrell with the *Lacedæmonians*, neglected the Ambassadors they had then in *Lacedæmon*, (whom they had sent about the Truce) and applied themselves to the *Athenians*, with this thought, that if they should haue Warre, they should by this meanes be backed with a City that had been their ancient friend, gouerned like their owne by *Democracy*, and of greatest power by Sea. Whereupon they presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens* to make a League; and together with theirs, went also the Ambassadors of the *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*. Thither also with all speed came the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Philocharidas*, *Leon*, and *Endius*, persons accounted most gracious with the *Athenians*, for feare, lest in their passion, they should make a League with the *Argiues*; and withall to require the restitution of *Pylus* for *Panactum*, and to excuse themselves concerning their League with the *Bæotians*, as not made for any harme intended to the *Athenians*.

Now speaking of these things before the Councell, and how that they were come thither with full power to make agreement concerning all Controuersies betwixt them, they put *Alcibiades* into feare, lest, if they should say the same before the people, the multitude would be drawne vnto their side, and so the *Argiue* League fall off. But *Alcibiades* deuiseeth against them this plot. He perswadeth the *Lacedæmonians* not to confesse their plenary power before the people, and giueth them his faith, that then *Pylus* should be rendred, (for he said he would perswade the *Athenians* to it, as much as he now opposed it) and that the rest of their differences should be compounded.

D This he did to alienate them from *Nicias*, and that by accusing them before the people, as men that had no true meaning, nor euer spake one and the same thing, he might bring on the league with the *Argiues*, *Eleans*, & *Mantineans*. And it came to passe accordingly. For when they came before the people, and to the question, whether they had full power of concluding, had (contrary to what they had said in Connell) answered *no*, the *Athenians* would no longer endure them, but gaue eare to *Alcibiades*, that exclaimed against the *Lacedæmonians* faster more now then euer, and were ready then presently to haue the *Argiues*; and those others with them brought in; and to make the League.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors came to *Athens*, to put their League with *Argiues*.

Alcibiades perswadeth the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, to deny before the people, that they had power to conclude.

Alcibiades incuigeth against the *Lacedæmonians*.

*Nicias endeavoureth to
have the Peace goe on
with the Lacedæmonians.*

*Nicias is sent Ambassador
to Lacedæmon to get sa-
tisfaction about perfor-
mance of the Articles.*

*Nicias was the Author
of the Peace betweene
the Athenians and the
Lacedæmonians and that
Peace was therefore
called Nicias.*

League. But an Earthquake happening, before any thing **A**
was concluded, the assembly was adiourned. In the next
dayes meeting, *Nicias*, though the *Lacedæmonians* had been
abused, and he himsef also deceiued, touching their com-
ming with full power to conclude, yet he persisted to af-
firme, that it was their best course to be friends with the
Lacedæmonians, and to deferre the *Argives* businesse, till they
had sent to the *Lacedæmonians* againe to be assured of their
intention; saying, that it was honour vnto themselves,
and dishonour to the *Lacedæmonians* to haue the Warre put
off. For, for themselves, being in estate of prosperity, it **B**
was best to preferue their good fortune, as long as they
might; whereas to the other side, who were in euill
estate, it should be in place of gaine to put things as soone
as they could to the hazzard. So he perswaded them to
send Ambassadors, whereof himsef was one, to require
the *Lacedæmonians*, (if they meant sincerely) to render *Pa-
nactum* standing, and also *Amphipolis*: and if the *Boeotians*
would not accept of the Peace, then to vndoe their League
with them, according to the Article, That the one should
not make league with any, without the consent of the o-
ther. They willed him to say further; That *they themselves* **C**
also, if they had had the will to doe wrong, had ere this made a league
with the *Argives*, who were present then at Athens, for the same
purpose. And whatsoeuer they had to accuse the *Lacedæ-
monians* of besides, they instructed *Nicias* in it, and sent him
and the other, his fellow Ambassadors, away. When
they were arriued, and had deliuered what they had in
charge, and this last of all; That the Athenians would make
League with the *Argives*, unless the *Lacedæmonians* would re-
nounce their League with the *Boeotians*, if the *Boeotians* accep-
ted not the Peace, the *Lacedæmonians* denyed to renounce
their league with the *Boeotians*, (for *Xenares* the Ephore, and
the rest of that faction carried it) but at the request of
Nicias, they renued their former Oath. For *Nicias* was
afraid he should returne with nothing done, and be carped
at (as after also it fell out) as * author of the *Lacedæmoni-
an* Peace. **D**

At his returne, when the Athenians vnderstood that
nothing was effected at Lacedæmon, they grew presently
into choler, and apprehending iniury (the *Argives*, and **E**
their Confederates being there present, brought in by *Al-
cibiades*)

A cibul's, they made a Peace, and a League with them, in these words.

The Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, for themselves, and for the Confederates commanded by every of them, haue made an accord for 100 yeeres without fraud or damage, both by Sea and Land.

It shall not be lawfull for the Argives nor Eleans, nor Mantineans nor their Confederates to beare Armes against the Athenians, or the * Confederates vnder the command of the Athenians; or their Confederates by any fraud or machination whatsoever. And the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, haue made League with each other for 100 yeeres on these termes.

If any enemy shall invade the Territory of the Athenians, then the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall goe vnto Athens, to assist them according as the Athenians shall send them word to doe, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after hee haue spoyleth the Territory shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an enemy to the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and Athenians, and Warre shall be made against it by all those Cities. And it shall not be lawfull for any of those Cities to giue ouer the Warre, without the consent of all the rest.

And if an enemy shall invade the Territory, either of the Argives, or of the Eleans, or of the Mantineans, then the Athenians shall come vnto Argos, Elis, and Mantinea to assist them, in such sort as those Cities shall send them word to doe, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after he hath wasted their Territory shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an enemy both to the Athenians, and also to the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans and Warre shall be made against it by all those Cities; and it shall not be lawfull for any of them to giue ouer the Warre against that Citie, without the consent of all the rest.

There shall no armed men be suffered to passe through the Dominions either of themselves or of any the Confederates vnder their seuerall commands to make Warre in any place whatsoever, vlesse by the suffrage of all the Cities, Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea their passage be allowed.

To such as come to assist any of the other Cities, that Citie which sendeth them shall giue maintenance for thirtie dayes after they shal arrive in the Citie that sent for them, and the like at their going away. But if they will tarry the Army for a longer time, then the Citie that sent for them, shall find them maintenance at the rate of three Oboles of ~~Attica~~ ^{Attica} a day for a man of Armes, and of a Drachma of ~~Attica~~ ^{Attica} for a Horseman.

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS AND THE ARGIVES, &c.

* Confederates most of them such as on equal termes entered League with other, and such as sent and receiued the same by commission, or as subjects, who called in the Greek, *ἐκχωρηται*, properly, but not properly Confederates.

The Citie which sendeth for the aydes, shall have the leading, and **A** command of them, whilst the Warre is in their owne Territory: But if it shall seeme good vnto these Cities to make a Warre in common, then all the Cities shall equally participate of the command.

The Athenians shall sweare vnto the Articles both for themselves, and for their Confederates; and the Argiues, Eleans, Mantineans, and the Confederates of these shall every one sweare vnto them Citie by Citie, and their oath shall be the greatest that by custome of the severall Cities is vsed, and with most perfect * hoastes, and in these words: I will stand to this League according to the Articles thereof, iustly, innocently, and sincerely, and not **B** transgresse the same by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

* B east offered in sacrifice.

This oath shall be taken at Athens, by the Senate, and the Officers of the Commons, and administred by the Prytaneis. At Argos it shall be taken by the Senate, and the Councell of Eighty, and by the Artynæ, and administred by the Councell of Eighty. At Mantinea it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Senate, and by the rest of the Magistrates, and administred by the Theori, and by the Tribunes of the Souldiers. At Elis it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Officers of the Treasury, and by the Councell of 600, and administred by the Procurators of the People, and by the Keepers of the Law. **C**

This oath shall be renued by the Athenians, who shall goe to Elis, and to Mantinea, and to Argos, thirty dayes before the Olympian Games; and by the Argiues, Eleans, and Mantineans, who shall come to Athens, ten dayes before the Panathenæan Holydayes.

The Articles of this League and Peace and the oath, shall be inscribed in a pillar of stone; by the Athenians in the Cittadell; by the Argiues in their Market place, within the Precinct of the Temple of Apollo; and by the Mantineans in their Market place, within the precinct of the Temple of Iupiter. And at the Olympian Games, now at hand, there shall be erected ioyntly by them all, a brazen pillar in Olympia, [with the same inscription.] **D**

If it shall seeme good to these Cities to adde any thing to these Articles; what/soever shall be determined by them all in common Councell, the same shall stand good.

Thus was the League and the Peace concluded, and that which was made before betweene the Lacedæmonians & the Athenians, was notwithstanding, by neither side renounced. **E**

But

A But the *Corinbians*, although they were the Confederats of the *Argives*, yet would they not enter into this League; nay, though there were made a League before this, betwene them and the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantinears*, that where one, there all, should haue Warre, or Peace, yet they refused to sweare to it; but said that their League defensue was enough, whereby they were bound to defend each other, but not to take part one with another in inuading. So the *Corinbians* fell off from their Confederates, and inclined againe to the *Lacedemonians*.

The *Corinthians* first reuolt the Peace with Athens, and incline againe to the *Lacedemonians*.

B This Summer were celebrated the *Olympian Games*, in which *Androsibenes* an *Arcadian*, was the first time Victor in the exercise called * *Pancratium*. And the *Lacedemonians* whereby the *Eleans* prohibited the Temple there; so as they might neither sacrifice, nor contend for the prizes, amongst the rest; for that they had not payed the Fine set vpon them, (according to an *Olympique Law*) by the *Eleans*, that laide to their charge that they had put Souldiers into the Fort of *Phyrcon*, and into *Leprum* in the time of the *Olympique Truce*.

The *Olympian Games*.

* *Pancratium* consisted of wrestling and fighting with Fists.

The *Lacedemonians* forbidden the exercises, and why.

C The Fine amounted vnto * 2000 *Mine*, which was * two *Mine* for euery man of Armes, according to the Law. But the *Lacedemonians* by their Ambassadors which they sent thither, made answer, That they had bene vniustly condemned, alledging that the Truce was not published in *Lacedæmon*, when their Souldiers were sent out.

* 625 pound sterling.

* 6 pound 5 shillings sterling

To this the *Eleans* said againe, That the Truce was already beguine amongst themselves, who vsed to publish it first in their owne Dominion, and thereupon, whilst they lay still, and expected no such matter, is in time of Truce, the *Lacedæmonians* did them

Contention between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, before the *Grecians*, at *Olympia*, about a mulct set vpon the *Lacedæmonians*, by the *Eleans*, for breacking the *Olympique Truce*.

D the iniury at vnawares.

The *Lacedæmonians* hereunto replied, That it was not necessary to proceed to the publishing of the truce in *Lacedæmon* at all, if they thought themselves wronged already; but rather, if they thought themselves not wronged yet, then to doe it by way of preuention, that they should not Arme against them afterwards.

The *Eleans* stood stiffely in their first Argument; that they would neuer be perswaded but iniury had been done them; but were neuerthelesse contented. If they would render *Leprum*, both to remit their own parte of the money, and also to pay that part for them which was due vnto the God.

Tt

When

When this would not be agreed vnto, they then required A this, not that they should render *Lepreum* vnlesse they would, but that then they should come to the Altar of *Iupiter Olympian*, seeing they desired to haue free vse of the Temple, and there before the *Grecians* to take an oath, to pay the fine at least hereafter. But when the *Lacedæmonians* refused that also, they were excluded the Temple, the sacrifices, and the games, and sacrificed at home; But the rest of the *Grecians*, except the *Lepreates*, were all admitted to be spectators. Neuerthelesse, the *Eleans* fearing lest they would come and sacrifice thereby force, kept a guard there B of their yongest men, in Armes, to whom were added *Argiues* and *Mantineans*, of either Citie 1000, and certaine *Arbenian* horsemen, who were then at *Argos*, waiting the celebration of the Feast. For a great feare possessed all the Assembly, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should come vpon them with an Army; and the rather, because *Lichas* the sonne of *Arcefilaw*, a *Lacedæmonian*, had been whipped by the Serjeants vpon the Race, for that when his Chariot had gotten the prize, after Proclamation made, that the Chariot of the *Bæotian* State had wonne it (because he himselfe was not C admitted to run) he came forth into the Race, and crowned his Chariotier, to make knowne that the Chariot was his owne. This added much vnto their feare, and they verily expected some accident to follow. Neuerthelesse, the *Lacedæmonians* stirred not, and the Feast passed ouer.

After the *Olympian* Games, the *Argiues* and their Confederates went to *Corinth*, to get the *Corinthians* into their League, and the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors chanced to be there also; and after much conference, and nothing concluded, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, they brake off the D conference, and returned euery one to his owne Citie. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the men of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, fought a battell against the *Ælians*, *Delopians*, *Melians*, and certaine *Thessalians*. For the neighbour Cities, were enemies to this Citie, as built to the preiudice onely of them, and both opposed the same from the time it was first founded, annoying it what they could, and also in this battell ouercame them, and slew *Xenares* a *Lacedæmonian*, their Commander, with some others, *Heracleots*. Thus ended this E Winter, and the twelfth yeere of this Warre.

In

Lichas a *Lacedæmonian*
whipped vpon the *Olympian* Race.

The twelfth Summer.

A In the very beginning of the next Summer, the *Bœotians* tooke *Heraclea* miserably afflicted, into their owne hands, and put *Hegesippidas* a *Lacedæmonian* out of it, for his euill gouernment. They tooke it, because they feared, lest whilst the *Lacedæmonians* were troubled about *Peloponnesus*, it should haue beene taken in by the *Athenians*. Neuerthelesse the *Lacedæmonians* were offended with them for doing it.

The same Summer *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, being Generall of the *Athenians*, by the practice of the *Argiues*, and their Confederates, went into *Peloponnesus*, and hauing with him a few men of Armes, and Archers of *Athens*, and some of the Confederates which he tooke vp there, as he passed through the Countrey with his Army, both ordered such affaires by the way concerning the League, as was fit; and comming to the *Patræans*, perswaded them to build their walls downe to the Sea-side, and purposed to raise another wall himselfe towards *Rhium* in *Achaia*. But the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and such others as this wall would haue preiudiced, came forth and hindred him.

C The same Summer fell out a Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and the *Argiues*; the pretext thereof was about a Beast for sacrifice, which the *Epidaurians* ought to haue sent, in consideration of their pastures, to *Apollo Pythius*, and had not done it; the *Argiues* being the principall owners of the Temple. But *Alcibiades*, and the *Argiues* had indeed determined to take in the City, though without pretence at all, both that the *Corinthians* might not stirre, and also that they might bring the *Athenian* succours from *Ægina*, into those parts a neerer way, then by compassing the Promontory of *Scyllæum*. And therefore the *Argiues* prepared, as of themselves, to exact the sacrifice by inuasion.

Warre betweene the
Epidaurians and *Argiues*.

About the same time also, the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole forces, came forth as farre as *Leuctra*, in the Confines of their owne Territory towards *Lyceum*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* their King. No man knew against what place they intended the Warre; No not the Cities themselves out of which they were leuyed. But when in the sacrifices which they made for their passage, the tokens obserued were vnlucky, they went home again, and sent word about to their Confederates (being now the moneth **Carneiu*) to prepare themselves after the next

* Their holy moneth, in which
they kept a Feast to *Apollo*.

* Argives.

* July.

Ambassadors meet about
Peace, but cannot agree.

* Feast of the New Moone (kept by the Dorians,) to be againe vpon their march. The *Argives*, who set forth the 26 day of the moneth before * *Carneum*, though they celebrated the same day, yet all the time they continued inuading and wasting *Epidauria*. And the *Epidaurians* called in their Confederates to helpe them, whereof some excused themselves vpon the quality of the moneth, and others came but to the Confinnes of *Epidauria*, and there stayed. Whilst the *Argives* were in *Epidauria*, the Ambassadors of diuers Cities, solicited by the *Athenians*, met together at *Mantina*, where in a conference amongst them, *Ephamidas* of *Corinth* said, That their actions agreed not with their words, for as much as whilst they were sitting there to treat of a Peace, the *Epidaurians* with their Confederates, and the *Argives* stood armed in the meane time against each other in order of battell. That it was therefore fit that some body should goe first vnto the Armies from either side, and dissolue them, and then come againe and dispute of Peace.

This aduice being approued, they departed, and withdrew the *Argives* from *Epidauria*; and meeting afterwards againe in the same place, they could not for all that agree; and the *Argives* againe inuaded and wasted *Epidauria*.

The *Lacedaemonians* also drew forth their Army against *Carye*, but then againe their sacrifice for passage, being not to their mind, they returned. And the *Argives*, when they had spoyled about the third part of *Epidauria*, went home likewise. They had the assistance of one thousand men of Armes of *Athens*, and *Alcibiades* their Commander, but these hearing that the *Lacedaemonians* were in the field, and seeing now there was no longer need of them, departed, and so passed this Summer.

The end of the thirteenth Summer.

The next Winter the *Lacedaemonians* vnkowne to the *Athenians*, put 300 Garrison Soldiers vnder the Command of *Agasspidas*, into *Epidaurum* by Sea. For which cause the *Argives* came and expostulated with the *Athenians*, that whereas it was written in the Articles of the League, that no enemy should be suffered to passe through either of their Dominions, yet had they suffered the *Lacedaemonians* to passe by * Sea; and said they had wrong, vnlesse the *Athenians* would againe put the *Messenians*, and *Helotes* into *Pylus* against the *Lacedaemonians*. Hereupon the *Athenians*, at the perswasion of *Alcibiades*, wrote vpon the * *Laconian* pillar

* The Argives acknowledged the Sea on their own coast, to be of the Dominion of Athens.

* which was erected for the Articles of the League, to be well known.

A pillar [vnder the inscription of the Peace] that the *Lacedæmonians* had violated their oath, and they drew the *Helotes* out of * *Cranij*, and put them againe into *Pylus*, to infest the Territory with drüing of booties, but did no more.

All this Winter, though there was Warre betweene the *Argiues* and *Epidaurians*, yet was there no set battell, but onely Ambushes and Skirmishes, wherein were slaine on both sides, such as it chanced.

But in the end of Winter, and the Spring now at hand, the *Argiues* came to *Epidaurus* with Ladders, as destitute of
B men by reason of the Warre, thinking to haue wonne it by assault, but returned againe with their labour lost. And so ended this Winter, and the thirteenth yeere of this Warre.

In the middle of the next Summer, the *Lacedæmonians* seeing that the *Epidaurians*, their Confederates, were tyred, and that of the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, some had already reuolted, and others were but in euill termes, and apprehending that if they preuented it not, the mischief would spread still farther, put themselues into the field
C with all their owne forces, both of themselues and their *Helotes*, to make Warre against *Argos*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus* their King. The *Tegeates* went also with them, and of the rest of *Arcadia*, all that were in the *Lacedæmonian* League. But the rest of their Confederates both within *Peloponnesus*, and without, were to meet together at *Pylus*. That is to say, of the *Bæotians* 5000 men of Armes, and as many Light-armed, 500 horse, and to euery * horsenman, another man on foot, which holding the horses Mane, ran by with equall speed. Of *Corinthians*, 2000 men of Armes, and of the rest more or lesse,
D as they were. But the *Phliasians*; because the Army was assembled in their owne Territory, put forth their whole power. The *Argiues* hauing had notice both formerly of the preparation of the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterward of their marching on to ioyne with the rest at *Pylus*, brought their Army likewise into the field. They had with them the aides of the *Mantineans*, and their Confederates, and 3000 men of Armes of the *Elcans*; and marching forward, met the * *Lacedæmonians* at *Metbydrium*, a Towne of
E *Arcadia*, each side seazing on a hill. And the *Argiues* prepared to giue battell to the *Lacedæmonians*, while they were

* In *Cephalonia* where they had before placed them.

THE FORT-
TEENTH YEERE.

Preparation of the *Lacedæmonians* against *Argos*.

* In *Phlius*.

* The *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeates*, and some *Arcadians*, not the whole League, which was not yet united.

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates meet at *Phlius*. The *Argives* go to meet them at the Forrest of *Nemea*.

The *Lacedæmonians* come into the Plaines before *Argos*.

The *Argives* enclosed between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Bæotians*.

And the *Lacedæmonians* enclosed between the army of the *Argives* and their Citie.

* *argos*, *argos* is that lodged, the *Lacedæmonians* when any of them came to *Argos*.

were single. But *Agis* dislodging his Army by night, marched on to *Phlius* to the rest of the Confederates, vnscene. Vpon knowledge hereof, the *Argives* betimes in the morning retyred first to *Argos*, and afterwards to the Forrest of *Nemea*, by which they thought the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates would fall in. But *Agis* came not the way which they expected, but with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, and *Epidaurians*, whom he acquainted with his purpose, tooke another more difficult way to passe, and came downe into the *Argive* Plaines. The *Corinthians* also, and *Pellenians*, and *Phliasians*, marched another troublesome way; Onely the *Bæotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, were appointed to come downe by the way of the Forrest of *Nemea*, in which the *Argives* were incamped; to the end that if the *Argives* should turne head against the *Lacedæmonians*, these might set vpon them at the backe with their horse.

Thus ordered, *Agis* entred into the Plaines, and spoyled *Saminkus*, and some other Townes thereabouts. Which when the *Argives* vnderstood, they came out of the Forest somewhat after breake of day to oppose them, and lighting among the *Phliasians* and *Corimbians*, slew some few of the *Phliasians*, but had more slaine of their owne, by the *Corinthians*, though not many. The *Bæotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, marched forward towards *Nemea*, and found that the *Argives* were departed. For when they came downe, and saw their Country wasted, they put themselues into order of battell; and the *Lacedæmonians*, on the other side did the same; and the *Argives* stood intercepted in the middest of their enemies. For in the Plaine between them and the City, stood the *Lacedæmonians*, and those with them; about them were the *Corinthians*, *Phliasians*, and *Pellenians*; and towards *Nemea* were the *Bæotians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Megareans*. And horsemen they had none, for the *Athenians* alone, of all their Confederates, were not yet come. Now the generality of the Army of the *Argives*, and their Confederates, did not thinke the danger present so great, as indeed it was, but rather that the aduantage in the battell would be their own, and that the *Lacedæmonians* were intercepted, not onely in the *Argives* Territory, but also hard by the Citie. But two men of *Argos*, *Thraçyllus*, one of the five Commanders of the Army, and *Alcibron*, * entertayner

A ner of the *Lacedæmonians*, when the Armies were euen ready to ioyne, went vnto *Agis*, and dealt with him to haue the battell put off, for as much as the *Argiues* were content and ready, both to propound, and accept of equall Arbitrators, in whatsoeuer the *Lacedæmonians* should charge them withall, and in the meane time, to haue peace with them solemnely confirmed.

Propositions of Pence made by two priuate men of *Argos*?

And accepted by *Agis*, without the knowledge of the rest of the Commanders.

B This these *Argiues* said of themselves, without the command of the generality, and *Agis*, of himselfe likewise, accepting their proposition, without deliberation had with the maior part, and hauing communicated it onely to some one more of those that had charge in the Army, made Truce with them for foure moneths; in which space, they were to performe the things agreed vpon betwixt them. And then presently he withdrew hir Armie, without giuing account to any of the rest of the League why he did so. The *Lacedæmonians*, and the Confederates

Agis withdrew his Army, and is censured for it by the Confederates.

C ing inclosed on all sides, both by their Horse and Foot, hee yet went his way, doing nothing worthy the great preparation they had made. For this was in very truth the fairest Army that euer the *Grecians* had in the field vnto this day; but it was most to be seene, when they were * altogether in the Forrest of *Nemea*. Where the *Lacedæmoni-*

* That is, going home for aill then they were neuer altogether in *Nemea*.

ans were with their whole Forces, besides the *Arcadians*, *Boeotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliasiens*, and *Megareans*; and these all chosen men of their seuerall Cities, and such as were thought a match, not onely for the League of the *Argiues*, but for such another added to it. The Army thus offended with *Agis*, departed, and were dissolued, euery man to his home. The *Argiues* were much more offended with those of their Citie, which without the consent of the multitude, had made the Truce, they also supposing that the *Lacedæmonians* had escaped their hands in such an aduantage, as they neuer had the like before; in that the battell was to haue been fought vnder their City walls, and with the assistance of many and good Confederates. And in their returne, they began to stone

E *Thrasyllus*, at the *Charadrum* (the place where the Souldiers before they enter into the City from warfare, vse to haue their

Thrasyllus punished for propounding the Peace.

The Athenians instigate the Argives to breake the Truce.

The Argives breake the Truce, and besiege Orchomenus.

* There was another Orchomenus in Arcadia.

Orchomenus yielded.

* As being in particular hostility with it.

The Argives goe next against Tegea, which displeaseth the Athenians, and they goe home.

The Lacedaemonians question their King, for instigating the Argives to goe out vntoughten.

their Military causes heard) but he flying to the Altar, A
saued himselfe, neuertheless they confiscated his goods.

After this, the Athenians comming in, with the ayde of
1000 men of Armes, and 300 Horse, vnder the Conduct of
Lach. s and Nicostratus, the Argives (for they were afraid for
all this, to breake the Truce with the Lacedaemonians) wil-
led them to be gone againe, and when they desired to treat,
would not present them to the People, till such time as
the Mantineans, and Eleans (who were not yet gone) forced
them vnto it by their importunity. Then the Athenians, in
the presence of Alcibiades, that was Ambassadour there, B
spake vnto the Argives, and their Confederates, saying, That
the Truce was vnduely made, without the assent of the rest of their
Confederates, and that now (for they were come time enough) they
ought to fall againe to the Warre, and did by their words so
preuaile with the Confederates, that they all, saue the Ar-
gives, presently marched against * Orchomenus of Arcadia.

And these, though satisfied, stayed behind at first, but
afterwards they also went; and sitting downe before Or-
chomenus, ioyntly besieged, and assaulted the same; desiring
to take it in as well for other causes, as chiefly for that the
Hostages which the Arcadians had giuen to the Lacedaemo- C
nians, were there in custody. The Orchomenians fearing the
weaknesse of their wals, and the greatnesse of the Army,
and lest they should perish, before any reliefe arriued, yeel-
ded vp the Towne on conditions: To be receiued into the
League, to giue Hostages for themselves; and to surrender the Ho-
stages held there by the Lacedaemonians, into the hands of the
Mantineans.

The Confederates after this, hauing gotten Orchomenus,
sate in Councell, about what Towne they should proceed D
against next. The Eleans gaue aduice to goe against * Le-
preum, but the Mantineans, against Tegea. And the Argives
and Athenians concurred in opinion with the Mantineans.
But the Eleans taking it in euill part, that they did not de-
cree to goe against Lepreum, went home; but the rest pre-
pared themselves at Mantinea, to goe against Tegea, which
also some within had a purpose to put into their hands.

The Lacedaemonians, after their returne from Argos with
their foure moneths Truce, seuerely questioned Agis, for
that vpon so faire an opportunity, as they neuer had be- E
fore, he subdued not Argos to the State; for so many and so
good

A good Confederates, would hardly be gotten together againe at one time. But when also the newes came of the taking of *Orcomenus*, then was their indignation much greater, and they presently resolved, contrary to their owne custome, in their passion, to raze his house, and fine him in the summe of * 10000 Drachmaes. But he besought them that they would doe neither of these things yet, and promised that leading out the Armie againe, he would by some valiant action cancell those accusations; or, if not, they might proceed afterwards to doe with him whatsoeuer they thought good. So they forbore both the Fine, and the razing of his house; but made a decree for that present, such as had neuer beene before, that tenne *Spartians* should bee elected and ioyned with him as Councillours, without whom it should not be lawfull for him to leade the Army into the field.

* 312 pound .12. shillings
sterling.

In the meane time came newes from their side in *Tegea*, that vnlesse they came presently with aide, the *Tegeans* would reuolt to the *Argiuss*, and their Confederates; and that they wanted little of being reuolted already.

The *Lacedemonians* put
their Army into the field
to relieue *Tegea*.

C Vpon this, the *Lacedemonians* with speed leuyed all their forces, both of themselves, and their *Helotes*, in such number, as they had neuer done before, and marched vnto *Orestium* in *Manalia*, and appointed the *Arcadians*, such as were of their League, to assemble, and follow them at the heeles to *Tegea*.

The *Lacedemonians* being come entire to *Orestium*, from thence sent backe the sixt part of their Armie (in which they put both the yongest and the eldest sort) for the custody of the Citie, and with the rest marched on to *Tegea*; and not long after, arriued also their Confederates of *Arcadia*.

E They sent also to *Corinth*, and to the *Bæotians*, *Phoceans*, and *Locrians*, to come with their aydes with all speed to *Maniinea*. But these had too short a warning, nor was it easie for them, vnlesse they came altogether, and stayed for one another, to come through the enemies Countrey, which lay betweene, and barred them of passage. Neuerthelesse, they made what hast they could. And the *Lacedemonians* taking with them, their *Arcadian* Confederates present, entred into the Territory of *Mantinea*, and pitching their Camp by the Temple of *Hercules*, wasted the Territory about.

The *Lacedemonians* waste
the Territory of *Mantinea*.

The *Argives*, and their Confederates, as soone as they A
 came in sight, leazed on a certaine place fortified by nature, and of hard accesle, and put themselves into battell array. And the *Lacedæmonians* marched presently towards them, and came vp within a stone or a darts cast. But then one of the ancient men of the Army cryed out vnto *Agis*, seeing him to goe on against a place of that strength, that he went about to amend one fault with another, signifying that he intended to make amends for his former retreat from *Argos*, which hee was questioned for, with his now vnseasonable forwardnesse. But he, B
 whether it were vpon that increpation, or some other suddaine apprehension of his owne, presently withdrew his Army before the fight began, and marching vnto the Territory of *Tegea*, turned the course of the water into the Territory of *Mantineia*; touching which water, because into what part soeuer it had his course, it did much harme to the Countrey, the *Mantineans*, and *Tegeates* were at Warres. Now his drift was, by the turning of that water, to prouoke those *Argives*, and their Confederates which kept the hill, when they should heare of it, to come down, C
 and oppose them, that so they might fight with them in the Plaine. And by that time he had stayed about the water a day, he had diuerted the streame. The *Argives*, & their Confederates were at first amazed at this their sudden retreat, from so neere them, and knew not what to make of it. But when after the retreat they returned no more in sight, and that they themselves lying still on the place, did not pursue them, then began they anew to accuse their Comanders, both for suffering the *Lacedæmonians* to depart formerly, when they had them inclosed at so faire an advantage before *Argos*; and now againe, for not pursuing them when they ran away, but giuing them leaue to saue themselves, & betraying the Army. The Commanders for the presēt, were much troubled hereat, but afterwards they drew downe the Armie from the Hill, and comming forth into the Plaine, encamped, as to goe against the enemy. D
 The next day the *Argives* and their Confederates put themselves into such order as (if occasion serued) they meant to fight in, & the *Lacedæmonians* returning frō the water to the temple of *Hercules*, the same place where they had formerly E
 encamped, perceiue the enemies to be all of the in order of
 battell

The *Argives* come downe from their aduantage, to seeke the enemy.

A battell hard by them, come downe already from the hill. Certainly the *Lacedæmonians* were more affrighted at this time, then euer they had beene to their remembrance before. For the time they had to prepare themselves was exceeding short, and such was their diligence that euery man fell immediately into his owne Rank, *Agis* the King commanding all, according to the Law. For whilest the King hath the Army in the field, all things are commanded by him, and he signifieth what is to be done, to the * *Polemarchi*, they to the *Lochagi*, these to the *Pentecotateres*, and these againe to the *Enomatachi*, who lastly make it knowne, euery one to his owne *Enomatia*. In this manner, when they would haue any thing to be done, their commands passe through the Army, and are quickly executed. For almost all the *Lacedæmonian* Army, saue a very few, are Captaines of Captaines, and the care of what is to be put in execution, lyeth vpon many. Now their left Wing consisted of the * *Sciritæ*, which amongst ahe *Lacedæmonians* haue euer alone that place. Next to these were placed the *Brasidian* Souldiers lately come out of *Thrace*, and with them, * those that had been newly made free. After them in order, the rest of the *Lacedæmonians*, Band after Band, and by them *Arcadians*, first the *Heræans*, after these the *Menaliæns*. In the right Wing were the *Tegeates*, and a few *Lacedæmonians* in the point of the same Wing. And vpon the out side of either Wing, the horsemen. So stood the *Lacedæmonians*. Opposite to them, in the right Wing, stood the *Mantineans*, because it was vpon their owne Territory, and with them such *Arcadians* as were of their League. Then the 1000 chosen *Argines* which the City had for a long time caused to be trayned for the Warres, at the publike charge; and next to them the rest of the *Argines*. After these the *Cleonæans*, and *Orneates*, their Confederates. And lastly, the *Athenians* with the Horsemen (which were also theirs) had the left Wing. This was the order and preparation of both the Armies.

The Army of the *Lacedæmonians* appeared to be the greater. But what the number was, either of the particulars of either side, or in generall, I could not exactly write. For the number of the *Lacedæmonians*, agreeable to the secrecy of that State, was vnknowne, and of the other side, for

The *Lacedæmonians* put themselves in order haptily.

* *Polemarchi*, Marshalls of the field, The Commanders of Regiments, Colonels. *Pentecotateres*, Captaines of Companies. *Enomatachi*, Captaines of the fourth part of Company. An *Enomatia*, was in this Army thirty two Souldiers.

* A Band of the *Lacedæmonians*, so called, perhaps from *Scitus*, a Towne in *Laconia*.

* *Sciritæ*, *Sciritæ*.

The order of the battell of the *Argines*.

the ostentation vnuall with all men, touching the number **A** of themselves was vnbeleueed. Neuerthelesse the number of the *Lacedæmonians* may be attained by computing thus. Besides the *Sciritæ*, which were 600. there fought in all seuen * *Regiments*, in euery Regiment were foure * *Companies*, in each Company were foure * *Enomatiæ*, and of euery *Enomatiæ*, there stood in Front, foure; but they were not ranged all alike in File, but as the Captaines of Bands thought it necessary. But the Army in generall was so ordered, as to be eight men in depth, and the first Ranke of the whole, besides the *Sciritæ*, consisted of 448 **B** Souldiers.

Now when they were ready to ioyne, the Commanders made their hortatines, euery one to those that were vnder his owne command. To the *Mantineans* it was said, That they were to fight for their Territory, and concerning their liberty, and seruitude, that the former might not be taken from them, and that they might not againe taste of the later. The *Argiues* were admonished, That whereas anciently they had the leading of Peloponnesus, and in it an equall share, they should not now suffer themselves to be deprived of it for euer; and that withall, they **C** should now reuenge the many iniuries of a City, their neigbbour and enemy. To the *Athenians* it was remembred, how honourable a thing it would be for them, in company of so many and good Confederates, to be inferior to none of them; and that if they had once vanquished the *Lacedæmonians* in Peloponnesus, their owne Dominion would become both the more assured, and the larger by it, and that no other would inuade their Territory hereafter. Thus much was said to the *Argiues* and their Confederates. But the *Lacedæmonians* encouraged one another, both of themselves, and also by the * manner of their Discipline in the Warres; taking encouragement, being valiant men, by the commemoration of what they already knew, as being well acquainted, that a long actuall experience, conferred more to their safety, then any short verball exhortation, though neuer so well deliuered. After this followed the battell.

The *Argiues* and their Confederates, marched to the charge with great violence, and fury. But the *Lacedæmonians*, slowly, and with many Flutes, according to their Military Discipline, not as a point of Religion, but that marching euently, and by measure, their Rankes might not be **E** distracted,

* 40000 less then ordinary Regiments, more then ordinary Companies.

* Companies of 50, but more or lesse in them as occasion served.

* *Enomatiæ*, the fourth part of a *Pentecostyæ*, by this account euery *Enomatiæ* had 32, euery *Pentecostyæ* 128, euery Band or *Regiment* 512 the whole Army besides the *Sciritæ* 4484, and with the *Sciritæ* were 5000, 4184 which number the *Argiues* also took, 448 in ranks 8 in File, make 3584, and when the 600 *Sciritæ* as before make 4184, 4184 armed Souldiers, which is almost foure exceeded the number of men of Armes are not reckoned.

The hortatins to the *Argiues*, and their Confederates,

The *Lacedæmonians* encourage one another.

* They used before battell to sing Songs containing encouragement, to stir for their Country.

The fight.

A distracted, as the greatest Armies, when they march in the face of the Enemy vse to be.

Whilest they were yet marching vp, *Agis* the King thought of this course. All Armies doe thus; In the Conflict they extend their right Wing, so as it commeth in vpon the Flanke of the left Wing of the enemy; and this happeneth for that, that euery one through feare seeketh all he can to couer his vnarmed side, with the Shield of him that standeth next him on his right hand, conceiuing, that to be so locked together, is their best defence. The be-

B ginning hereof, is in the leader of the first File on the right hand, who euer struing to shift his vnarmed side from the enemy, the rest vpon like feare follow after. And at this time, the *Mantineans* in the right Wing, had farre encompassed the *Sciritæ*: and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other side, and the *Tegæates*, were come in, yet farther, vpon the Flanke of the *Athenians*, by as much as they had the greater Army. Wherefore *Agis* fearing lest his left Wing should be en-

C compassed, & supposing the *Mantineans* to be come in farre, signified vnto the *Sciritæ* and *Brasidians*, to draw out part of their Bands, and therewith to equalize their left Wing, to the right Wing of the *Mantineans*, and into the void space, he commanded to come vp *Hipponoidas*, and *Aristocles*, two Colonels with their Bands, out of the right Wing, and to fall in there; and make vp the breach: Conceiuing that more then enough would be still remaining in their right Wing, and that the left Wing opposed to the *Mantineans*, would be the stronger. But it happened, (for he commanded it in the very onset, and on the sodaine) both that *Aristocles*, and *Hipponoidas* refused to go to the place com-

D manded (for which they were afterwards banished *Sparta*, as thought to haue disobeyed out of cowardise) and that the enemy had in the meane time also charged. And when those which he commanded to goe to the place of the *Sciritæ*, went not, they could no more reunite themselues, nor cloze againe the empty space. But the *Lacedæmonians*, though they had the worst at this time in euery point, for skill, yet in valour they manifestly shewed themselues superior. For after the fight was once begun, notwithstanding that the right Wing of the *Mantineans* did put to flight the *Sciritæ* & *Brasidians*, and that the *Mantineans*, together with their Confederates, and those 1500 chosen men

of

The *Lacedæmonians* haue the disadvantage for order, but aduantage of valour.

The Lacedæmonians haue
the victory.

of Argos, falling vpon them in Flanke, by the breach not A
yet clozed vp, killed many of the *Lacedæmonians*, and put
to flight, and chased them to their Carriages, slaying also
certaine of the elder sort, left there for a guard, so as in this
part the *Lacedæmonians* were overcome. But with the rest of
the Army, and especially the middle battell, where *Agis*
was himselfe, and those which are called, the 300 horsemen,
about him, they charged vpon the eldest of the *Argiues*, and
vpon those which are named, the five Cohorts, and vpon the
Cleonæans, and *Ornæates*, and certaine *Athenians* arranged a-
mongst them, and put them all to flight. In such sort, as B
many of them neuer strooke stroke, but as soone as the
Lacedæmonians charged, gaue ground presently, and some
for feare to be ouertaken, were trodden vnder foot. As
soone as the Army of the *Argiues* and their Confederates
had in this part giuen ground, they began also to breake, on
either side. The right Wing of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Te-
geates* had now with their surplusage of number hemmed
the *Athenians* in, so as they had the danger on all hands,
being within the circle, pend vp; and without it, already
vanquished. And they had been the most distressed part C
of all the Army had not their horsemen come in to helpe
them. Withall it fell out that *Agis* when he perceiued
the left Wing of his owne Army to labour, namely, that
which was opposed to the *Mantineans*, and to those
thousand *Argiues*, commanded the whole Army to goe and
relieue the part overcome. By which meanes the *Atheni-
ans*, and such of the *Argiues* as together with them, were o-
uerlaid whilst the Army passed by and declined them, sa-
ued themselues at leisure. And the *Mantineans* with their
Confederates, and those chosen *Argiues*, had no more mind D
now of pressing vpon their enemies, but seeing their side
was overcome, and the *Lacedæmonians* approaching them,
presently turned their backs. Of the *Mantineans* the greatest
part were slaine, but of those chosen *Argiues*, the most were
saued, by reason the flight, and going off, was neither hasty
nor long. For the *Lacedæmonians* fight long and constant-
ly till they haue made the enemy to turne his backe, but
that done, they follow him not farre.

The Lacedæmonians pur-
sue not the enemy farre.

Thus or neere thus, went the battell, the greatest that
had been of a long time betweene *Grecians*, and *Grecians*, E
and of two the most famous Cities. The *Lacedæmonians*
laying

A laying together the Armes of their slaine enemies, presently erected a Trophie, and rifled their dead bodies. Their owne dead they tooke vp, and carried them to *Tegea*, where they were also buried, and deliuered to the Enemy theirs, vnder truce. Of the *Argiues*, and *Orneates*, and *Cleonceans* were slaine 700. of the *Mantineans*, 200. and of the *Athenians*, with the *Eginetæ*, likewise 200. and both the Captaines. The Confederates of the *Lacedemonians* were neuer pressed, and therfore their losse was not worth mentioning. And of the *Lacedemonians* themselues, it is hard to know the certaintie, but it is said there were slaine three hundred.

Number of the dead.

When it was certaine they would fight, *Pleistanax* the other King of the *Lacedemonians*, and with him both old and yong, came out of the Citie to haue ayded the Arme, and came forth as farre as *Tegea*; but being aduertised of the Victory, they returned. And the *Lacedemonians* sent out to turne backe also those Confederates of theirs which were comming to them from *Corinth*, and from without the *Isthmus*. And then they also went home themselues, and hauing dismissed their Confederates (for now were the *Carneian* Holidiaes) celebrated that Feast. Thus in this one Battell they wiped off their disgrace with the *Grecians*: for they had beene taxed both with cowardise, for the blow they receiued in the Iland, and with imprudence and slacknesse in other occasions. But after this, their miscarriage was imputed to Fortune, and for their mindes, they were esteemed to haue been euer the same they had beene.

The *Lacedemonians* recover their reputation.

The day before this Battell, it chanced also that the *Epidaurians* with their whole power inuaded the Territory of *Argos*, as being emptied much of men; and whilst the *Argiues* were abroad, killed many of those that were left behinde to defend it.

The *Epidaurians* enter the territory of *Argos*.

Also three thousand men of *Elis*, and a thousand *Athenians*, besides those which had beene sent before, being come after the Battell to ayde the *Mantineans*, marched presently all, to *Epidaurus*, & lay before it all the while the *Lacedemonians* were celebrating the *Carneian* Holidiaes: and assigning to euery one his part, began to take in the Citie with a Wall. But the rest gaue ouer; only the *Athenians* quickly finished a Fortification, (which was their taske) wherein stood

The *Athenians* build a Fort before *Epidaurus*.

The end of the twelfth Summer.
Peace concluded between the Argives and Lacedæmonians.

stood the Temple of *Iuno*. In it, amongst them all they A
left a Garrison, and went home every one to his owne
Citie: And so this Summer ended.

In the beginning of the Winter following, the *Lacedæ-*
monians, presently after the end of the *Carnelian* Holidais,
drew out their Armie into the Field, and being come to
Tegea, sent certaine propositions of agreement before to
Argos. There were before this time many Citizens in
Argos, well-affected to the *Lacedæmonians*, and that desired
the deposing of the *Argive* People, and now after the Bat-
tell, they were better able by much to perswade the peo- B
ple to composition, then they formerly were. And their
designe was, first, to get a Peace made with the *Lacedæmo-*
nians, and after that a League, and then at last to set vpon
the Commons.

There went thither, *Lichas* the sonne of *Archefilaus*, en-
tainer of the *Argives* in *Lacedæmon*, and brought to *A gos*
two propositions; one of Warre, if the Warre were to
proceed; another of Peace, if they would haue Peace.
And after much contradiction, (for *Alcibiades* was also
there) the *Lacedæmonian* Faction, that boldly now dis- C
covered themselues, preuailed with the *Argives* to accept
the proposition of Peace, which was this.

THE ARTICLES.

It seemeth good to the Councill of the Lacedæmonians, to ac-
cord with the Argives on these Articles:

The Argives shall redeliuer vnto the Orchomenians their
** children, and vnto the Mænaliens their * men, and vnto the*
*Lacedæmonians those * men that are at Mantinea.*

They shall withdraw their Souldiers from Epidaurus, and
raze the Fortification there. And if the Athenians depart not D
from Epidaurus likewise, they shall bee held as Enemies both to
the Argives and to the Lacedæmonians, and also to the Con-
federates of them both.

If the Lacedæmonians haue any men of theirs in custody, they
shall deliuer them every one to his owne Citie.

*And for so much as concerneth the * God, the Argives shall ac-*
*cept composition with the Epidaurians, vpon an * Oath which*
they shall sweare, touching that controuerse, and the Argives shall
giue the forme of that Oath.

All the Cities of Peloponnesus, both small and great, shall bee E
free, according to their partiall Lawes.

* Hostages which they tooke
of the Orchomenians.

* Hostages of the Mænali-
ans.

* Hostages of the Arcadians
giuen to the Lacedæmoni-
ans, and by them kept at
Orchomenus, and at the
taking of Orchomenus by
the Argive League, carried
away to Mantinea.

* Apollo, to whom the E-
pidaurians should haue
sent a heast for sacrifice, in
name of their pastures, but
not doing it, the Argives
went about to force the to it.
* An Oath to send the heast
for sacrifice benefier.

A If any without Peloponnesus shall enter into it, to doe it harme, the Argiues shall come forth to defend the same, in such sort as in a Common Councell shall by the Peloponnesians be thought reasonable.

The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, without Peloponnesus, shall haue the same conditions which the Confederates of the Argiues, and of the Lacedæmonians haue, euery one holding his owne.

This composition is to hold from the time, that they shall both parts haue shewed the same to their Confederates, and obtained their consent.

B And if it shall seeme good to either part to adde or alter any thing, their Confederates shall be sent vnto, and made acquainted therewith.

These Propositions the Argiues accepted at first, and the Army of the Lacedæmonians returned from Tegea, to their owne City. But shortly after, when they had commerce together, the * same men went further, and so wrought, that the Argiues renouncing their League with the Mantineans, Eleans, and Athenians, made league and alliance with the Lacedæmonians in this forme.

* The Lacedæmonian faction.

C It seemeth good to the Lacedæmonians and Argiues, to make League and alliance for fifty yeeres, on these Articles:

The League betweene the Argiues and Lacedæmonians.

That either side shall allow vnto the other, equall and like trials of Iudgement, after the forme vsed in their Cities.

That the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus (this League and Alliance comprehending also them) shall be* free, both fro the lawes, and payments of any other City then their owne, holding what they haue, and affording equall, and like tryals of iudgement, according to the forme vsed in their seuerall Cities.

* αὐτενομία καὶ αὐτονομία.

D That euery of the Cities, Confederate with the Lacedæmonians without Peloponnesus, shall be in the same condition with the Lacedæmonians, and the Confederates of the Argiues, in the same with the Argiues, euery one holding his owne.

That if at any time there shall need an expedition to be undertaken in common, the Lacedæmonians, and the Argiues shall consult thereof, and decree, as shall stand most with equiry towards the Confederates; and that if any Controuersie arise betweene any of the Cities either within, or without Peloponnesus, about limits or other matter, they also shall decide it.

That if any Confederate Citie bee at contention with another

mother, it shall haue recourse to that City, which they both shall **A**
thinke most indifferent; but the particular men of any one City, shall
be iudg'd according to the Law of the same.

Thus was the Peace and League concluded, and what-
soever one had taken from other in the Warre, or what soe-
uer one had against another otherwise, was all acquitted.

Now when they were together settling their businesse,
they ordered, that the *Argiues* should neither admit Herald
or Ambassage from the *Athenians*, till they were gone out
of *Peloponnesus*, and had quit the Fortification, nor should
make Peace or Warre with any, without consent of the **B**
rest.

And amongst other things which they did in this heat,
they sent Ambassadors from both their Cities, to the
Townes lying vpon *Thrace*, and vnto *Perdiccas*, whom they
also perswaded to sweare himselfe of the same League.
Yet he reuolted not from the *Athenians* presently, but in-
tended it, because he saw the *Argiues* had done so; and was
himselfe also anciently descended out of *Argos*. They like-
wise renewed their old oath with the *Chalcideans*, and
tooke another besides it.

The *Argiues* sent Ambassadors also to *Athens*, requiring
them to abandon the Fortification they had made against
Epidaurus. And the *Athenians* considering that the Souldi-
ers they had in it, were but few, in respect of the many o-
ther that were with them in the same, sent *Demoſthenes* thi-
ther to fetch them away. He, when he was come, and had
exhibited for a pretence, a certaine exercise of naked men
without the Fort, when the rest of the Garrison were
gone forth to see it, made fast the Gates, and afterwards
hauing renewed the League with the *Epidaurians*, the *A-D*
Athenians by themselves put the Fort into their hands.

After the reuolt of the *Argiues* from the League, the
Mantineans also, though they withstood it at first, yet being
too weake without the *Argiues*, made their Peace with the
Lacedemonians, and laid downe their command ouer the
* other Cities. And the *Lacedemonians* and *Argiues*, with
a thousand men of either City, hauing ioyned their Armes,
the *Lacedemonians* first, with their single power, reduced
the gouernment of *Sicyon* to a smaller number, and then they
both together dissolued the Democracy at *Argos*. **E**

And the Oligarchy was established conformable to the
State

The *Argiues* and *Lacede-
monians* make an order
that the *Athenians* shall
quit the Fort,

They sollicite the townes
vpon *Thrace* to reuolt
from the *Athenians*,

Demoſthenes being sent to
fetch their Souldiers
from the Fort, delu-
ceth the same by a wile
to the *Epidaurians*.

The *Mantineans* forsake
the League of *Athens*.

* which they had the leading
of in *Arcadia*.

Sicyon, and *Argos* reduced
to Oligarchies.

A State of *Lacedæmon*. These things passed in the end of Winter, and neere the Spring. And so ended the fourteenth yeere of this Warre.

The next Summer the *Distidians* seated in Mount *Aibos*, revolted from the *Athenians*, to the *Chalcidians*.

And the *Lacedæmonians* ordered the State of *Achaia*, after their owne forme, which before was otherwise. But the *Argives*, after they had by little and little assembled themselves, and recovered heart, taking their time when the *Lacedæmonians* were celebrating their exercises of the naked

B youth, assaulted the *Few*, and in a battell fought within the City, the Commons had the victory, & some they slew, other they draue into exile. The *Lacedæmonians*, though those of their faction in *Argos* sent for them, went not a long time after, yet at last they adiourned the exercises, and came forth with intention to giue them aid, but hearing by the way, at *Tegea*, that the *Few* were overcome, they could not be entreated, by such as had escaped thence, to goe on, but returning, went on with the celebration of their exercises. But afterwards, when there came Ambassadors vnto C them, both from the *Argives* in the City, & from them that were driven out, there being present also their Confederates, and much alledged on either side, they concluded at last, that those in the City had done the wrong, and decreed to goe against *Argos* with their Army; but many delays passed, and much time was spent betweene. In the meane time the common people of *Argos*, fearing the *Lacedæmonians*, & regaining the League with *Athens*, as conceiuing the same would turne to their very great aduantage, raise long walls from their City, downe to the Sea-shore; to the end that D if they were shut vp by Land, they might yet, with the helpe of the *Athenians*, bring things necessary into the City by Sea. And with this their building, some other Cities of *Peloponnesus* were also acquainted. And the *Argiues*, vniuersally themselves, and wiues, and seruants, wrought at the wal; and had workemen, and hewers of stone from *Athens*. So this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the *Lacedæmonians* vnderstanding, that they were fortifying, came to *Argos* with their Army, they and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, & some practice they had beside, within the City it selfe of *Argos*. The E Army was commanded by *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*,

THE FIFTEENTH
YEERE.

The *Distidians* revolt
from *Athens*.
Achaia Oligarchized.
Argos relapieth into a
Democracy.

The *Argiues* come againe
to the League of *Athens*,
and with long walls take
in a way from their City
to the Sea.

The end of the fifteenth
Summer.

The *Lacedæmonians* Army
comes to *Argos*, and razeth
the wals which they
were building.

They take *Hysia* a Towne
in *Argos*.

The *Argives* spoyle the
Territory of *Phliasia*.

The *Athenians* quarrell
Perdiccas, and barre him
the vse of the Sea.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE.
Alcibiades fetcheth away
300 Citizens of *Argos* for
Lacedaemonians.

The *Athenians* warre
against the Island of *Melos*.

King of the *Lacedaemonians*. But those things which were A
practizing in *Argos*, and supposed to haue beene already
mature, did not then succeed. Neuerthelesse they tooke
the walles that were then in building, and razed them to
the ground; and then after they had taken *Hysia*, a towne in
the *Argive* Territory, and slaine all the freemen in it, they
went home, and were dissolued euery one to his owne City.

After this, the *Argives* went with an Army into *Phlia-*
sia, which when they had wasted, they went backe. They
did it, because the men of *Phliu* had received their Out-
lawes; for there the greatest part of them dwelt. B

The same Winter the *Athenians* shut vp *Perdiccas* in *Ma-*
cedonia, from the vse of the Sea; Obiecting that hee had
sworne the League of the *Argives*, and *Lacedaemonians*, and
that when they had prepared an Army, vnder the com-
mand of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, to goe against the
Chalcideans vpon *Thrace*, and against *Amphipolis*, he had broken
the League made betwixt them and him; and by his
departure, was the principall cause of the dissolution of
that Army, and was therefore an enemy. And so this
Winter ended, and the fifteenth yeere of this Warre. C

The next Summer went *Alcibiades* to *Argos*, with
twenty Gallies, and tooke thence the suspected *Argives*,
and such as seemed to fauour of the *Lacedaemonian* faction,
to the number of 300, and put them into the neere of the
Ilands subiect to the *Athenian* State.

The *Athenians* made Warre also against the Ile of *Melos*,
with 30 Gallies of their owne, 6 of *Chios*, and 2 of *Lesbos*.
Wherein were of their owne, 1200 men of Armes, 300
Archers, and 20 Archers on horsebacke, and of their Confe-
derates, and Ilanders, about 1500 men of Armes. The *Me-* D
lians are a Colony of the *Lacedaemonians*, and therefore re-
fused to be subiect, as the rest of the Ilands were, vnto the
Athenians; but rested at the first newtrall, and afterwards
when the *Athenians* put them to it, by walling of their
Land, they entred into open Warre.

Now the *Athenian* Commanders *Cleomenes* the sonne of
Lytemades, and *Licias* the sonne of *Lisimachus*, being encamped
vpon their Land with these forces, before they would hurt
the same, sent Ambassadors to deale with them first by
way of conference. These Ambassadors the *Melians* re- E
fused to bring before the multitude, but commanded them

A to deliuer their message before the *Magistrates*, and the *Few*, and they accordingly said as followeth.

DIALOGVE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS and MELIANS.

Ath.

Since we may not speake to the multitude, for feare lest when they heare our perswasive and vnanswerable Arguments, all at once in a continued Oration, they should chance to bee seduced, (for we know that this is the scope of your bringing vs to audience before the Few) make surer yet that point, you that sit heere; answer you also to euery particular, not in a set speech, but presently interrupting vs, whensoever any thing shall bee said by vs, which shall seeme vnto you to be otherwise. And first answer vs, whether you like this motion, or not?

Wherevnto the Councell of the Melians answered,

Mel. The equity of a leasurely debate is not to be found fault withall; but this preparation of warre, not future, but already heere present, seemeth not to agree with the same. For we see that you are come to bee Iudges of the conference, and that the issue of it, if we bee **C**superiour in argument, and therefore yeeld not, is likely to bring vs Warre; and if we yeeld, seruitude.

Ath. Nay if you become together to reckon vpsuspitions of what may bee, or to any other purpose, then to take aduice vpon what is present, and before your eyes, how to saue your Citie from destruction, let vs giue ouer. But if this be the point, let vs speake to it.

Mel. It is reason, and pardonable for men in our cases, to turne both their words and thoughts vpon diuers things: Howsoever, this consultation being held onely vpon the point of our safety, we are content, if you thinke good, to goe on with the course you haue propounded.

D **Ath.** As we, therefore, will not, for our parts, with faire pretences, (as that hauing defeated the Medes, our raigne is therefore lawfull, or That we come against you for iniury done) make a long discourse without being beleened; so would we haue you also not expect to preuaile, by saying, either, That you therefore tooke not our parts, because you were a Colonie of the Lacedæmonians; or, that you haue done vs no iniury; but out of those things which we both of vs doe really thinke, let vs goe through, with that which is feasible; both you, and wee, knowing, that in humane disputation, iustice is then onely agreed on, when the necessity is equall. Whereas they that haue **E**oddes of power, exact as much as they can, and the weakc yeeld to such conditions as they can get.

Mel.

Mel. Well then, (seeing you put the point of profit in the place **A** of that of Iustice) we hold it profitable for our selues, not to overthrow a generall profit to all men, which is this, That men in danger, if they pleade reason, and equity, nay, though somewhat without the strict compassse of Iustice, yet it ought euer to doe them good; And the same most of all concerneth you, forasmuch as you shall else giue an example vnto others, of the greatest reuenge that can bee taken, if you chance to miscarry.

Ath. As for vs, though our dominion should cease, yet wee feare not the sequell. For not they that command, as doe the Lacedæmonians, are cruell to those that are vanquished by them, (yet wee haue **B** nothing to doe now with the Lacedæmonians,) but such as hauing beene in subiection, haue assaulted those that commanded them, and gotten the victory. But let the danger of that be to our selues. In the meane time, wee tell you this, that wee are here now, both to enlarge our owne dominion, and also to conserue about the sauing of your Citie. For wee would haue dominion ouer you, without oppressing you, and preserue you, to the profit of vs both.

Mel. But how can it be profitable for vs to serue, though it be so for you to command?

Ath. Because you by obeying, shall save your selues from extremity; and wee not destroying you, shall reape profit by you. **C**

Mel. But will you not accept that wee remaine quiet, and be your friends, (whereas before wee were your enemies,) and take part with neither?

Ath. No. For your enimity doth not so much hurt vs, as your friendship will be an argument of our weaknesse, and your hatred, of our power, amongst those whom we beare rule over.

Mel. Why? Doe your Subiects measure equity so, as to put those that neuer had to doe with you, and themselves, who for the most part haue beene your owne Colonies, and some of them after reuolt **D** conquered, into one and the same consideration?

Ath. Why not? For they thinke they haue reason on their side, both the one sort and the other; and that such as are subdued, are subdued by force, and such as are forborne, are so through our feare. So that by subduing you, besides the extending of our dominion ouer so many more Subiects, we shall also assure it the more ouer those we had before, especially being masters of the Sea, and you Ilanders, and weaker (except you can get the victory) then others whom wee haue subdued already.

Mel. Doe you thinke then, that there is no assurance in that which **E** we propounded? For here againe (since driving vs from the plea of equity,

A equity, you perswade vs to submit to your profit) when we haue shewed you what is good for vs, we must endeavour to draw you to the same, as far forth as it shall be good for you also. As many therefore as now are neutrall, what doe you but make them your enemies, when beholding these your proceedings, they looke that hereafter you will also turne your Armes vpon them? And what is this, but to make greater the Enemies you haue already, and to make others your Enemies euen against their wills, that would not else haue beene so?

B Ach. We doe not thinke that they shall be euer the more our Enemies, who inhabiting any where in the Continent, will bee long ere they so much as keepe guard vpon their liberty against vs. But Islanders vn subdued, as you bee, or Islanders offended with the necessity of subiection which they are already in, these may indeed, by vnadvised courses, put both themselves and vs into apparent danger.

Mel. If you then to retaine your command, and your vassals, to get loose from you, will vndergoe the vtmost of danger, would it not in vs that be already free, be great basenesse and cowardise, if we should not incounter any thing whatsoever, rather then suffer our selues to be brought into bondage?

C Ach. No; if you aduise rightly. For you haue not in hand a match of valour vpon equall termes, wherein to forget your honour, but rather a consultation vpon your safety, that you resist not such as be so fau're your ouermatches.

Mel. But wee know, that in matter of Warre, the euent is sometimes otherwise then according to the difference of the number in sides. And that if we yeeld presently, all our hope is lost; whereas, if wee hold out, we haue yet a hope to keepe our selues vp.

D Ach. Hope, the comfort of danger, when such vse it as haue to spare, though it hurt them, yet it destroyes them not. But to such as set their rest vpon it, (for it is a thing by nature prodigall) it at once by failing maketh it selfe knowne; and knowne, leaueth no place for future caution. Which let not be your owne case you that are but weake, and haue no more but this one stake. Nor bee you like vnto many men, who though they may presently saue themselves by humane meanes, will yet when (vpon pressure of the Enemy) their most apparent hopes faile them, betake themselves to blinde ones, as Diuination, Oracles, and other such things, which with hopes destroy men.

E Mel. Wee thinke it (you well know) a hard matter for vs to combat your power and fortune, vnlesse wee might doe it on equall termes. Neuerthelesse we beleeeue that for fortune wee shall bee nothing inferiour, as hauing the Gods on our side, because wee stand innocent,

innocent, against men vniust. And for power, what is wanting in A
us, will be supplied by our League with the Lacedæmonians, who
are of necessity obliged, if for no other cause, yet for consanguinities
sake, and for their owne honour to defend vs. So that we are confi-
dent, not altogether so much without reason, as you thinke.

Ath. As for the fauour of the Gods, we expect to haue it as
well as you, for we neither doe, nor require any thing contrary to what
mankind hath decreed, either concerning the worship of the Gods, or
concerning themselves. For of the Gods we thinke, according to the
common opinion, and of men, that for certaine, by necessity of Nature,
they will euery where raigne ouer such as they be to strong for. Nei- B
ther did we make this Law, nor are we the first that vse it made, but
as we found it, and shall leaue it to posterity for euer so also we vse it.
Knowing that you likewise, and others that should haue the same
power which we haue, would doe the same. So that for as much as
toucheth the fauour of the Gods, we haue in reason no feare of being
inferiour. And as for the opinion you haue of the Lacedæmoni-
ans, in that you beleene they will helpe you for their owne honour, wee
blesse your innocent mindes, but affect not your folly. For the Lacedæmonians, though in respect of themselves, and the constitutions of
their owne Countrey, they are wont, for the most part, to be generous, C
yet in respect of others, though much might be alledged, yet the shortest
way one might say it all thus, That most apparantly of all men, they
hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for iust, that which
profiteth. And such an opinion maketh nothing for your now absurd
meanes of safety.

Mel. Nay for this same opinion of theirs we now the rather be-
leene that they will not betray their owne Colony, the Melians; and
thereby become perfidious to such of the Grecians as be their friends,
and beneficiall to such as be their enemies.

Ath. You thinke not then that what is profitable, must bee also D
safe, and that which is iust and honourable, must be performed vvith
danger, vvhich commonly the Lacedæmonians are least vvilling of
all men, to vndergoe for others.

Mel. But vve suppose that they vvill vndertake danger for vs,
rather then for any other; and that they thinke that vve vvill be more
assured vvnto them, then vvnto any other; because for action vvee lye
neere to Peloponnesus, and for affection, are more faithfull then
others for our neerenesse of kinne.

Ath. The security of such as are at Warres, consisteth not in the
good vvill of those that are called to their aide, but in the power of E
those meanes they excell in. And this the Lacedæmonians
them-

A themselves use to consider more then any ; and therefore out of diffidence in their owne forces, they take many of their Confederates with them, though to an expedition but against their neighbours. Wherefore it is not likely, we being Masters of the sea, that they will euer passe ouer into an Island.

Mel. Yea, but they may haue others to send ; and the Cretique sea is wide, wherein to take another, is harder for him that is Master of it, then it is for him that will steale by, to saue himselfe. And if this course faile, they may turne their Armes against your owne Territory, or those of your Confederates not inuaded by Brasidas. And then you
B shall haue to trouble your selues, no more about a Territory that you haue nothing to do withall, but about your own and your Confederates.

Ath. Let them take which course of these they will, that you also may find by experience, and not be ignorant, that the Athenians, neuer yet gaue ouer siege, for feare of any diuersion vpon others. But we obserue, that whereas you said you would consult of your safety you haue not yet in all this discourse said any thing, which a man relying on, could hope to be preserued by. The strongest arguments you vse, are but future hopes, and your present power, is too short to defend you against the forces already aranged against you. You shall therefore
C take very absurd counsaile, vnlesse excluding vs, you make amongst your selues some more discreet conclusion ; For when you are by your selues, you will no more set your thoughts vpon shame, which, when dishonour and danger stand before mens eyes for the most part vndothem. For many, when they haue foreseene into what dangers they were entring haue neuerthelessse beene so ouercome by that forcible word, dishonour, that that which is but called dishonour, hath caused them to fall willingly into immedicable calamities & so to draw vpon themselves, really by their owne madnesse, a greater dishonour then could haue befallne them by fortune. Which you, if you deliberate
D wisely, will take heed of, and not thinke shame to submit to a most potent Citie, and that vpon so reasonable conditions, as of League, and of enjoying your owne, vnder tribute. And seeing choice is giuen you of Warre, or safety, doe not out of peeuishnesse take the worse. For such doe take the best course, who though they giue no way to their equals, yet doe fairly accomodate to their superiours, and towards their inferiours use moderation. Consider of it therefore, whilest we stand off, and haue often in your minde, that you deliberate of your Country, which is to be happy or miserable in & by this one consultation. So the Athenians went aside from the conference ; and the Melians
E after they had decreed the very same things which before they had spoken, made answer vnto them in this manner.

Mel. Men of Athens, our resolution is no other then what A
you haue heard before ; nor will we in a small portion of time, ouer-
throw that liberty in which our City hath remained for the space of
700 years since it was first founded. But trusting to the fortune
by which the Gods haue preserued it hetherto, and vnto the helpe
of men, that is, of the Lacedæmonians, wee will doe our best to
maintaine the same. But this we offer ; To be your friends ;
Enemies to neither side ; and you to depart out of our
Land after agreement , such as we shall both thinke fit.
Thus the Melians answered ; to which the Athenians , the
conference being already broken off, replied thus. B

Ath. You are the onely men, (as it seemeth to vs by this con-
sultation) that thinke future things more certaine , then things seene,
and behold things doubtfull, though desire to haue them true, as if
they were already come to passe. As you attribute and trust the
most, vnto the Lacedæmonians, and to Fortune, and Hopes ;
So will you be the most deceived. This said, the Athenian Am-
bassadors departed to their Campe, and the Commanders,
seeing that the Melians stood out, fell presently to the War,
and diuiding the worke among the seuerall Cities, encom-
passed the City of the Melians with a wall. The Athe- C
nians afterwards , left some forces of their owne , and of
their Confederates, for a guard , both by Sea and Land,
and with the greatest part of their Army, went home. The
rest that were left, belieged the place.

About the same time, the Argives, making a Road into
Phlæsia, lost about 80 of their men, by ambush laid for them
by the men of Phlius, and the outlawes of their owne City.

And the Athenians that lay in Pylus, fetched in thither a
great booty from the Lacedæmonians ; notwithstanding
which the Lacedæmonians did not warre vpon them , as re- D
nouncing the Peace, but gaue leaue by Edict onely , to any
of their people that would to take booties reciprocally in
the Territory of the Athenians.

The Corinthians also made Warre vpon the Athenians,
but it was for certaine controuersies of their owne , and
the rest of Peloponnesus stirred not.

The Melians also tooke that part of the wall of the A-
thenians by an assault in the night , which looked towards
the Market place, and hauing slaine the men that guarded
it, brought into the Towne both Corne, and other prouisi- E
on what soeuer they could buy for money, and so returned
and

The Athenians and Melians agree not,

The City of Melos besieged.

The Argives loose 80 men by an Ambushment of the Phliisians.

The Athenians in Pylus intercept Laconia.

The Corinthians Warre on the Athenians.

The Melians releue their Towne.

A and lay still. And the *Athenians* from thenceforth kept a better watch. And so this Summer ended.

The Winter following, the *Lacedæmonians* being about to enter with their Army into the Territory of the *Argives*, when they perceiued that the sacrifices which they made on the border, for their passage, were not acceptable, returned. And the *Argives*, hauing some of their owne Citie in suspicion, in regard of this designe of the *Lacedæmonians*, apprehended some of them, and some escaped.

B About the same time, the *Melians* tooke another part of the wall of the *Athenians*, they that kept the siege, being then not many. But this done, there came afterwards fresh forces from *Athens*, vnder the Conduct of *Philocrates* the sonne of *Demeas*. And the Towne being now strongly besieged, there being also within some that practised to haue it giuen vp, they yeelded themselues to the discretion of the *Athenians*, who slew all the men of Military age, made slaues of the women and children, and inhabited the place with a Colony sent
C thither afterwards, of five hundred men of their owne.

* * *

Yy 2



E

The end of the fifteenth Summer.

MARE THYRRÆNUM

ANTIENT SICELE
ACCORDING TO THE
Description of
Philip Chuvierius



Miles.





THE
SIXTH BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

Sicily described. The causes and pretences of the Sicilian Warre,
with the consultation and preparation for the same. Alcibiades,
one of the Generals of the Army accused of defacing the Images of
Mercury, is suffered for that present to depart with the Armie.
The Athenian Army commeth to Rhegium, thence to Catana.
From thence Alcibiades is sent for home, to make answer to
his accusations, and by the way escaping, goeth to Lacedæmon.
Nicias encampeth neere Syracuse, and hauing overcome the Ar-
mie of the Syracusians in Battell, returneth to Catana. The Sy-
racusians procure aydes amongst the rest of the Sicilians. Al-
cibiades instigateth and instructeth the Lacedæmonians against
his Countrey. Nicias returneth from Catana to Syracuse, and
encamping in Epipolæ, besiegeth the Citie, and beginneth to en-
close them with a double Wall, which was almost brought to per-
fection in the beginning of the eighteenth yeere of this Warre.



He same Winter the Athenians with
greater Forces then they had be-
fore sent out with Laches and Eury-
medon, resolved to goe againe into
Sicily, and if they could wholly to
subdue it. Being for the most
part ignorant both of the great-
nesse of the Iland, and of the mul-
titude of people, as well Greekes
as Barbarians that inhabited the same; and that they vn-
dertooke

The Athenians resolve to
inuaide Sicily.

The greatnesse of Sicily,
and the inhabitants.

dertooke a Warre not much lesse then the Warre against A the *Peloponnesians*.

* *avissa*

For the compasse of *Sicily* is little lesse then eight dayes sayle for a Ship, and though so great, is yet diuided with no more then twenty Furlongs, Sea measure, from the Continent.

Cyclopes and Laestrigones.

It was inhabited in Old time, thus; and these were the Nations that held it. The most ancient Inhabitants in a part thereof, are said to haue been the *Cyclopes*, and *Laestrigones*, of whose Stocke, and whence they came, or to what place they remoued, I haue nothing to say. Let that suffice which the Poets haue spoken, and which euery particular man hath learned of them. B

Sicanians.

* *aurigones.*

After them, the first that appeare to haue dwelt therein, are the *Sicanians*, as they say themselves; nay, before the other, as being the * naturall breed of the Iland. But the truth is, they were *Iberians*, and driuen away by the *Ligyans* from the bankes of *Sicanus*, a Riuer on which they were seated, in *Iberia*. And the Iland from them came to be called *Sicania*, which was before *Trinacria*. And these two inhabit yet in the Westerne parts of *Sicily*. C

Sicania, Trinacria.

Troians.

After the taking of *Ilium*, certaine *Troians*, escaping the hands of the *Grecians*, landed with small Boats in *Sicily*, and hauing planted themselves on the borders of the *Sicanians*, both the Nations in one were called *Elymi*, and their Cities were *Eryx*, and *Egesta*.

Siculi.

Hard by these came and dwelled also certaine *Phoceans*, who comming from *Troy*, were by tempest carried first into *Africke*, and thence into *Sicily*. But the *Siculi* passed out of *Italy*, (for there they inhabited) flying from the *Opici*, hauing, as is most likely, and as it is reported, obserued the Straight, and with a fore-wind, gotten ouer, in Boats which they made suddenly on the occasion, or perhaps by some other meanes. D

There is at this day a people in *Italy*, called *Siculi*. And *Italy* it selfe got that name after the same manner, from a King of *Arcadia*, called *Italus*. Of these a great Army crossing ouer into *Sicily*, ouerthrew the *Sicanians* in battell, and draue them into the South, and West parts of the same; and in stead of *Sicania*, caused the Iland to be called *Sicilia*, and held and inhabited the best of the Land, for E neere 300 yeeres after their going ouer, and before any of the

A the *Grecians* came thither. And till now they possesse the midland, and North parts of the Island.

Also the *Phœnicians* inhabited the Coast of *Sicily* on all sides, having taken possession of certaine Promontories, and little Islands adiacent, for Trades sake with the *Sicilians*. But after that many *Grecians* were come in by Sea, the *Phœnicians* abandoned most of their former habitations, and uniting themselves, dwelt in *Motya*, and *Soloeis*, and *Panormus*, vpon the borders of the *Elymi*; as relying vpon their League with the *Elymi*, and because also, from thence, lay the shortest Cut ouer vnto *Carthage*. These were the *Barbarians*, and thus they inhabited *Sicily*.

Phœnicians.

B Now for *Grecians*, first a Colony of *Chalcideans*, vnder *Thucles* their Conductor, going from *Enboea*, built *Naxos*, and the Altar of *Apollo* * *Archegetes*, now standing without the City, vpon which the * *Ambassadors* employed to the Oracles, as often as they lanch from *Sicily*, are accustomed to offer their first sacrifice. The next yeere *Archias*, a man of the *Herculean* Family, carried a Colony from *Corinth*, and became Founder of *Syracuse*, where first he draue the *Siculi* out of that * *Island*, in which the inner part of the City now standeth, nor now enuironed wholly with the Sea, as it was then. And in proceſſe of time, when the City also that is without, was taken in with a wall, it became a populous Citie.

Chalcideans.

* *Id est, Chief guide.*

* *Siue, or.*

Corinthians.

C In the fifth yeere after the building of *Syracuse*, *Thucles* and the *Chalcideans*, going from *Naxos*, built *Leontium*, expelling thence the *Siculi*, and after that *Catana*, but they that went to *Catana*, chose *Euaerchus* for their Founder. About the same time arrived in *Sicily*, also *Lamis*, with a Colony from *Megara*, and first built a certaine Towne called *Trotilus*, vpon the Riuer *Pantacius*, where for a while after he gouerned the estate of his Colony in common with the *Chalcideans* of *Leontium*. But afterwards, when he was by them thrust out, and had builded *Thapsus*, he dyed; and the rest going from *Thapsus*, vnder the Conduct of *Hyblon*, a King of the *Siculi*, built *Megara*, called *Megara-Hybled*. And after they had there inhabited, 24 yeeres, they were by *Gelon*, a Tyrant of *Syracuse*, put out both of the City and Territory. But before they were driuen thence, namely 100

D yeeres after they had built it, they sent out *Pammilus*, and built the Citie of *Solinus*. This *Pammilus* came to them from

* *Naxos, Ortygia, an Island part of the Citie of Syracuse.*

Megareans.

Rhodians and Cretans.

Messana first built by Pirates of Cumæ.

Eubœans.

Samians and other Ionians.

Rhegium.

Acra, Chasmene.

Camarina.

from *Megara*, their owne Metropolitan City, and so together with them founded *Selinus*. *Gela* was built in the 45 yeere after *Syracuse*, by *Antiphemus*, that brought a Colony out of *Rhodes*, and by *Entymus*, that did the like out of *Crete*, ioyntly. This City was named after the name of the Riuer, *Gela*, and the place where now the City standeth, and which at first they walled in, was called *Lindij*. And the Lawes which they established, were the *Dorique*. About 108 yeeres after their owne foundation, they of *Gela* built the Citie of *Acragante*, calling the City after the name of the Riuer, and for their Conductors, choze *Aristonous*, and *Pythilus*, and gaue vnto them the Lawes of *Gela*. *Zancle* was first built by *Pirates*, that came from *Cumæ*, a *Chalcidean* City in *Ojicia*; but afterwards there came a multitude and helped to people it, out of *Chalcis*, and the rest of *Eubœa*; and their Conductors were *Prieres*, and *Cratemenes*; one of *Cumæ*, the other of *Chalcis*. And the name of the City was at first *Zancle*, so named by the *Sicilians*, because it hath the forme of a Sicke, and the *Sicilians* call a Sicke, *Zanclon*. But these Inhabitants were afterwards chased thence by the *Samians*, and other people of *Ionia*, that in their flight from the *Medes*, fell vpon *Sicily*.

After this, *Anaxilas*, Tyrant of *Rhegium*, draue out the *Samians*, and peopling the City with a mixt people of them, and his owne, in stead of *Zancle*, called the place by the name of his owne Countrey from whence he was anciently descended, *Messana*. After *Zancle*, was built *Himera*, by *Euclides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; the most of which Colony were *Chalcideans*; but there were also amongst them, certaine Outlawes of *Syracuse*, the vanquished part of a Sedition, called the *Myletida*. Their language grew to a Meane betweene the *Chalcidean*, and *Dorique*; but the lawes of the *Chalcidean* preuailed. *Acra*, and *Chasmene*, were built by the *Syracusians*. *Acra* 20 yeeres after *Syracuse*; and *Chasmene*, almost 20 after *Acra*. *Camarina* was at first built by the *Syracusians*, very neere the 135 yeere of their owne Citie, *Dascon*, and *Menecolus*, being the Conductors. But the *Camarineans* hauing been by the *Syracusians* driuen from their seat by Warre, for reuolt, *Hippocrates*, Tyrant of *Gela*, in proesse of time, taking of the *Syracusians*, that Territory for ranfome of certaine *Syracusan* prisoners, became their Founder, and placed them in *Camarina* againe.

After

A After this againe, hauing beene driuen thence by *Gelon* they were planted the third time in the same Citie. These were the Nations, *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, that inhabited *Sicily*.

And though it were thus great, yet the *Athenians* longed very much to send an Armie against it, out of a desire to bring it all vnder their subiection (which was the true motive but as hauing withall this faire pretext of aiding their kindred & new Confederates. But principally they were intligated to it by the Ambassadors of *Egesta* who were at *Athens*, and earnestly pressed them thereto. For bordering on the territory of the *Selinuntians*, they had begun a War about certain things concerning marriage, & about a piece of ground that lay doubtfully between them. And the *Selinuntians* hauing leagued themselues with the *Syracusians*, infested them with War both by Sea and by Land. Inso-much as the *Egesteans* putting the *Athenians* in minde of their former League with the *Leontines*, made by *Laches*, prayed them to send a Fleet thither in their ayde; allea-ging amongst many other things, this as principall, That **C** if the *Syracusians* who had driuen the *Leontines* from their seat, should passe without reuenge taken on them, and so proceed by consuming the rest of the allies of the *Athenians* there, to get the whole power of *Sicily* into their hands, it would be dangerous, lest hereafter some time or other, being *Doreans*, they should with great Forces ayde the *Doreans* for affinity, and being a Colonie of the *Peloponnesians*, ioyne with the *Peloponnesians*, that sent them out, to pull downe the *Athenian* Empire. That it were wisdome therefore, with those Confederates they yet retain, to make head **D** against the *Syracusians*, and the rather, because for the defraying of the Warre, the *Egesteans* would furnish money sufficient, of themselues. Which things when the *Athenians* had often heard in their Assemblies, frō the mouthes of the *Egestean* Ambassadors, and of their Aduocates and Patrons, they decreed to send Ambassadors to *Egesta*, to see first, whether there were in their Treasury & Temples so much wealth as they said there was, and to bring word in what termes the War stood betweene that City & the *Selinuntians*: & Ambassadors were sent into *Sicily* accordingly.

E The same Winter the *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, hauing drawn out their forces

The cause and pretence of the *Athenians* to invade it.

The *Lacedemonians* waste part of *Argolis*, and put the Outlawes of *Argos* into *Ornes*.

into the Territory of the *Argives*, wasted a small part of A
 their fields, and carried away certaine Cart-loades of their
 Corne. Thence they went to *Ornea*, and hauing placed
 there the *Argiue* Outlawes, left with them a few others of
 the rest of the Armie, and then making a composition for
 a certaine time, that they of *Ornea* and those *Argiues* should
 not wrong each other, they carried their Armie home.
 But the *Athenians* arriuing not long after with 30. Gallies,
 and 600. men of Armes, the people of *Argos* came also
 forth with their whole power, and ioyning with them,
 sate downe betimes in the morning before *Ornea*. But B
 when at night the Army went somewhat farre off to
 lodge, they within fled out, and the *Argiues* the next day
 perceiuing it, pulled *Ornea* to the ground, and went home,
 and so also did the *Athenians* not long after with their
 Gallies,

The *Athenians* warre vpon
Macedonia.

Also the *Athenians* transported certaine Horsmen by
 Sea, part of their owne, and part *Macedonian* fugitiues, that
 liued with them, into *Methone*, and rauaged the Territorie
 of *Perdiccas*. And the *Lacedemonians* sent vnto the *Chalcide-*
ans vpon *Thrace*, who held Peace with the *Athenians* from C
 ten dayes to ten dayes, appointing them to ayde *Perdiccas*.
 But they refused. And so ended the Winter, and the six-
 teenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE SEVEN-

TEENTH YEERE.

The *Athenians* decree the
 Voyage of *Sicily*, and *Alci-*
biades, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus*
 for Generals.

The next Summer, early in the Spring, the *Athenian*
 Ambassadours returned from *Sicily*, and the Ambassadors
 of *Egesta* with them, and brought, in siluer vncoined, sixtie
 Talents, for a moneths pay of sixtie Gallies, which they
 would intreat the *Athenians* to send thither. And the *Athe-*
nians hauing called an Assembly, and heard both from the
Egestan and their own Ambassadors, amongst other per- D
 swasiue, but vntrue Allegations, touching their Money,
 how they had great store ready, both in their Treasurie
 and Temples, decreed the sending of sixtie Gallies into
Sicily, and *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, *Nicias* the sonne of
Niceratus, and *Lamachus* the sonne of *Xenophanes*, for Com-
 manders, with authority absolute, the which were
 to ayde the people of *Egesta* against the *Selinuntians*,
 and withall, if they had time spare, to plant the *Le-*
ontines anew in their Citie, and to order all other the af-
 faires of *Sicily*, as they should thinke most for the profit E
 of the *Athenians*.

A Five dayes after this the people assembled againe, to consult of the meanes how most speedily to put this *Armad* in readinesse, and to decree such things as the Generalls should further require for the Expedition. But *Nicias* hauing heard that himselfe was chosen for one of the Generalls, and conceiuing that the State had not well resolved, but affected the Conquest of all *Sicily*, a great matter vpon small and superficiall pretences, stood forth, desiring to haue altered this the *Athenians* purpose, and spake as followeth.

B THE ORATION OF
N I C I A S.

T Hough this Assembly was called to deliberate of our preparation, & of the maner how to set forth our Fleet for *Sicily*; yet to me it seemeth, that we ought rather, once again, to consult, whether it be not better, not to send it at all, then vpon a short deliberation in so weighty an affaire, and vpon the credit of strangers, to draw vpon our selues an impertinent Warre. For my owne part,

C I haue honour by it; and for the danger of my person, I esteeme it the least of all men, not but that I thinke him a good member of the Common-wealth, that hath regard also to his owne person and estate: for such a man especially will desire the publike to prosper, for his owne sake. But as I haue neuer spoken heretofore, so nor now will I speake any thing that is against my conscience, for gaining to my selfe a prebeminence of honour; but that onely which I apprehend for the best. And although I am sure, that if I goe about to perswade you to preserue what you already hold, and not to hazard things certaine, for vncertaine and future, my words will bee too

D weake to preuaile against your humour; yet this I must needes let you know, that neither your haste is seasonable, nor your desires easie to be atchieued. For I say, that going thither, you leaue many Enemies beere behinde you, and more you endeavour to draw hisher. You perhaps thinke that the League will bee firme; that you haue made with the Lacedæmonians, which though as long as you stir not, may continue a League in name, (for so some haue made it of our owne side) yet if any considerable forces of ours chance to miscary, our enemies will soone renew the Warre, as hauing made the peace, constrained by calamities, and vpon termes of more dishonor

E and necessity then our selues. Besides, in the League it selfe, we haue many things controuerted; and some there be, that refuse utterly

* The Corinthians.

* The Egeotians.

to accept it, and they none of the weakest, whereof * some are now in A
open Ware against vs, and * others, because the Lacedæmonians
stir not, maintaine onely a Truce with vs from ten to ten dayes, and
so are contented yet to hold their hands. But peradventure when they
shall heare that our power is distracted (which is the thing wee
now hasten to doe) they will bee glad to ioyne in the Warre with
the Sicilians against vs, the confederacy of whom they would here-
tofore haue valued aboue many other. It becometh vs therefore to
consider of these things, and not to run into new dangers, when the
state of our owne Citie hangeth vssettled, nor seeke a new dominion,
before we assure that which we already haue. For the Chalcideans B
of Thrace, after so many yeeres reuolt, are yet vnreduced: and from
others in diuers parts of the Continent, we haue but doubtfull obedi-
ence. But the Egeotæans, being forsooth our Confederates, and
wronged, they in all haste must be ayded; though to right vs on those
by whom we haue a long time our selues bene wronged, that wee de-
ferre. And yet if we should reduce the Chalcideans into subiection,
wee could easily also keepe them so. But the Sicilians, though wee
vanquish them, yet being many, and farre off, wee should haue much a-
doe to hold them in obedience. Now it were madnesse to inuade such,
whom conquering, you cannot keepe, and failing, should lose the meanes C
for euer after to attempt the same againe. As for the Sicilians, it
seemeth vnto me, at least, as things now stand, that they shall bee of
lesse danger to vs, if they fall vnder the Dominion of the Syracusi-
ans, then they are now; And yet this is it that the Egeotæans would
most affright vs with: for now the States of Sicily in seuerall, may
perhaps be induced, in fauour of the Lacedæmonians, to take part
against vs: whereas then, being reduced into one, it is not likely
they would hazard with vs state against state. For by the same meanes
that they, ioyning with the Peloponnesians may pull downe our Do-
minion, by the same it would bee likely that the Peloponnesians D
would subuert theirs. The Grecians there will feare vs most, if
we goe not at all; next, if we but shew our Forces, and come quickly
away. But if any misfortune befall vs, they will presently despise vs,
and ioyne with the Grecians here to inuade vs. For wee all know,
that those things are most admired which are farthest off, and which
least come to giue proofe of the opinion conceiued of them. And this
(Athenians) is your owne case now with the Lacedæmonians,
and their Confederates, whom because beyond your hope you haue ouer-
come, in those things for which at first you feared them, you now in
contempt of them, turne your Armes vpon Sicily. But we ought not E
to be pult vp vpon the misfortunes of our enemies, but to bee confident
then

A then onely, when we haue mastered their designs. Nor ought wee to thinke that the Lacedæmonians set their mindes on any thing else, but how they may yet for the late disgrace, repaire their reputation, if they can, by our ouerthrow, and the rather because they haue so much, and so long laboured to win an opinion in the world of their valour. The question with vs therefore (if we be well aduised) will not be of the Egestæans in Sicily, but how we may speedily defend our Citie against the insidiation of them that fauour the Oligarchy. Wee must remember also that we haue had now some short recreation from a late great Plague, and great Warre, and thereby are improued both

B in men and money; which it is most meet we should spend here vpon our selues, and not vpon these Outlawes which seeke for aide. Seeing it maketh for them, to tell vs a specious lye; who contributing onely words, whilest their friends beare all the danger, if they speed well, shall be disoblged of thanks, if ill, vndoe their friends for company. Now if there be any * man here; that, for ends of his owne, as being glad to be Generall, especially being yet too yong to haue charge in chiefe, shall aduise the expedition, to the end he may haue admiration for his expence vpon horses, and helpe from his place to defray that expence, suffer him not to purchase his priuate honour and splendor with the

C danger of the publike fortune. Beleeue rather that such men though they robbe the publike, doe neuerthelesse consume also their priuate wealth. Besides, the matter it selfe is full of great difficulties, such as it is not fit for a yong man to consult of; much lesse hastily to take in hand. And I seeing those now that sit by, and abette the same man, am fearefull of them, and doe on the other side exhort the elder sort (if any of them sit neere those other) not to be ashamed to deliuer their minds freely; as fearing, that if they giue their voyce against the Warre, they should be esteemed cowards; nor to doate, (as they doe) vpon things absent, knowing that by passion, the fewest actions

D and by reason the most doe prosper; but rather for the benefit of their Countrey, which is now cast into greater danger, then euer before, to hold vp their hands on the other side, and decree, That the Sicilians, within the limits they now enioy, not misliked by you, and with liberty to saile by the shoare, in the Ionian Gulfe, and in the maine of the Sicilian Sea, shall possesse their owne, and compound their differences within themselves. And for the Egestæans, to answer them in particular, thus; That as without the Athenians they had begun the War against the Selinuntians, so they should without them

E likewise end it. And, that we shall no more hereafter, as wee haue vsed to doe, make such men our Confederates, as

when

* He glaueth at Alcibiades.

when they doe injury, we must maintaine it, and when we A
 require their assistance, cannot haue it. And you the President, (if you thinke it your office to take care of the Common-wealth, and desire to be a good member of the same) put these things once more to the question, and let the Athenians speake to it againe. Thinke (if you be afraid to infringe the orders of the assembly) that before so many witnesses, it will not be made a crime, but that you shall be rather thought a Physician of your Country, that hath swallowed down euill counsell. And he truly dischargeth the duty of a President, who laboureth to doe his Country the most good, or at least will not willingly doe it hurt. Thus spake Nicias. B

The motives of Alcibiades
 to further his voyage.

But the most of the Athenians that spake after him, were of opinion, that the voyage ought to proceed, the Decree already made, not to be reuerfed. Yet some there were that said to the contrary. But the expediton was most of all pressed by Alcibiades the sonne of Clinias, both out of desire he had to crosse Nicias, with whom he was likewise at oddes in other points of State, and also for that he had glanced at him inuidiously in his Oration, but principally for that he affected to haue charge, hoping that himselfe C
 should be the man, to subdue both Sicily and Carthage, to the State of Athens, and withall, if it succeeded, to increase his owne priuate wealth and glory. For being in great estimation with the Citizens, his desires were more vaste, then for the proportion of his estate, both in maintaining of horses, and other his expences, was meet. Which proued afterwards none of the least causes of the subuersion of the Athenian Common-wealth. For most men fearing him, both for his excesse in things that concerned his person, and forme of life, and for the greatnesse of his spirit, in D
 euery particular action he undertooke, as one that aspired to the Tyranny, they became his enemy; And although for the publique, he excellently managed the Warre, yet euery man priuately displeased with his course of life, gaue the charge of the Warres to others, and thereby, not long after, ouerthrew the State; Alcibiades at this time stood forth, and spake to this effect.

A
THE ORATION OF
ALCIBIADES.

MEN of Athens, It both belongeth unto me, more then to any other, to haue this charge, and withall, I thinke my selfe (for I must needs begin with this, as hauing beene touched by Nicias,) to be worthy of the same. For those things, for which I can so much spoken of, doe indeed purchase glory to my progenitors, and my selfe, but to the Common-wealth, they conferre both
B glory and profit. For the Grecians haue thought our Citie, a mighty one, euen aboue the truth, by reason of my braue appearance at the Olympian Games; whereas before they thought easily to haue warred it downe. For I brought thither seuen Chariots, and not onely wonne the first, second, and fourth prize, but carried also in all other things, a magnificence worthy the honour of the victory. And in such things as these, as there is honour to be supposed, according to the Law; so is there also a power conceiued, vpon sight of the thing done. As for my * expences in the Citie, vpon setting forth of shewes, or what soeuer else is remarkeable in me, though
C naturally it procure enuy in other Citizens, yet to Strangers, this also is an Argument of our greatnesse. Now, it is no vnprofitable course of life, when a man shall at his priuate cost, not onely benefit himselfe, but also the Common-wealth. Nor doth he that beareth himselfe high vpon his owne worth, and refuseth to make himselfe fellow with the rest, wrong the rest; for if he were in distresse, he should not finde any man that would share with him in his calamity. Therefore, as we are not so much as saluted when we be in misery; so let them likewise be content to be contemned of vs when we flourish; or if they require equality, let them also giue it. I know that
D such men, or any man else, that excelleth in the glory of any thing whatsoeuer, shall as long as he liueth be enui'd, principally of his equals, and then also of others, amongst whom he conuerseth; but with posterity, they shall haue kindred claimed of them, though there be none; and his Countrey will boast of him; not as of a stranger, or one that had been a man, of leud life, but as their owne Citizen, and one that had achieved worthy and laudable acts. This being the thing I ayme at, and for which I am renowned, consider now whether I administer the publique the worse for it or not. For hauing reconciled vnto you the most potent States of Peloponnesus without much, either danger, or
E cost, I compelled the Lacedæmonians to stake all that euer they had, vpon the Fortune of one day of Mantinea.

* *πομπή*, the exhibition of
 matches, Games or other festi-
 uall spectacles.

And

And this hath my youth and Madnesse, supposed to haue beene ve- A
ry mad esse, with familiar and fit words, wrought vpon the power
of the Peloponnesians, and shewing reason for my passion, made
my madnesse now no longer to be feared. But as long as I flourish
with it, and Nicias is esteemed fortunate, make you vse of both
our seruices. And abrogate not your Decree touching the voyage
into Sicily, as though the power were great you are to encounter
withall. For, the number wherewith their Cities are populous, is but
of promiscuous Nations, easily skifting, and easily admitting new com-
mers; and consequently not sufficiently armed any of them for the de-
fence of their bodies, nor furnished, as the custome of the place appoin- B
teth, to fight for their Countrey. But what any of them thinkes hee
may get by faire speech, or snatch from the Publike by sedition, that
onely he lookes after, with purpose if he faile, to runne the Countrey.
And it is not likely, that such a rabble, should either with one con-
sent giue eare to what is told them, or vnite themselues for the admi-
nistration of their affaires in common; but if they heare of faire of-
fers, they will one after one be easily induced to come in; especially, if
there be seditions amongst them, as we heare there are. And the truth
is, there are neither so many men of Armes as they boast of; nor doth it
appeare, that there are so many Grecians there in all, as the seuerall C
(ities haue euery one reckoned for their owne number. Nay, euen
Greece hath much belyed it selfe, and was scarce sufficiently ar-
med in all this Warre past. So that the businesse there, for all that
I can by Fame vnderstand, is euen as I haue told you, and will
yet bee easier. For we shall haue many of the Barbarians, vpon
hatred of the Syracusians, to take our parts against them there, and
if wee consider the case aright, there will bee nothing to hinder vs
at home. For our Ancestors hauing the same Enemies which they
say we leaue behinde vs now in our voyage to Sicily, and the Per-
sian besides, did neuerthelesse erect the Empire wee now haue, by D
our onely oddes of strength at Sea.

And the hope of the Peloponnesians against vs, was neuer lesse
then now it is, though their power were also as great as euer; for
they would bee able to inuade our Land, though wee went not into
Sicily; and by Sea they can doe vs no harme though wee goe, for
we shall leaue a Nauie sufficient to oppose theirs, behinde vs. What
therefore can wee alleadge with any probability for our backward-
nesse? or what can wee pretend vnto our Confederates, for denying
them assistance? whom wee ought to defend, were it but because
wee haue sworne it to them; without obiecing that they haue not E
recipro. ally ayded vs. For wee tooke them not into League, that
they

A they should come hither with their aydes, but that by troubling our enemies there, they might hinder them from coming hither against vs. And the way whereby we, and whosoever else hath dominion, hath gotten it, hath ever bene the cheerefull succouring of their associates that required it, whether they were Greekes or Barbarians. For if we should all sit still, or stand to make choyce, which were fit to be assisted, and which not, we should have little vnder our government of the estates of other men, but rather hazard our owne. For when one is growne mightier then the rest, men use not onely to defend themselves against him, when he shall inuade, but to anticipate him, that he inuade not at all. Nor is it in our power to be our owne caruers, how much we will have subiect to vs; but considering the case we are in, it is as necessary for vs to seeke to subdue those that are not vnder our Dominion, as to keepe so, those that are: Left if others be not subiect to vs, we fall in danger of being subiected vnto them. Nor are we to weigh quietnesse in the same ballance that others doe, vnlesse also the institution of this State, were like vnto that of other States. Let vs rather make reckoning by enterprising abroad; to encrease our power at home, and proceed in our voyage; that we may cast downe the haughty conceit of the Peloponnesians, and shew them the contempt and slight account we make of our present ease, by vndertaking this our expedition in to Sicily. Whereby, either conquering those States, wee shall become masters of all Greece, or weaken the Syracusians, to the benefit of our selues, and our Confederates. And for our security to stay; (if any City shall come to our side) or to come away (if otherwise our Gallies will afford it. For in that, we shall be at our owne liberty, though all the Sicilians together were against it. Let not the speech of Nicias, tending onely to lazinesse and to the stirring of debate betweene the yong men and the old, auert you from it; but with the same decency wherewith your Ancestors, consulting yong and old together, haue brought our Dominion to the present height, endeavour you likewise to enlarge the same. And thinke not that youth, or age, one without the other, is of any effect, but that the simplest, the middle sort, and the exactest iudgements tempred together, is it that doth the greatest good; and that a State, as well as any other thing, will, if it rest, weare out of it selfe, and all mens knowledge decay; whereas by the exercise of Warre, experience will continually increase, and the Citie will get a habit of resisting the enemy, not with words, but action. In summe this is my opinion, that a State accustomed to bee active, if it once grow idle, will quickly be subiected by the change; and that they of all men are most surely

planted, that with most unity obserue the present Lawes and customes, A though not alwaies of the best. Thus spake Alcibiades.

The Athenians, when they had heard him, together with the Egestæans and Leontine Outlawes, who beeing then present, entreated, and (objecting to them their Oath) begged their helpe in forme of Suppliants, were farre more earnestly bent vpon the Iourny then they were before. But Nicias, when he saw he could not alter their resolution with his Oration, but thought hee might perhaps put them from it by the greatnesse of the prouision, if he should require it with the most, stood forth againe, and said in this manner.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

MEN of Athens, Forasmuch as I see you violently bent to this Expedition, such effect may it take, as is desired. Neuerthelesse I shall now deliuer my opinion vpon the matter, as it yet standeth. As farre as we vnderstand by report, we set out against great Cities, not subiect one to another, nor needing innouation, whereby they should be glad, out of hard seruitude, to admit of easier Masters; nor such as are likely to preferre our gouernment before their owne liberty; but many, (as for one Iland) and those Greeke Cities. For besides Naxos and Catana, (which two I hope will ioyne with vs, for their affinity with the Leontines,) there are other seuen furnished in all respects after the manner of our owne Army, and especially those two, against which wee bend our Forces most, Selinus, and Syracuse. For there are in them, many men of Armes, many Archers, many Darters, besides many Gallies, and a multitude of men to man them. They haue also store of money, both amongst priuate men, and in their Temples. This haue the Selinuntians. The Syracusians haue a Tribute beside, comming in from some of the Barbarians. But that wherein they exceed vs most, is this, that they abound in Horses, and haue Corne of their owne, not fetcht in from other places. Against such a power, we shall therefore neede, not a Fleet only, and with it a small Army, but there must great Forces goe along of Land-souldiers, if we meane to do any thing worthy our designe, and not to be kept by their many horsemen from landing: especially if the Cities there, terrified by vs, should now hold all together, & none but the Egestæans proue our friends, & furnish vs with a Cauallery to resist them.

And

A And it would be a shame either to come backe with a repulse, or to send for a new supply afterwards, as if wee had not wisely considered our enterprize at first. Therefore we must goe sufficiently provided from hence, as knowing that we goe farre from home, and are to make War in a place of disadvantage, and not as when we went as Confederates, to ayde some of our Subiects here at home, where wee had easie bringing in of necessities to the Campe, from the Territories of Friends. But we goe farre off, and into a Countrey of none but strangers, and from whence in Winter, there can hardly come a messenger vnto vs in so little as foure moneths. Wherefore I am of opinion, that we ought

B to take with vs many men of Armes, of our owne, of our Confederates; and of our Subiects, and also out of Peloponnesus as many as wee can get, either for loue or money: and also many Archers and Slingers, whereby to resist their Caualtery; and much spare Shipping, for the more easie bringing in of prouision. Also our corne, I meane, Wheate and Barly parched, we must carry with vs from hence in * Ships; and Bakers from the Milles, hired, and made to worke by turnes, that the Armie, if it chance to be weather-bound, may not be in want of victuall. For being so great, it will not bee for euery Citie to receiue it. And so for all things else, we must as much as wee can, provide them our

C selues, and not rely on others.

Above all, we must take hence as much money as we can; for as for that which is said to bee ready at Egesta, thinke it ready in words, but not in deed: For although wee goe thither with an Army not onely equall vnto theirs, but also, (excepting their men of Armes for Battell) in euery thing exceeding it, yet so shall we scarce be able, both to ouercome them, and withall to preserve our owne. We must also make account, that wee goe to inhabite some City in that forraigne and hostile Countrey, and either the first day we come thither, to bee presently Masters of the Field, or failing, bee assured to finde all in hostility against vs. Which fearing, and knowing that the businesse requires much good aduice, and more good fortune (which is a hard matter, being we are but men) I would so set forth, as to commit my selfe to Fortune as little as I may, and take with me an Armie, that in likelihood should be secure. And this I conceiue to be both the surest course for the Citie in generall, and the safest for vs that goe the Voyage. If any man be of a contrary opinion, I resigne him my place.

D

Thus spake Nicias, imagining that either the Athenians would, vpon the multitude of the things required, abandon the Enterprize: or if he were forced to goe, he might goe thus with the more security.

* *οὐρανός* Ships of the round building, going only with sayles, without oares after the fashion of our Ships. In distinction from Gallies.

The Athenians upon this speech, made, to desire them from the enterprize, are the more encouraged to it.

But the *Athenians* gaue not ouer the desire they had of A the voyage, for the difficulty of the preparation, but were the more inflamed thereby to haue it proceed; and the contrary fell out of that which he before expected. For they approued his counsell, and thought now there would be no danger at all, and every one alike fell in loue with the enterprize. The old men, vpon hope to subdue the place they went to, or that at least, so great a power could not miscarry; and the yong men, vpon desire to see a forraigne Country, and to gaze, making little doubt but to returne with safety. B

As for the common sort, and the Souldiers, they made account to gaine by it, not onely their wages for the time, but also so to amplifie the State in power, as that their stipend should endure for euer. So that through the vehement desire thereunto of the most, they also that liked it not, for feare, (if they held vp their hands against it) to be thought euill affected to the State, were content to let it passe.

And in the end a certaine *Athenian* stood vp, and calling vpon *Nicias*, said, he ought not to shift off, nor delay the C businesse any longer, but to declare there before them all, what forces he would haue the *Athenians* to decree him. To which, vnwillingly, he answered, and said, hee would consider of it first with his fellow-Commanders; Neuerthelesse, for so much as he could iudge vpon the sudden, he said, there would need no lesse then 100 Gallies; whereof for transporting of men of Armes, so many of the *Athenians* owne, as they themselues should thinke meet, and the rest to be sent for to their Confederates. And that of men of Armes, in all, of their owne, and of their Confede- D rates, there would be requisite no lesse then 5000 but rather more, if they could be gotten, and other prouision proportionable. As for Archers, both from hence, and from *Crete*, and Slingers, and whatsoeuer else should seeme necessary, they would prouide it themselues, and take it with them.

When the *Athenians* had heard him, they presently decreed that the Generals should haue absolute authority, both touching the greatnesse of the preparation, and the whole voyage, to doe therein, as should seeme best vnto E them for the Common-wealth. And after this, they went

A in hand with the preparation accordingly; and both sent vnto the Confederates, and enrolled Souldiers at home. The City had by this time recouered her selfe from the sickness, and from their continuall Warres, both in number of men fit for the Warres, growne vp after the ceasing of the Plague, and in store of money gathered together by meanes of the Peace; whereby they made their provisions with much ease. And thus were they employed in preparation for the voyage.

In the meane time the *Mercuries* of Stone, throughout the whole City of *Athens*, (now there were many of these of square-stone, set vp, by the Law of the place, and many in the porches of private houses, & in the Temples) had in one night, most of them their faces pared, and no man knew who had done it. And yet great rewards out of the Treasury had been propounded to the discouersers; and a Decree made that if any man knew of any other profanation, he might boldly declare the same, were he Citizen, Stranger, or Bondman. And they tooke the fact exceedingly to heart, as ominous to the expedition, and done withall, vpon conspiracy, for alteration of the State, and dissolution of the *Democracie*.

Hereupon, certaine Strangers dwelling in the City, and certaine Seruing-men, reuealed something, not about the *Mercuries*, but of the paring of the Statues of some other of the *Gods*, committed formerly, through wantonnesse, and too much Wine, by yong men, and withall, how they had in priuate houses, acted the Mysteries of their Religion, in mockery; amongst whom they also accused *Alcibiades*. This, they that most enuyed *Alcibiades*, because he stood in their way, that they could not constantly beare chiefe sway with the people, making account to haue the Primacy, if they could thrust him out, tooke hold of, and exceedingly aggrauated, exclaiming, that both the mockery of the Mysteries, and the paring of the *Mercuries*, tended to the deposing of the People; and that nothing therein was done without him, alleaging for argument, his other excellence, in the ordinary course of his life, not conuenient in a popular estate. He, at that present, made his Apologie, and was there ready, if he had done any such thing, to answer it, before he went the voyage, (for by this time, all their preparation was in readinesse) and to suffer Iustice, if

he

The faces of all the Images of *Mercury*, throughout *Athens*, pared plaine.

Alcibiades accused for hauing in mockery, acted the celebration of the Mysteries of their Religion.

He desires to come to his
Tryall before his going
forth, but is not suffered.

The Athenian Fleet put-
teth to Sea.

The description of the
setting forth of the Fleet.

he were guilty, and if absolued, to resume his charge. Pro- A
testing against all accusations to be brought against him
in his absence, and pressing to be put to death then present-
ly, if he had offended; and saying, that it would not be dis-
creetely done, to send away a man accused of so great
crimes, with the charge of such an Armie, before his
tryall. But his enemies fearing lest if he came then to his
Tryall, he should have had the favour of his Armie, and
lest the people which loved him, because the *Arginus* and
some of the *Mantineans* served them in this Warre, onely
for his sake, should have beene mollified, put the matter B
off, and hastned his going out, by setting on other Orators
to advise, that for the present he should goe, and that the
setting forward of the Fleet should not be retarded, and
that at his returne he should have a day assigned him for
his Tryall. Their purpose being, vpon further accusation,
which they might easily contriue in his absence, to have
him sent for backe, to make his answer. And thus it was
concluded that *Alcibiades* should goe.

After this, the Summer being now halfe spent, they
put to Sea for *Sicily*. The greatest part of the Confede- C
rates, and the Ships that carried their Corne, and all the
lesser vessels, and the rest of the prouision that went along,
they before appointed to meet vpon a day set, at *Corcyra*,
thence all together to crosse ouer the *Ionian* Gulfe, to the
Promontory of *Iapigia*. But the *Athenians* themselues, and
as many of their Confederates as were at *Aibens*, vpon the
day appointed, betimes in the morning, came downe into
Peiræus, and went aboard to take Sea. With them came
downe in a manner the whole multitude of the City,
aswell Inhabitants as strangers: The Inhabitants, to fol- D
low after such as belonged vnto them, some their friends,
some their kinsmen, and some their children; filled both
with hope, and lamentations; hope of conquering what
they went for, and lamentation, as being in doubt whe-
ther euer they should see each other any more, considering
what a way they were to goe from their owne Territory.
And now when they were to leaue one another to danger,
they apprehended the greatnesse of the same, more then
they had done before, when they decreed the Expedition.
Neuerthelesse their present strength, by the abundance of E
euery thing before their eyes prepared for the Iourney,
gaue

A gaue them heart againe in beholding it. But the strangers & other multitude came only to see the show, as of a worthy and incredible Designe. For this preparation, being the first *Grecian* Power, that euer went out of *Greece* from one onely Citie, was the most sumptuous, and the most glorious of all that euer had been set forth before it, to that day. Neuerthelesse for number of Gallies, and men of Armes, that which went out with *Pericles* to *Epidaurum*, and that which *Agnon* carried with him to *Potidea*, was not inferior to it. For there went foure thousand men of Armes, three hundred Horse, and one hundred Gallies, out of *Athens* it selfe; and out of *Lesbos* and *Chios* fiftie Gallies, besides many confederates that accompanied him in the voyage. But they went not farre, and were but meanelly furnished. Whereas this Fleet, as being to stay long abroad, was furnished for both kinds of seruice, in which of them soeuer it should haue occasion to be employed, both with shipping, and Land-Souldiers.

For the shipping, it was elaborate with a great deale of cost, both of the Captaines of Gallies, and of the Citie. C For the State allowed a Drachma a day to euery Mariner; the * empty Gallies which they sent forth, being of nimble ones 60. and of such as carried their men of Armes, 40. more. And the Captaines of Gallies both put into them the most able seruants, and besides the wages of the State, vnto the {uppermost banke of Oares, called the} * *Thranitz*, and to the seruants, gaue somewhat of their owne; and bestowed great cost otherwise euery one vpon his owne Gallie, both in the * Badges, and other rigging, each one struing to the vtmost, to haue his Gally, both in D some ornament, and also in swiftnesse, to exceed the rest.

And for the Land-forces, they were leauied with exceeding great choice, and euery man endeououred to excell his fellow in the brauery of his Armes, and vtensiles that belonged to his person. Insomuch as amongst themselues, it begate quarrell about precedencie, but amongst other *Grecians*, a conceit, that it was an ostentation rather of their power and riches, then a preparation against an Enemie. For if a man enter into account of the expence, as well of the publike, as of priuate men that went the voyage, E namely, of the publike, what was spent already in the businessse, and what was to be giuen to the Commanders to

carry

* empty, in respect of those that carried prouision.

* *Spavd*. There being three bancks of Oares, one aboue another, the uppermost were called *Thranitz*, the middlemost *Zeugite*, and the lowest *Thalamire*, where of the *Thranitz* managed the longest Oare, and therefore in respect of their greater labour, might deserve a greater pay.

* *σπεῖα*. The Images which being set on the fore part of the Gallie, did giue it the name for the most part.

carry with them; and of priuate men, what euery one had A
bestowed vpon his person, and euery Captaine on his Gal-
lie, besides what euery one was likely, ouer and about his
allowance from the State, to bestow on prouision for so
long a Warfare, and what the Merchant carried with him
for Traffique, he will finde the whole summe carried
out of the Citie, to amount to a great many Talents. And
the Fleet was no lesse noyed amongst those against whom
it was to goe, for the strange boldnesse of the attempt,
and gloriousnesse of the show, then it was for the exces-
siue report of their number, for the length of the voyage, B
and for that it was vndertaken with so vast future hopes,
in respect of their present power.

After they were all aboard, and all things laid in, that
they meant to carry with them, silence was commanded
by the Trumpet; and after the Wine had beene carried a-
bout to the whole Army, and All, aswell the Generals
as the Souldiers, had* drunke a health to the Voyage, they
made their prayers, such as by the Law were appointed
for before their taking Sea; not in euery Galley apart, but
all together, the Herald pronouncing them: And the C
company from the shoare, both of the Citie, and whoso-
euer else wished them well, prayed with them. And
when they had sung the *Pæan*, and ended the Health, they
put forth to Sea. And hauing at first gone out in a long
File, Gally after Gally, they after went a vie by *Ægina*.
Thus halted these to be at *Coreyra*; to which place also
the other Armie of the Confederates were assembling.

At *Syracuse* they had aduertisement of the Voyage
from diuers places; neuerthelesse it was long ere any thing
would be beleued. Nay, an Assembly beeing there cal- D
led, Orations were made, such as follow, on both parts,
aswell by them that beleued the report touching the A-
thenian Armie to be true, as by others that affirmed the
contrary. And *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermón*, as one
that thought hee knew the certainty, stood forth, and
spake to this effect.

* *anecdotes*. It was a forme
amongst the Grecians, and
other Nations then, both be-
fore great Enterprises to wish
good fortune; and at the ma-
king of League and Peace, to
ratifie what they did, by drink-
ing one to another.

The *Syracusans*, vpon the
fame of their coming,
dooe some beleue it, and
some not.

A THE ORATION OF
HERMOCRATES.

C Concerning the truth of this Inuasion, though perhaps I shal bee thought as well as other men, to deliuer a thing incredible; and though I know that such as bee either the Authors or relaters of matter incredible, shall not onely not perswade, but bee also accounted fooles; neuerthelessse I will not for feare thereof, hold my tongue, as long as the Common wealth is in danger, being confident that I know the truth heereof somewhat more certainly then others doe. The

B Athenians are bent to come, euen against vs, (which you verily wonder at) and that vvith great Forces, both for the Sea and Land, vvith pretence indeed to ayde their Confederates, the Egellians, and to replant the Leontines, but in truth they aspire to the dominion of all Sicily, and especially of this Citie of ours, vvhich obtained, they make account to get the rest vvith ease. Seeing then they will presently bee vvpon vs, aduise vvith your present means, how you may vvith most honour make head against them, that you may not bee taken vvnprouided through contempt, nor be carelesse through incredulity; and that such as beleue it, may not be dismayed vvith their audaciousnes and power. For

C they are not more able to doe hurt vvnto vs, then we be vvnto them, neither indeed is the greatnes of their Fleet vvithout some aduantage vvnto vs. Nay, it will be much the better for vs, in respect of the rest of the Sicilians; for being terrified by them, they will the rather league vvith vs. And if we either vanquish or repulse them vvithout obtaining vvhat they come for (for I feare not at all the effecting of their purpose) verily it will bee a great honour to vs, and in my opinion not vvnlkely to come to passe. For in truth there haue beene few great Fleets, vvether of Grecians or Barbarians, sent far from home, that haue not prospered ill. Neither are these that come against vs, more in num-

D ber then our selues, and the neighbouring Cities: for surely we shall all hold together vvpon feare. And if for want of necessities in a strange Territorie they chance to miscarry, the honour of it will be left to vs against vvhom they bend their counsels, though the greatest cause of their ouerthrow should consist in their owne errors. Which vvvas also the case of these very Athenians, vvho raised themselves by the misfortune of the Medes, (though it happened for the most part contrary to reason) because in name they went only against the Athenians. And that the same shall now happen vvnto vs, is not vvithout probability.

Let vs therefore vvith courage put in readinesse our owne forces,
E let vs send to the Siculi, to con firme those we haue, and to make peace and league vvith others; and let vs send Ambassadors to the rest of Si-

cily, to shew them that it is a common danger; and into Italy, to get A
 them into our League, or at least that they receive not the Atheni-
 ans. And in my iudgement; it were our best course to send also to Car-
 thage; for euen they are not without expectation of the same danger.
 Nay, they are in a continuall feare, that the Athenians will bring
 the Warre vpon them also, euen to their Citie: So that vpon apprehen-
 sion that if they neglect vs, the trouble will come home to their owne
 doore, they will perhaps, either secretly, or openly, or some way assist vs.
 And of all that now are, they are the best able to doe it, if they please.
 For they haue the most gold and siluer, by which both the Wars, and all
 things else are the best expedited. Let vs also send to Lacedæmon and B
 to Corinth, praying them not onely to send their succours hither with
 speed, but also to set on foot the Warre there. But that which I thinke
 the best course of all, though through an habit of sitting still, you will
 hardly be brought to it, I will neuerthelesse now tell you what it is. If the
 Sicilians all together, or if not all, yet if wee, and most of the rest;
 would draw together our whole Nauie, and with 2. moneths provision
 goe and meet the Athenians at Tarentum, and the Promontory
 of Iapygia, and let them see, that they must fight for their passage o-
 uer the Ionian Gulfe, before they fight for Sicily, it would both ter-
 rifie them the most, and also put them into a consideration, That we, as C
 the Watchmen of our Countrey, come vpon them out of an amicable
 Territory, (for we shall be receiued at Tarentum) whereas they
 themselves haue a great deal of Sea to passe with all their preparati-
 ons and cannot keepe themselves in their order for the length of the
 voyage. And that for vs, it will be an easie matter to assaile them,
 comming vp as they doe, slowly and thinne. Again, if lightning their
 Gallies, they shall come vp to vs more nimble, and more close together,
 we shall charge vpon them already wearied, or we may, if we please,
 retire againe into Tarentum. Whereas they, if they come ouer but
 with a part of their provisions, as to fight at Sea, shall bee drinen into D
 want of victuals in those desert parts, and either staying be there besie-
 ged, or attempting to go by, leaue behind them the rest of their provision,
 and be deiected, as not assured of the Cities, whether they will re-
 ceine them or not. I am therefore of opinion, that dismayd with this
 reckoning, they will either not put ouer at all from Corcyra, or
 whilst they spend time in deliberating, and in sending out to ex-
 plore, how many, and in what place wee are, the season will bee
 lost, and Winter come; or deterred with our vnlooked-for opposition,
 they will giue ouer the Voyage. And the rather, for that (as I heare)
 the man of most experience amongst their Commanders, haib the E
 charge against his will, and would take a light occasion to returne, if
 he

A he saw any considerable stop made by vs, in the way. And I am very sure, we should be voyced amongst them to the utmost. And as the reports are, so are mens minds; and they feare more such as they beare will begin with them, then such as giue out, that they will no more but defend themselves. Because then they thinke the danger equall. Which would be now the case of the Athenians. For they come against vs with an opinion that we will not fight; deserv'dly contemning vs, because we ioynd not with the Lacedaemonians to pull them downe. But if they should see vs once bolder then they lookt for, they would be terrified more with the vnexpectednes, then with the truth of our power it selfe. Be perswaded therefore, principall'y to dare to doe this; or if not this, yet speedily to make your selves otherwise ready for the War; and euery man to remember, that though to shew contempt of the enemy be best in the heate of fight, yet those preparations are the surest, that are made with feare and opinion of danger. As for the Athenians, they come, and I am sure are already in the way, and want onely, that they are not now here. Thus spake Hermocrates.

But the people of Syracuse were at much strife amongst themselves, some contending, that the Athenians would by no meanes come, and that the reports were not true; and others, that if they came, they would doe no more harme, then they were likely againe to receiue. Some contemned and laughed at the matter: but some few there were that belceued Hermocrates, and feared the event. But Athenagoras, who was chiefe Magistrate of the People, and at that time most powerfull with the Commons, spake as followeth:

THE ORATION OF ATHENAGORAS.

D**H**E is either a Coward, or not well affected to the State, who soeuer he be, that wisheth the Athenians not to be so mad, as comming hither, to fall into our power. As for them that report such things as these, and put you into feare, though I wonder not at their boldnesse, yet I wonder at their folly, if they thinke their ends not seene. For they that are afraid of any thing themselves, will put the Citie into affright, that they may shadow their owne with the Common feare. And this may the reports doe at this time, not raised by chance, but framed on purpose, by such as alwaies trouble the State. But if you meane to deliberate wisely, make not your reckoning by the reports of these men,

but by that which wise men, and men of great experience, (such as A I hold the Athenians to bee) are likely to doe. For it is not probable, that leauing the Peloponnesians, and the Warre there not yet surely ended, they should willingly come hither to a new Warre, no lesse then the former; Seeing, in my opinion, they may bee glad that wee inuade not them, so many, and so great Cities, as wee are. And if indeed they come, (as these men say they will) I thinke Sicily more sufficient to dispatch the Warre, then Peloponnesus, as being in all respects better furnished: and that this our owne Citie, is much stronger then the Armie which they say is now coming, though it were twice as great as it is. For I know, they B neither bring Horses with them, nor can get any heere, saue onely a few from the Egestæans, nor haue men of Armes, so many as wee, in that they are to bring them by Sea. For it is a hard matter to come so farre as this by Sea, though they carried no men of Armes in their Gallies at all, if they carry with them all other their necessities; which cannot be small against so great a Citie. So that I am so far from the opinion of these others, that I thinke the Athenians, though they had here another Citie as great as Syracuse, and confining on it, and should from thence make their Warre, yet should not be able to escape from being destroyed euery man of them; much C lesse now, when all Sicily is their enemy. For in their Campe, fenced with their Gallies, they shall be coup'd vp, and from their Tents, and forced munition, neuer be able to stirre farre abroad, without being cut off by our Horsemen. In short, I thinke they shall neuer be able to get landings; so much about theirs do I value our own Forces. But these things, as I said before, the Athenians considering, I am very sure, will looke vnto their owne; and our men talke here of things that neither are, nor euer will bee; who I know haue desired, not onely now, but euer, by such reports as these, or by worse, or by their actions, to put the multitude in feare, that they D themselues might rule the State. And I am afraid, lest attempting it often, they may one day effect it. And for vs, we are too poore-spirited, either to foresee it ere it be done, or fore-seeing to preuent it. By this meanes our Citie is seldome quiet, but subiect to sedition, and contention not so much against the enemy, as within it selfe; and sometimes also to Tyranny and Vsurpation. Which I will endeuour (if you will second me) so to preuent hereafter, as nothing more of this kinde shall befall you. Which must be done, first by gaining you the Multitude, and then by punishing the Authors of these Plots, not onely when I finde them in the action, (for it will bee hard to E take them so) but also for those things which they would, and cannot doe.

A doe. For one must not onely take reuenge vpon an Enemie for what he hath already done, but strike him first for his euill purpose; For if a man strike not first, he shall first be stricken. And as for the Few, I shall in somewhat reprove them, in somewhat haue an eye to them, and in somewhat aduise them. For this I thinke will be the best course to auert them from their bad intentions. Tell me, forsooth, (I haue asked this question often) you that are the yonger sort, what would you haue? would you now beare office? the Law allowes it not. And the Law was made, because ye are not now sufficient for gouernment, not to disgrace you when you shall be sufficient. But

B forsooth, you would not be ranked with the multitude. But what Iustice is it, that the same men should not haue the same priuiledges? Some will say, that the Democracy is neither a well-gouerned, nor a iust State, and that the most wealthy, are aptest to make the best gouernment. But I answer first, Democracy is a name of the whole; Oligarchy, but of a part. Next, though the Rich are indeed fittest to keepe the Treasure, yet the wise are the best Counsellors, and the Multitude, vpon hearing, the best Iudge. Now in a Democracy all these, both ioyntly and seuerally participate equall priuiledges. But in the Oligarchy, they allow indeed to the Multitude, a

C participation of all dangers; but in matters of profit, they not onely in-croach vpon the Multitude, but take from them, and keepe the whole. Which is the thing that you the Rich, and the Yonger sort affect, but in a great City cannot possibly embrace. But yet, O ye, the most vndwise of all men, vnlesse you know that what you affect, is euill, and if you know not that you are the most ignorant of all the Grecians I know, or, ye most wicked of all men, if knowing it, you dare doe this: yet I say, informe your selues better, or change your purpose, and help to amplifie the common good of the Citie, making account that the good amongst you, shall not onely haue an equall, but a greater share therein

D then the rest of the multitude. Whereas if you will needes haue all, you shall raine the hazzard of losing all. Away therefore with these rumours, as discovered, and not allowed. For this City, though the Athenians come, will be able to defend it selfe with honour. And we haue Generals to looke to that matter. And if they come not, (which I rather beleue) it will not, vpon the terrour of your reports, make choyce of you for Commanders, and cast it selfe into voluntary seruitude. But taking direction of it selfe, it both iudgeth your words, virtually as facts, and will not vpon words let goe her present liberty, but endeuour to preserue it, by not committing the same actually to

E your discretion. Thus said Athenagoras.

Then

The speech of one of the
Syracusan Generals.

Then one of their Generals rising vp, forbad any other **A**
to stand forth, and spake himselfe to the matter in hand,
to this effect:

It is no wisdome, neither for the speakers to utter such calumnies
one against another, nor for the hearers to receiue them. We should ra-
ther consider, in respect of these reports, how we may in the best man-
ner, both euery one in particular, and the City in generall, be prepared
to resist them when they come. And if there be no need, yet to fur-
nish the Citie with Horses, and Armes, and other Habiliments of War
can doe vs no hurt. As for the care hereof, and the musters, wee will
looke to it, and will send men abroad, both to the Cities, and for spials, **B**
and doe whatsoeuer else is requisite. Somewhat we haue done alrea-
dy, and what more we shall hereafter find meet, we will from time to
time report vnto you. Which when the Generall had said,
the Syracusians dissolued the Assembly.

The Athenians put out
from Corcyra.

The Athenians were now all in Corcyra, both they and
their Confederates. And first the Generals tooke a view
of the whole Army, and put them into the order wherein
they were to Anchor, and make their Nauall Campe, and
hauing diuided them into three squadrons, to each squa-
dron they assigned a Captaine by lot, to the end that being **C**
at Sea, they might not come into want of water, or har-
bors, or any other necessities, where they chanced to stay, &
that they might otherwise be the more easie to be gouver-
ned, when euery squadron had his proper Commander.
After this they sent before them three Gallies, into Italy,
and Sicily, to bring them word what Cities in those parts
would receiue them, whom they appointed to come backe
and meet them, that they might know whether they
might be receiued or not, before they put in. This done,
the Athenians with all their prouisions, put out from Cor- **D**
cyra, towards Sicily, hauing with them in all 134 Gallies,
and two Rhodian Long-boats of fifty Oares a piece. Of
these, a hundred were of Athens it selfe, whereof sixty were
expedite the other forty, for transportation of Souldiers.
The rest of the Nauy belonged to the Chians, and other
the Confederates. Of men of Armes they had in all
5100. Of these, there were of the Athenians themselues
1500 enrolled, and 700 more of the poorer sort, called
Thetes, hired, for defence of the Gallies. The rest were of
their Confederates, some of them being their subiects. Of **E**
Argiues there were 500. Of Mantineans and Mercinaries,

The quantity of the
Army.

A 250. Their Archers in all, 480. Of which 80 were Cre-
tans. Rhodian Slingers they had 700. Of Light-armed
Megarians fugitives 120, and in one vessell made for trans-
portation of horses, 30 horsemen. These were the forces
that went ouer to the Warre at first. With these went
also 30 Ships, carrying necessaries, wherein went also the
Bakers, and Masons, and Carpenters, and all Toolcs
of vse in fortification. And with these 30 Ships went
100 Boates, by constraint, and many other Ships and Boats
that voluntarily followed the Army for Trade, which
B then passed altogether from *Coreyra* ouer the *Ionian* Gulfe.
And the whole Fleet being come to the Promontory of
Iapygia, and to *Tarentum*, and such other places as euery one
could recouer, they went on by the coast of *Italy*, neither
receaued of the States there, into any Citie, nor allowed
any Market, hauing onely the liberty of Anchorage and
water, (and that also at *Tarentum*, and *Locri* denied them)
till they were at *Rhegium*, where they all came together
again, and settled their Campe in the Temple of *Diana*,
C (for neither there were they suffered to come in) without
the Citie, where the *Rhegians* allowed them a Market.
And when they had drawne their Gallies to Land, they
lay still. Being here, they dealt with the *Rhegians*, who
where *Chalcideans*, to aid the *Leontines*, *Chalcideans* likewise.
To which was answered, that they would take part with
neither, but what the rest of the *Italians* should conclude,
that also they would doe. So the *Athenians* lay still, medi-
tating on their *Sicilian* businesse, how they might carry it
the best; and withall expected the returne from *Egesta*, of
D the three Gallies which they had sent before them, desiring
to know if so much money were there or not, as was repor-
ted by their messengers at *Athens*.

The *Syracusians* in the meane time from diuers parts, and
also from their spies, had certaine intelligence, that the
Fleet was now at *Rhegium*, and therefore made their pre-
parations with all diligence, and were no longer incredu-
lous; but sent vnto the *Siculi*, to some Cities, men to keepe
them from reuolting; to others, Ambassadors; and into
such places as lay vpon the Sea, Garrisons; And exami-
ned the forces of their owne City, by a view taken of the
E Armes and Horse, whether they were complete or not, and
ordered all things as for a Warre at hand, and onely not al-
ready present.

The

The *Syracusians* certainly
knowing of their com-
ing prepare for their
defence.

The hope of the Athenians
of money from *Egesta* fru-
strated.

The fraud of the *Egeste-
ans*.

* *Eryx* was a City neere *E-
gesta*, and subject to it.

The severall opinions of
the Generals, touching
how to proceed. The
opinion of *Nicias*.

The three Gallies sent before to *Egesta*, returned to the *A*
Athenians at *Rhegium*, and brought word, that for the rest of
the money promised there was none, onely there appeared
thirty Talents. At this, the Generals were presently dis-
couraged, both because this first hope was crossed, and be-
cause also the *Rhegians*, whom they had already begun to
perswade to their League, and whom it was most likely
they should have wonne, as being of kinne to the *Leontines*,
and alwayes heretofore favourable to the *Athenian* State,
now refused. And though to *Nicias* this newes from the
Egesteans was no more then he expected, yet to the other *B*
two, it was extreme strange. But the *Egesteans*, when the
first Ambassadors from *Athens* went to see their Treasure,
had thus deceived them. They brought them into the
Temple of *Venus*, in * *Eryx*, and shewed them the holy
Treasure, Goblets, Flagons, Censers, and other Furniture,
in no small quantity; which being but silver, appeared to
the eye a great deal about their true value in money.
Then they feasted such as came with them, in their private
houses; and at those feastings exhibited all the gold and
silver vessell they could get together, either in the Citie of *C*
Egesta it selfe, or could borrow in other, as well *Phenician*,
as *Grecian* Cities, for their owne. So all of them in a man-
ner making use of the same Plate; and much appearing in
euery of those houses, it put those which came with the
Ambassadors, into a very great admiration, in so much as
at their returne to *Athens*, they stroue who should first pro-
claime, what wealth they had seene. These men, hauing
both been abused themselues, and hauing abused others,
when it was told that there was no such wealth in *Egesta*,
were much taxed by the Souldiers. But the Generals *D*
went to counsell vpon the businesse in hand.

Nicias was of this opinion, That it was best to goe pre-
sently with the whole Fleet to *Selinus*, against which they
were chiefly set forth; and if the *Egesteans* would furnish
them with money for the whole Army, then to deliberate
further vpon the occasiō, if not, then to require maintenance
for the 60 Gallies set forth at their own request, & staying
with them, by force or composition, to bring the *Selinunti-
ans* and them to a Peace. And thence passing along by o-
ther of those Cities, to make a shew of the power of the *E*
Athenian State, and of their readinesse to helpe their
friends

A friends and Confederates, and so to goe home, vnlesse they could light on some quicke and vnthought of meanes, to doe some good for the *Leontines*, or gaine some of the other Cities to their owne League, and not to put the Common-wealth in danger at her owne charges.

Alcibiades said it would not doe well to haue come out from *Athenians* with so great a power, and then dishonourably without effect to goe home againe. But rather to send Herald to euery City but *Selinus* and *Syracuse*, and assay to make the *Siculi* to reuolt from the *Syracusians*; and others to enter League with the *Athenians*, that they might ayde them with men and victuall. And first to deale with the *Messenians*, as being seated in the passage, and most opportune place of all *Sicily* for comming in; and hauing a Port and Harbour sufficient for their Fleet; and when they had gained those Cities, and knew what helpe they were to haue in the Warre, then to take in hand *Syracuse* and *Selinus*, vnlesse these would agree with the *Egestians*, and the other suffer the *Leontines* to be replanted.

The opinion of Alcibiades.

But *Lamachus* was of opinion, that it was best to goe directly to *Syracuse*, and to fight with them as soone as they could, at their City, whilst they were yet vnfurnished and their feare at the greatest. For that an Army is alwaies most terrible at first; But if it stay long ere it come in fight, men recollect their spirits, and contemne it the more when they see it. Whereas if it come vpon them suddenly, while they expect it with feare, it would the more easily get the Victory, and euerything would affright them; as the sight of it (for then they would appeare most for number) and the expectation of their sufferings, but especially the danger of a present Battell. And that it was likely, that many men might be cut off in the Villages without, as not beleeuing they would come; and though they should be already gotten in, yet the Army being master of the Field, and sitting downe before the City, could want no money, and the other *Sicilians* would then neglect leaguings with the *Syracusians*, and ioyne with the *Athenians*, no longer standing off, and spying who should haue the better. And for a place to retire vnto, and Anchor in, he thought *Megara* most fit, being distant, and not far from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. *Lamachus* said this, but came afterwards to the opinion of *Alcibiades*.

The opinion of Lamachus.

Alcibiades seeketh league with the *Messinians*, but is denied.

The *Athenians* goe with part of their Fleet to *Naxus*.

And to *Catana*.

They send tenne Gallies to view *Syracuse*, and the Hauens.

Catana surprized.

The *Athenians* goe to *Camarina*, but are not received.

After this, *Alcibiades* with his owne Gallie hauing passed ouer to *Messana*, and propounded to them a League, and not preuailed, they answering, that they would not let the Army in, but allow them onely a Market without the Walles, returned backe to *Rhegium*. And presently the Generals hauing out of the whole Fleet manned threescore Gallies, and taken prouision aboard, went along the shore to *Naxus*, hauing left the rest of the Armie with one of the Generals at *Rhegium*. The *Naxians* hauing receiued them into the City, they went on by the Coast, to *Catana*. A

But the *Cataneans* receiuing them not, (for there were some within that fauoured the *Syracusians*) they entred the Riuer of *Terias*, and hauing stayed there all that night, went the next day towards *Syracuse*, leasurely with the rest of their Gallies; but tenne they sent before into the great Hauen, not to stay, but to discouer if they had lanchd any Fleet there, and to proclaime from their Gallies, that the *Athenians* were come to replant the *Leontines* on their owne, according to League and affinity, and that therefore such of the *Leontines* as were in *Syracuse*, should without feare goe forth to the *Athenians*, as to their friends and benefactors. B

And when they had thus proclaimed, and well considered the Citie, and the Hauens, and the region where they were to seate themselues for the Warre, they returned to *Catana*. C

An Assembly being called at *Catana*, though they refused to receiue the Army, they admitted the Generals, and willed them to speake their minds. And whilest *Alcibiades*, was in his Oration, and the Citizens at the Assemblie, the Souldiers hauing secretly pulled downe a little Gate, which was but weakly built, entred the City, and were walking vp and downe in the Market. And the *Cataneans*, such as fauoured the *Syracusians*, seeing the Army within, for feare stole presently out of the Towne, being not many. The rest concluded the League with the *Athenians*, and willed them to fetch in the rest of the Army from *Rhegium*. After this, the *Athenians* went backe to *Rhegium*, and rising from thence, came to *Catana* with their whole Army together. D

Now they had newes from *Camarina*, that if they would come E

A come thither, the *Camarineans* would ioyne with them, and that the *Syracusians* were manning their Nauy. Whereupon with the whole Army they went along the Coast, first to *Syracuse*, where not finding any Nauy manned, they went on to *Camarina*. And being come close vp to the shore, they sent a Herald vnto them; but the *Camarineans* would not receiue the Army; alledging that they had taken an Oath, not to receiue the *Athenians* with more then one Gallie, vnlesse they should haue sent for more, of their owne accord. Hauiug lost their labour, they departed, and

B landed in a part of the Territorie of *Syracuse*, and had gotten some booty. But the *Syracusan* Horsemen comming out, and killing some stragglers of the light-armed, they returned againe to *Catana*.

Heere they finde the Gallie called *Salaminia*, come thither from *Athens*, both for *Alcibiades*, who was commanded to come home, to purge himselfe of such things as were laid to his charge by the State, and also for other Souldiers, that were with him, whereof some were accused for prophanation of the *Mysteries*, and some also

C for the *Mercuries*. For the *Athenians*, after the Fleet was put to Sea, proceeded neuerthelesse in the search of those that were culpable, both concerning the *Mysteries*, and the *Mercuries*. And making no enquirie into the persons of the informers, but through ieaiousie admitting of all sorts, vpon the report of euill men, apprehended verie good Citizens, and cast them into prison. Choosing rather to examine the fact, and finde the truth by torments, then that any man, how good soeuer in estimation, being once accused, should escape vnquestioned.

D For the People hauiug by fame vnderstood, that the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sonnes, was heauie in the latter end, and withall, that neither themselves, nor *Harmodius*, but the *Lacedemonians* ouerthrew it, were euer fearefull, and apprehended euery thing suspiciously.

For the fact of *Aristogiton* and *Harmodius*, was vndertaken vpon an accident of loue, which vnfolding at large, I shall make appeare that neither any other, nor the *Athenians* themselves report any certaintie, either of their owne Tyrants, or of the fact. For the old *Pisistratus* dying in the Tyranny, not *Hipparchus*, (as the most thinke) but *Hippias*, who was

Alcibiades called home, to answer about the *Mercuries*.

Digression touching the deposing of the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sons.

his eldest sonne, succeeded in the gouernment. Now *Harmodius*, a man in the flower of his youth, of great beautie, was in the power of one *Aristogiton*, a Citizen of a middle condition, that was his Louer. This *Harmodius* hauing beene sollicited by *Hipparchus* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, and not yeelding, discouered the same vnto *Aristogiton*. Hee apprehending it (as Louers vse) with a great deale of anguish, and fearing the power of *Hipparchus*, lest hee should take him away by force, fell presently as much as his condition would permit, to a contriuing how to pull downe the Tyranny. In the meane time, *Hipparchus*, hauing againe attempted *Harmodius*, and not preuailed, intended, though not to offer him violence, yet in secret, as if forsooth he did it not for that cause, to doe him some disgrace. For neither was the gouernment otherwise heauy till then, but carried without their euill will. And to say the truth, these Tyrants held vertue and wisdom in great account for a long time; and taking of the *Athenians* but a twentieth part of their reuenues, adorned the Citie, mannaged their Warres, and administred their religion worthily. In other points they were gouerned by the Lawes formerly established, saue that these tooke a care euer, to preferre to the Magistracy, men of their owne adherence. And amongst many that had the annuall office of *Archon*, *Pisistratus* also had it, the sonne of *Hippias*, of the same name with his Grandfather, who also when he was *Archon*, dedicated the Altar of the twelue Gods in the Market-place, and that other in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*. And though the People of *Athens*, amplifying afterwards that Altar which was in the Market-place, thereby defaced the Inscription, yet that vpon the Altar that is in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, is to bee seene still, though in Letters somewhat obscure, in these words.

PISISTRATVS the sonne of HIPPIAS
erected this to stand
Ith Temple of Apollo Pythius,
witnessse of his command.

And that *Hippias* being the elder Brother, had the gouernment, I can affirme, as knowing it by a more exact relation

A relation then other men. And it may be knowne also by this, It appeares that of all the legitimate brethren, this onely had children, as is both signified by the Altar, and also by that Pillar, which for a testimony of the iniustice of the Tyrants, was erected in the *Athenian* Cittadell. In which there is no mention of any sonne of *Thessalus*, or of *Hipparchus*, but of five sonnes of *Hippias*, which he had by *Myrrhine*, the daughter of *Callias* the sonne of *Hyperochidas*. For it is probable that the eldest was first married, and in the forepart of the Pillar, his name after his fathers, was the first, not without reason, as being both next him in age, and hauing also inioyed the Tyranny. Nor indeed could *Hippias* haue easily taken on him the gouernment on a sudden, if his brother had dyed, seized of the Tyranny, and he been the same day to settle it on himselfe. Whereas he retained the same with abundant security, both for the customary feare in the people, and diligence in the Guard; and was not to seeke, like a younger brother, to whom the gouernment had not continually been familiar. But *Hipparchus* came to be named for his mis-fortune, and thereby grew an opinion afterwards, that he was also Tyrant.

This *Harmodius* therefore that had denyed his sute, hee disgraced, as he before intended. For when some had warned a sister of his, a Virgin, to be present, to carry a little Basket in a Procession, they reiected her againe when she came, and said, that they had neuer warned her at all, as holding her vnworthy the honour. This was taken heauily by *Harmodius*; but *Aristogiton*, for his sake, was farre more exasperated then he. Whereupon, with the rest of the Conspirators he made all things ready for the execution of the designe. Onely, they were to stay the time of the Holiday, called the great *Panathenaea*, vpon which day onely, such Citizens as lead the Procession, might without suspition be armed in good number. And they were to begin the fact themselues, but the rest were to helpe them against the * Halbardiers.

Now the Conspirators for their better security, were not many; for they hoped that such also as were not priue to it, if they saw it once vndertaken, being vpon this occasion, armed, would asist, in the recouery of their owne liberty. When this Holiday was come, *Hippias* was gone out

* The Guard of *Hippias* the Tyrant.

out of the Citie, into the place called *Ceramicum*, with his A
 guard of Halbardiers, & was ordering the procesſion, how
 it was to goe. And *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, with each of
 them a Dagger, proceeded to the fact. But when they
 ſaw one of the Conſpirators, familiarly talking with *Hippias*,
 (for *Hippias* was very affable to all men) they were
 afraid, and beleueed that they were diſcouered, and muſt
 preſently haue beene apprehended. They reſolued there-
 fore (if it were poſſible) to be reuenged firſt vpon him
 that had done them the wrong, and for whoſe ſake they
 had vndergone all this danger; and, furniſht as they were, B
 ran furioſly into the Citie, and finding *Hipparchus*, at a
 place called *Leocorium*, without all regard of themſelues,
 fell vpon him, and with all the anger in the world, one vp-
 on iealouſie, the other vpon diſgrace, ſtrooke, and ſlew him.
Aristogiton, for the preſent, by meanes of the great conflu-
 ence of people, eſcaped thorow the Guard, but taken after-
 wards, was vngently handled; but *Harmodius* was ſlaine vp-
 on the place.

The newes being brought to *Hippias*, in the * *Ceramicum*,
 he went not towards the place where the fact was com- C
 mitted, but preſently vnto thoſe that were armed for the
 ſolemnity of the ſhewes, and were farre off, that he might
 be with them before they heard of it, and compoſing his
 countenance, as well as he could, to diſſemble the calamity,
 pointed to a certaine place, and commanded them to re-
 paire thither, without their Armes. Which they did ac-
 cordingly, expecting that he would haue told them ſome-
 what. But hauing commanded his Guard to take thoſe
 Armes away, he then fell preſently to picking out of ſuch D
 as he meant to queſtion, and whoſoeuer elſe was found a-
 mongſt them with a Dagger. For with Shields and
 Spears, to be in the head of the Procesſion, was of cu-
 ſtome.

Thus was the enterprize firſt vndertaken vpon quarrell
 of Loue, and then vpon a ſudden feare, followed this vnad-
 uiſed aduenture of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. And after
 this time the Tyranny grew ſorer to the *Athenians* then it
 had been before. And *Hippias* ſtanding more in feare, not
 onely put many of the Citizens to death, but alſo caſt his
 eye on the States abroad, to ſee if he might get any ſecurity E
 from them, in this alteration at home. Hee therefore
 afterwards

* A ſtreet without the walls
 of Athens, where they uſed
 to bury their ſlaine in the
 ſtewes. Lib. 1. ſo named
 from *Kerameus*, a Potter, or
 as Paul, from one *Cera-*
mus.

A afterwards (* though an *Athenian*, and to a *Lampſacen*) gave his daughter *Archedice* vnto *Aantidas* the ſonne of *Hippocles*, Tyrant of *Lampſacus*, knowing that the *Lampſacens* were in great fauour with King *Darius*. And her Sepulchre is yet to be ſcene, with this Inſcription.

*Archedice, the Daughter of King Hippias,
who in his time,
Of all the Potemates of Greece was prime,
this duſt doth hide.*

B Daughter, Wife, Siſter, Mother vnto Kings ſhe was,
yet free from pride.

And *Hippias*, after he had raigned three yeeres more in *Athens*, and was in the fourth depofed by the *Lacedæmonians*, and the exiled * *Alcæonids*, went vnder Truce to *Sigæum*, and to *Aantidas*, at *Lampſacus*, and thence to King *Darius*, from whence twenty yeeres after in his old age, he came to *Marathon* with the *Medan Army*.

C The People of *Athens* bearing this in minde, and remembering all that they had heard concerning them, were extremely bitter, and full of iealouſie towards thoſe that had been accuſed of the *Mysterics*, and thought all to haue been done vpon ſome *Oligarchicall* or *Tyrannicall* Conſpiracy. And whilſt they were paſſionate vpon this ſurmife, many worthy men had already been caſt in priſon, and yet they were not likely ſo to giue ouer, but grew daily more ſaluage, and ſought to apprehend more ſtill. Whilſt they were at this paſſe, a priſoner that ſeemed moſt to be guilty, was perſwaded by one of his fellow priſoners, to accuſe ſome body, whether it were true or not true, (for it is but conjecturall on both ſides, nor was there euer, then, or after, any man that could ſay certainly, who it was that did the deed) who brought him to it by telling him, that though he had not done it, yet he might be ſure to ſaue his owne life, and ſhould deliuer the City from the preſent ſuſpition. And that he ſhould be more certaine of his owne ſafety, by a free confeſſion, then by comming to his tryall, if he denied it. Hereupon, he accuſed both himſelfe and others for the *Mercuries*.

E The people of *Athens*, gladly receiuing the certainty (as they thought) of the fact: and hauing been much vexed

* A woman of *Salamis*, a Cite ſome ſetting for ſailors and anchoring, two men of *Lampſacus*, a Cite infamous for barbarity and effeminacy.

* A Family deſcended from a noble ſtew of *Athens*, named *Alcæon*, who being in exile, ſolicited the *Lacedæmonians* to expell the Tyrants of *Athens*.

* He had ſix ſlaves giuen him to be gouernors of the State of *Attilus*. The iealouſie and paſſionate fury of the people, in enquiring after the authors of the offences, touching the *Mysterics* and *Mercuries*.

One of the priſoners is perſwaded by a fellow priſoner, to accuſe ſome man, whether true or not true, and doth ſo.

Diuers men accuſed of the paring of the *Mercuries*.

But only to some few of
the Great men.

vexed before, to thinke that the Conspirators should * ne- A
uer perhaps, be discouered to their *Multitude*, presently set
at liberty the accuser, and the rest with him, whom he had
not appeached, but for those that were accused, they ap-
pointed Iudges, and all they apprehended, they executed.
And hauing condemned to dye, such as fled, they ordayned
a summe of money to be giuen to those that should slay
them. And though it were all this while vncertaine,
whether they suffered iustly, or vniustly, yet the rest of the
Citie had a manifest ease for the present. But touching
Alcibiades, the *Athenians* tooke it extreme ill, through the B
instigation of his enemies, the same that had opposed him
before he went. And seeing it was certaine (as they
thought) for the *Mercuries*, the other crime also concern-
ing the *Mysteries*, whereof he had beene accused, seemed
a great deale the more to haue bin committed by him vpon
the same reason, and conspiracy against the peo-
ple.

Presumptions against
Alcibiades.

For it fell out withall, whilst the City was in a tumult
about this, that an Army of the *Lacedamonians*, was come as
farre as the *Isthmus*, vpon some deligne against the *Bæotians*. C

These therefore they thought were come thither, not
against the *Bæotians*, but by appointment of him, and that
if they had not first apprehended, the persons appeached,
the Citie had been betrayed. And one night they watch-
ed all night long in their Armes, in the Temple of *These-*
us, within the Citie. And the friends of *Alcibiades* in *Ar-*
gor, were at the same time suspected of a purpose, to set vp-
on the People there, whereupon the *Athenians* also deliue-
red vnto the *Argiue People*, those * Hostages which they
held of theirs in the Islands, to be slaine. And there were D
presumptions against *Alcibiades*, on all sides. Insomuch,
as purposing by Law to put him to death, they sent, as I
haue said, the Gally called *Salaminia*, into *Sicily*, both for
him, and the rest with him, that had been accused: But
gaue command to those that went, not to apprehend him,
but to bid him follow them, to make his purgation; be-
cause they had a care, not to giue occasion of furre, either
amongst their owne, or the enemies Souldiers, but especi-
ally, because they desired, that the *Mantineans*, and the *Ar-*
gines, who they thought followed the Warre by his per- E
swasion, might not depart from the Army. So hee, and
the

* 300 in number. lib. 5.

Alcibiades sent for home.

A the rest accused with him in his owne Gallie, in companie of the *Salamina*, left *Sicily*, and set saile for *Athens*: But being at *Thuria*, they followed no further, but left the Gallie, and were no more to be found: fearing indeed to appeare to the accusation: They of the *Salamina* made search for *Alcibiades* and those that were with him for a while, but not finding him, followed on their course for *Athens*. *Alcibiades*, now an Out-law, passed shortly after in a small Boat from *Thuria* into *Peloponnesus*, and the *Athenians* proceeding to iudgement vpon his not appearing, condemned both him and them to death.

B After this, the *Athenian* Generals that remained in *Sicily*, hauing diuided the Armie into two, and taken each his part by lot, went with the whole towards *Selinus*, and *Egesta*, with intention both to see if the *Egesteans* would pay them the money, and withall to get knowledge of the designs of the *Selinuntians*, and learne the state of their controuerlie with the *Egesteans*. And sayling by the Coast of *Sicily*, hauing it on their left hand, on that side which lyeth to the *Tyrrhene* Gulfe, they came to *Himera*, the onely *Grecian* Citie in that part of *Sicily*: which not receiuing them, they went on, and by the way tooke *Hyccara*, a little Towne of the *Sicanians*, Enemy to the *Egesteans*, and a Sea-Towne; and hauing made the inhabitants Slaues, deliuered the Towne to the *Egesteans*, whose Horse-forces were there with them.

C Thence the *Athenians* with their Landmen returned through the Territory of the *Siculi*, to *Catara*; and the Gallies went about with the Captiues. *Nicias* going with the Fleet presently from *Hyccara* to *Egesta*, when hee had dispatched with them his other businesse, and receiued thirty Talents of Money, returned to the Armie. The Captiues they ransomed, of which they made 120. Talents more. Then they sailed about to their Confederates of the *Siculi*, appointing them to send their Forces; and with the halfe of their owne they came before *Hybla*, in the Territory of *Gela*, an Enemy City, but tooke it not, and so ended this Summer.

D The next Winter the *Athenians* fell presently to make preparation for their iourney against *Syracuse*. And the *Syracuzans* on the other side prepared to invade the *Athens*.

Alcibiades fly.

The *Athenian* Generals
in *Sicily* goe to *Selinus*
and *Egesta*.

They take *Hyccara*.

The end of the thuen-
teenth Summer.

The *Syracuzans* contemne
the *Athenians*.

nians. For seeing the *Athenians* had not presently vpon the A
 first feare, and expectation of their coming, false vpon
 them, they got euery day more and more heart. And
 because they went far from them into those other parts of
Sicily, and assaulting *Hybla*, could not take it, they contem-
 ned them more then euer: and prayed their Commanders,
 (as is the manner of the multitude when they bee in cou-
 rage) seeing the *Athenians* came not vnto them, to conduct
 them to *Catana*. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen, which
 were euer abroad for Scowts, spurring vp to the Campe of
 the *Athenians*, amongst other scornes, asked them, whe- B
 ther they came not rather to dwell in the Land of another,
 then to restore the *Leontines* to their owne?

Nicias his Stratagem to
 get easie landing and
 encamping by *Syracuse*.

The *Athenian* Generals hauing obserued this, and being
 desirous to draw forth the *Syracusans* whole power as farre
 as might bee from the Citie, to bee able in the meane
 time, without empeachment, going thither in the night,
 by Sea, to seaze on some conuenient place to encampe in;
 for they knew they should not bee able to doe it so well in
 the face of an Enemy prepared, nor if they were knowne
 to march by Land, for that the *Syracusan* Horsemen be- C
 ing many, would greatly annoy the light-armed, and o-
 ther multitude, they themselues hauing no Horsemen
 there: whereas thus they might possesse themselues of
 a place where the Horse could not doe them any hurt at
 all to speake of, (now the *Syracusan* Outlawes that were
 with them, had told them of a place neere the Temple
Olympieum, which also they seazed) I say, the *Athenian*
 Generals, to bring this their purpose to effect, contriued
 the matter thus: They send a man, of whose fidelity they
 were well assured, and in the opinion of the *Syracusan* Com D
 manders, no lesse a friend of theirs.

This man was a *Catanean*, and said he came from *Ca-
 tana*, from such and such, whose names they knew, and
 knew to bee the remnant of their wel-willers in that City.
 He told them that the *Athenians* lay euery night within the
 Towne, and far from their Armes, and that if with the
 whole power of their Citie, at a day appointed, betimes in
 a morning, they would come to their Campe, those friends
 of the *Syracusans* would shut the *Athenians* in, and set fire on
 their Gallies, by which meanes, the *Syracusans* assaulting E
 the Palizado, might easily winne the Campe. And that
 the

A the *Catanaans* that were to helpe them herein were many, and those he came from, already prepared for it.

The *Syracusan* Commanders hauing beene also otherwise encouraged, and hauing intended a preparation to goe against *Catana*, though this Messenger had not come, did so much the more vnadvisedly beleue the man, and straight wayes being agreed of the day, on which they were to bee there, sent him away. These Commanders (for by this time the *Selenuntians*, and some other their Confederates were come in) appointed the *Syracusians*, vniuersally to set forwards by a day. And when all their necessaries were in readinesse, and the day at hand in which they were to be there, they set forwards toward *Catana*, and encamped the night following vpon the banckes of the River *Smethus*, in the Territory of the *Leontines*. The *Athenians* vpon aduertisement that they were set forth, rising with their whole Armie, both themselues, and such of the *Siculi*, and others as went with them, and going aboard their Gallies and Boates in the beginning of the night, set sayle for *Syracusa*. In the morning betimes, the *Athenians* disbarked ouer against *Olympium*, to make their Campe. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen, who were at *Catana* before the rest, finding the Campe risen, came backe to the Foot, and told them. Whereupon they went all together backe to the ayde of the Citie. In the meane time, the way the *Syracusians* had to goe being long, the *Athenians* had pitched their Campe at leisure in a place of aduantage, wherein it was in their owne power to beginne Battell when they list, and where, both in and before the Battell, the *Syracusan* Horsemen could least annoy them. For on one side, there were

D Walles, and Houses, and Trees, and a Lake that kept them off; on the other side steepe Rockes, and hauing felled Trees hard by, and brought them to the Sea-side, they made a Palizado both before their Gallies, and toward *Dascon*. And on that part that was most accesible to the Enemy, they made a Fort with stone, (the best they could finde, but vnwrought) and with Wood, and withall pulled downe the Bridge of the River *Anapus*.

Whilest this was doing, there came none to empeach them from the Citie. The first that came against them, **E** were the *Syracusan* Horsemen, and by and by after, all the Foot together. And though at first they came vp

The *Athenians* land, pitch their Campe, and entrench themselues ere the *Syracusians* returne.

The *Syracusan* Army commeth backe.

neere vnto the Campe of the *Athenians*, yet after, seeing the *A*
Athenians came not out against them, they retired againe,
 and crossing to the other side of the *Helorine* high-way,
 stayed there that night.

The *Athenians* and *Syracusans*
 prepare to fight.

The next day the *Athenians* and their Confederates prepared to fight, and were ordered thus: The *Argiues* and the *Mantineans* had the right Wing, the *Athenians* were in the middle, and the rest of their Confederates in the other Wing. That halfe of the Army which stood foremost, was ordered by eight in File, the other halfe towards their Tents, ordered likewise by eights, was cast into the forme *B*
 of a long square, and commanded to obserue diligently, where the rest of the Army was in distresse, and to make specially thither. And in the midst of these so arranged, were receiued such as carried the * Weapons and Toolles of the Army.

The *Syracusians* arranged their men of Armes, who were *Syracusans* of all conditions, and as many of their Confederates as were present, by sixteene in File. They that came to ayde them, were chiefly the *Selinuntians*, and then the Horse-men of the *Geloans*, about two hundred; *C*
 and of the *Camaranians*, about twenty Horsemen, and fifty Archers. The Cauallery they placed in the right point of the Battell, being in all no lesse then a thousand two hundred, and with them the Darters. But the *Athenians* intending to begin the Battell, *Nicias* went vp and downe the Army, from one Nation to another, to whom, and to all in generall, he spake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his Army.

D **W**Hat neede I, first, to make a long exhortation, when this Battell is the thing for which we all came hither? For in my opinion, the present preparation is more able to giue you encouragement, then any Oration, how well soeuer made, if with a weak Armie. For where we are together, *Argiues*, *Mantineans*, *Athenians*, and the best of the *Ilanders*, how can we chooseth
 amongst so many and good Confederates, but conceiue great hope of the victory? especially against ragge and ragge, and not chosen men, as wee are our selues, and against *Sicilians*, who though they *E*
 contemne vs, cannot stand against vs; their skill not being answerable

A rable to their courage. It must bee remembered also, that wee be farre from our owne, and not neere to any amicable Territory, but such as we shall acquire by the sword. My exhortation to you (I am certaine) is contrary to that of the enemy. For they say to theirs, You are to fight for your Countrey, I say to you, You are to fight out of your Countrey, where you must either get the victory, or not easily get away. For many Horsemen will be upon vs. Remember therefore euery man his owne worth, and charge valiantly, and thinke the present necessity, and streight we are in, to be more formidable then the enemy.

B

Nicias, hauing thus exhorted the Army, led it presently to the charge. The *Syracusians* expected not to haue fought at that instant, and the Citie being neere, some of them were gone away; and some, for haste, came in running; and though late, yet euery one, as he came, put himselfe in, where was the greatest number. For they wanted neither willingesse, nor courage, either in this, or any other battell, being no lesse valiant, so farre forth as they had experience then the *Athenians*. But the want of this, made

The battell betweene the
Athenians and *Syracusians*.

C them, euen against their wils, to abate also somewhat of their courage.

Neuerthelesse, though they thought not the *Athenians* would haue begun the battell, and were thereby constrained to fight on a sudden, yet they resumed their Armes, and came presently forward to the encounter.

And first, the Casters of Stones, and Slingers, and Archers of either side, skirmished in the middest betweene the Armies, mutually chasing each other, as amongst the Light-armed, was not vnlikely.

D After this, the Southsayers brought forth their sacrifices according to the Law of the place, and the Trumpets instigated the men of Armes to the battell. And they came on to fight, the *Syracusians* for their Countrey, and their liues for the present, and for their liberty in the future. On the otherside, the *Athenians*, to win the Country of another, and make it their owne, and not to weaken their owne by being vanquished. The *Argiues*, and other free Confederates, to helpe the *Athenians* to conquer the Countrey they came against, and to returne to their owne

E

with Victory. And their Subiect-confederates came also on with great courage, principally, for their better safety,

ty, as desperate, if they overcame not, and withall vpon the A
by, that by helping the *Athenians* to subdue the Coun-
trie of another, their owne subiection might be the easier.

After they were come to handstroakes, they fought
long on both sides. But in the meane time there hapned
some claps of Thunder, and flashes of Lightning, toge-
ther with a great showre of Raine; insomuch as it added
to the feare of the *Syracusians* that were now fighting their
first battell, and not familiar with the Warres; whereas
to the other side that had more experience, the season of
the yeere seemed to expound that accident; and their great B
test feare proceeded from the so-long resistance of their
enemies, in that they were not all this while overcome.
When the *Argives* first, had made the Left Wing of the
Syracusians, to giue ground, and after them, the *Athenians*
also had done the like to those that were arranged against
them, then the rest of the *Syracusan* Army was presently
broken and put to flight. But the *Athenians* pursued them
not farre, (because the *Syracusan* Horsemen being many,
and vnvauquished, whensoever any men of Armes ad-
uanced farre from the body of the Army, charged vpon C
them, and still draue them in againe) but hauing followed
as farre as safely they might in great troopes, they retyned
againe, and erected a Trophie. The *Syracusians* hauing
rallyed themselves in the *Heliorine* way, and recovered their
order, as well as they could for that time, sent a guard into
Olympieum, lest the *Athenians* should take the treasure there,
and returned with the rest of the Army into the Citie.
The *Athenians* went not to assault the Temple, but gather-
ing together their dead, laid them vpon the funerall fire,
and staid that night vpon the place. The next day they D
gaue Truce to the *Syracusians* to take vp their dead (of
whom, and of their Confederates, were slaine about 260.)
and gathered vp the bones of their owne. Of the *Athenians*
and their Confederates, there dyed about fifty. And thus,
hauing rifled the bodies of their dead enemies, they retur-
ned to *Atina*. For it was now Winter, and to make War
there, they thought it yet vnpossible, before they had sent
for Horsemen to *Athens*, and leuyed other amongst their
Confederates there in *Sicily*; to the end they might not bee
altogether ouer mastered in Horte, and before they had also E
both leuyed mony there, and receiued more from *Athens*,
and

The *Athenians* haue the
victory.

A and made League with certaine Cities, which they hoped after this Battell, would the more easily hearken thereunto; and before they had likewise provided themselves of victuals, and other things necessary, as intending the next Spring to undertake *Syracuse* againe. With this mind they went to winter at *Naxos* and *Catana*.

The *Syracusians*, after they had buried their dead, called an Assembly, and *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermon*, a man not otherwise second to any in wisdom, and in warre, both able for his experience, and eminent for his valour, standing forth, gaue them encouragement, and would not suffer them to be dismayed with that which had hapned. Their courage, he said, was not overcome, though their want of order had done them hurt. And yet in that, they were not so farre inferior, as it was likely they would haue beene. Especially being (as one may say) home-bred artificers, against the most experienced in the Warre of all the *Grecians*. That they had also beene hurt by the number of their Generals and Commanders, (for there were fiftene that commanded in chiefe) and by the many supernumerary Souldiers vnder no command at all. Whereas, if they would make but a few and skilfull Leaders, and prepare Armour this Winter, for such as want it, to encrease as much as might be, the number of their men of Armes, and compell them in other things to the exercise of Discipline, in all reason they were to haue the better of the Enemy. For valour they had already, and to keepe their order, would be learnt by practice; and both of these would still grow greater; Skill, by practising with danger; and their Courage would grow bolder of it selfe, vpon the confidence of Skill. And for their Generals, they ought to chuse them few and absolute, and to take an Oath vnto them, to let them lead the Armie whithersoever they thought best. For by this meanes, both the things that require secrecy would the better be concealed, and all things would be put in readinesse with order, and lesse tergiversation.

The *Syracusians*, when they had heard him, decreed all that he aduised, and elected three Generals, *Him*, *Heraclides* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and *Sicanus* the sonne of *Execestus*. They sent also Ambassadors to *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, as well to obtaine a League with them, as also to perswade the *Lacedamonians* to make a hotter Warre against the *Athenians*, and to declare themselves in the quarrell of the *Syracusians*, thereby eyther to withdraw them from

Hermocrates encourageth the *Syracusians*, and is chosen Generall with two more.

The *Syracusians* send for ayde into *Peloponnesus*.

The Athenians attempt
to take Catana, but faile.

from *Sicily*, or to make them the leſſe able to ſend ſupply A
to their Army which was there already.

The *Athenian* Army at *Catana*, ſayled preſently to *Mef-*
ſana, to receiue it by Treason of ſome within; but the plot
came not to effect. For *Alcibiades* when hee was ſent for
from his charge, being reſolved to fly, and knowing what
was to be done, diſcouered the ſame to the friends of the
Syracuſians in *Mefſana*, who with thoſe of their Faction
ſlew ſuch as were accuſed, and being armed vpon occa-
ſion of the Sedition, obtained to haue the *Athenians* kept
out. And the *Athenians*, after 13 dayes ſtay, troubled with B
tempeſtuous weather, prouiſion alſo failing, and nothing
ſucceeding, returned againe to *Naxos*; and hauing fortified
their Campe with a Palizado, they wintred there, and diſ-
patched a Gallie to *Athens* for money, and Horſemen to be
with them early in the Spring.

The *Syracuſians* enlarge
the compaſſe of their
Wall, and burne the
Tents of the *Athenians*
by *Catana*.

* The ground belonging to the
Temple of *Apollo*.

The *Syracuſians* this Winter raiſed a Wall before their
Citie, all the length of the ſide towards *Epipole*, including
* *Temenitis*; to the end, if they chanced to be beaten, they
might not be ſo eaſily enclosed, as when they were in a
narrower compaſſe. And they put a Guard into *Megara*, C
and another into *Olympicum*: and made Palizadoes on the
Sea-ſide, at all the places of landing. And knowing that
the *Athenians* wintred at *Naxos*, they marched with all the
power of the Citie vnto *Catana*, and after they had waſted
the Territory, and burnt the Cabines and Campe where
the *Athenians* had lodged before, returned home.

Ambaſſadors both from
the *Athenians* and *Syracuſians*
vnto *Camarina*, for the
friendſhip of that City.

And hauing heard that the *Athenians* had ſent Ambaſ-
ſadours to *Camarina*, according to a League made before in
the time of *Laches*, to try if they could win them to their
ſide, they alſo ſent Ambaſſadours to oppoſe it. For they D
ſuſpected that the *Camarineans* had ſent thoſe ſuccors in the
former Battell with no great good will, and that now they
would take part with them no longer, ſeeing the *Athenians*
had the better of the day, but would rather ioyne with the
Athenians vpon the former League. *Hermocrates* therefore
and others, being come to *Camarina* from the *Syracuſians*, and
Euphemus and others from the *Athenians*, when the Aſſem-
bly was met, *Hermocrates* deſiring to increaſe their enuy
to the *Athenians*, ſpake vnto them to this effect.

THE

E

A
THE ORATION OF
HERMOCRATES.

MEN of Camarina, we come not hither, upon feare that the Forces of the Athenians here present may affright you, but lest their Speeches which they are about to make, may seduce you, before you haue also heard what may be said by vs. They are come into Sicily with that pretence indeed which you heare giuen out, but with that intention which wee all suspect. And to me they seeme not to intend the replantation of the Leontines, but rather our supplantation; for surely it holdeth not in reason, that they who subuert the Cities yonder, should come to plant any Citie heere; nor that they should haue such a care of the Leontines, because Chalcideans, for kindreds sake, when they keepe in seruitude the Chalcideans themselves of Eubœa, of whom these heere are but the Colonies. But they both hold the Cities there, and attempt those that are here in one and the same kind. For when the Ionians, and the rest of the Confederates, their owne Colonies, had willingly made them their Leaders in the Warre, to auenge them of the Medes, the Athenians laying afterwards to their charge, to some, the not sending of their Forces, to some, their Warre amongst themselves, and so to the rest the most colourable criminations they could get, subdued them all to their obedience. And it was not for the liberty of the Grecians, that these men, nor for the liberty of themselves, that the Grecians made head against the Medes; but the Athenians did it, to make them serue, not the Medes, but them, and the Grecians to change their Master, as they did, not for one lesse wise, but for one worse-wise. But intruth we come not to accuse the Athenian State (though it be obnoxious enough) before you that know sufficiently the iniuries they haue done; but farre rather to accuse our selues, who though we haue the examples before our eyes, of the Grecians there, brought into seruitude for want of defending themselves; and though wee see them now, with the same sophistry of replanting the Leontines, and their kindred, and ayding of their Confederates the Egestæans, prepare to doe the like vnto vs, doe not yet write our selues; and with better courage, make them to know, that we be not Ionians, nor Helleſpontines, nor Islanders, that changing, serue alwaies the Mede, or some other Master; but that wee are Dorians, and free-men, come to dwell here in Sicily, out of Peloponnesus, a free Country.

E Shall we stand still till we be taken Citie after Citie? when we know, that that only way we are conquerable, and when we find them wholy

ly bent to this, that by drawing some from our alliance with their A words, and causing some to vveare each other out with Warre, vpon hope of their Confederacie, and winning others by other fit language, they may haue the power to doe vs hurt. But we thinke, though one of the same Iland perish, yet if he dwell far off, the danger will not come to vs; and before it arriue, we count vnhappy onely him that suffereth before vs. If any therefore be of this opinion, that it is not he, but the Syracusan, that is the Athenians Enemie, and thinketh it a hard matter, that he should endanger himselfe for the Territorie that is mine, I would haue him to consider, that he is to fight not chiefly for mine, but equally for his owne in mine, and with the more safety, B for that I am not destroyed before, and be thereby destitute of my helpe, but stand with him in the Battell. Let him also consider, that the Athenians come not hither to punish the Syracusians for being enemies to you, but by pretence of mee, to make himselfe the stronger by your friend's ip. If any man heere enuieth, or also feareth vs, (for the strongest are still lyable vnto both) and would therefore wish that the Syracusians might be weakned, to make them more modest, but not vanquished for their owne safeties sake, that man hath conceived a hope beyond the power of man. For it is not reasonable, that the same man should be the disposer both of his desires, and of his fortune. And C if his ayme should faile him, he might, deploring his owne misery, per-aduenture wish to enioy my prosperity againe. But this will not bee possible to him that shall abandon me, and not vndertake the same dangers, though not in title, yet in effect the same that I doe. For though it be our power in title, yet in effect it is your own safety you shall defend. And you men of Camarina, that are our borderers, and likely to haue the second place of danger, you should most of all haue foreseene this, and not haue aided vs so dully. You should rather haue come to vs, and that which if the Athenians had come first against Camarina, you should in your need haue implored at our hands, the same you should D now also haue beene seene equally to hearten vs withall, to keepe vs from yeelding. But as yet, neither you nor any of the rest haue beene so forward. Perhaps vpon feare, you meane to deale euently betweene vs both, and alledge your League with the Athenians. You made no League against your friends, but against your enemies, in case any should inuade you: and by it you are also tyed to ayde the Athenians when others wrong the, but not when as now they wrong their neighbour. For euen the Rhegians, who are Chalcideans, refuse to helpe the in replanting the Leontines, though these also be Chalcideans. And then it were a hard case, if they suspecting a bad action vnder a E faire iustification, are wise without a reason, and you, vpon pretence of reason,

A reason, should ayde your naturall enemies, and helpe them that most hate you, to destroy your more naturall kindred.

But this is no iustice; to fight with them is iustice, and not to stand in feare of their preparation. Which, if wee hold together, is not terrible, but is, if contrarily (which they endeavour) we bee disynited. For neither when they came against vs being none but our selues, and had the vpper hand in 'Bartell, could they yet effect their purpose, but quickly went their wayes. There is no reason therefore wee should bee afraid, when wee are all together, but that wee should haue the better will to v-nite our selues in a League. And the rather, because wee are to haue ayde from Peloponnesus, who euery way excell these men in Militarie sufficiencie. Nor should you thinke that your purpose to ayde neither, as being in League with both, is either iust in respect of vs, or safe for your selues. For it is not so iust in substance, as it is in the pretence. For if through want of your ayde, the assailed perisb, and the assailant become Victor, what doe you by your neutrality, but leaue the safety of the one vndefended, and suffer the other to doe euill? Whereas it were more noble in you, by ioyning with the wronged, and with your kindred, both to defend the Common good of Sicily, and keepe the Athenians, as your friends, from an act of iniustice. To be short, wee Syracusians say, That to demonstrate plainly, to you, or to any other, the thing you already know, is no hard matter; but wee pray you, and withall, if you reiect our words, wee protest, that whereas the Ionians, who haue euer bene our enemies, doe take counsell against vs, you that are Dorians as well as wee, betray vs. And if they subdue vs, though it bee by your counsels that they do it, yet they onely shall haue the honour of it. And for the prize of their victory, they will haue none other but e-uen the Authors of their victory. But if the victory fall vnto vs, euen you also, the cause of this our danger, shall vndergoe the penalty. Consider therefore now, and take your choice, whether you will haue seruitude without the present danger, or sauing your selues with vs, both auoyd the dishonour of hauing a Master, and escape our enmity, which is likely otherwise to be lasting.

Thus spake Hermocrates.

After him, Euphemus, Ambassadour from the Athenians; spake thus.

A

THE ORATION OF
EUPHEMVS.

THough our coming were to renew our former League, yet seeing wee are touched by the Syracusian, it will bee necessary wee speake something heere of the right of our Dominion. And the greatest testimonie of this right he hath himselfe giuen, in that he said the Ionians were euer enemies to the Dorians. And it is true. For being Ionians, we haue euer endeououred to finde out some meanes or other, how best to free our selues from subiection **B** to the Peloponnesians, that are Dorians, more in number then wee, and dwelling neere vs. After the Median Warre, hauing gotten vs a Nauie, wee were deliuered thereby from the command and leading of the Lacedæmonians; there beeing no cause why they should rather bee Leaders of vs, then wee of them, saue onely that they were then the stronger. And when wee were made Commanders of those Grecians which before liued vnder the King, vvee tooke vpon vs the government of them, because wee thought, that hauing power in our hands to defend our selues, vve should thereby be the lesse subiect to the Peloponnesians. And to say truth, vvee **C** subiected the Ionians and Ilanders, (whom the Syracusians say we brought into bondage, being our kindred) not without iust cause: for they came with the Medes against ours their Mother Citie, and for feare of losing their wealth, durst not reuolt, as wee did, that abandoned our very Citie. But as they were content to serue, so they would haue imposed the same condition vpon vs. For these causes, vvee tooke vpon vs our dominion ouer them, both as worthy of the same, in that wee brought the greatest Fleet, and promptest courage to the service of the Grecians: whereas they, with the like promptnesse in fauour of the Medes, did vs hurt: and also as being desirous **D** to procure our selues a strength against the Peloponnesians. And follow any other wee will not, seeing wee alone haue pulled downe the Barbarian, (and therefore haue right to command) or at least haue put our selues into danger more for the liberty of the Peloponnesians, then of all the rest of Greece, and our owne besides. Now to seeke meanes for ones owne preservation is a thing unblameable. And as it is for our owne safeties cause that vvee are now heere, so also wee finde that the same will be profitable for you. Which vvee will make plaine, from those very things which they accuse, and you, as most formidable, suspect vs of; being assured, that such as suspect **E** vwith vehement feare, though they may be wonne for the present with
the

A the sweetnesse of an Oration, yet vvhhen the matter comes to performance, will then doe as shall be most for their turne. Wee haue told you that wee hold our Dominion yonder vpon feare; and that vpon the same cause wee come hither now, by the helpe of our friends, to assure the Cities heere, and not to bring you into subiection, but rather to keepe you from it.

And let no man obiekt, that we be sollicitous for those that are nothing to vs. For as long as you be preserued, and able to make head against the Syracusians, wee shall be the lesse annoyed by their sending of Forces to the Peloponnesians. And in this point you are **B** very much vnto vs. For the same reason, it is meete also, that vvee replant the Leontines, not to subiect them, as their kindred in Euboea, but to make them as puissant as wee can; that being neere, they may from their owne Territory, weaken the Syracusians in our behalfe. For as for our Warres at home, wee are a match for our enemies without their helpe. And the Chalcidean, (whom hauing made a slaue yonder, the Syracusian said, wee absurdly pretend to vindicate into liberty heere) is most beneficiall to vs there, without Armes, paying money onely; but the Leontines, and other our friends heere, are the most profitable to vs, when they are most in **C** liberty.

Now to a Tyrant or Citie that raigneth, nothing can bee thought absurd, if profitable, nor any man a friend, that may not bee trusted to. Friend or Enemy he must bee, according to the seuerall occasions. But here it is for our benefit not to vveaken our friends, but by our friends strength to weaken our enemies. This you must needs beleue, in as much as yonder also, wee so command ouer our Confederates, as enery of them may bee most Usefull to vs. The Chians and Methymnæans redeeme their liberty, with providing vs some Gallies: the most of the rest, with a Tribute of money, somewhat more presing. **D** Some againe of our Confederates are absolutely free, notwithstanding that they be Ilanders, and easie to be subdued. The reason whereof is this: they are scituate in places commodious about Peloponnesus. It is probable therefore, that heere also, we will so order our affaires, as shall be most for our owne turne, and most according to our feare (as we told you) of the Syracusians. For they affect a dominion ouer you; and hauing by aduantage of your suspicion of vs, drawne you to their side, will themselues by force, or (if we goe home without effect) by your want of friends, haue the sole command of Sicily. Which, if you ioyne with them, must of necessity come to passe. For neither **E** will it be easie for vs to bring so great Forces againe together, nor will the Syracusians want strength to subdue you, if we bee absent.

Fin

Him that thinketh other wise; the thing it selfe convinceth: for when A
 you called vs in, to ayde you, at the first, the feare you pretended was
 onely this, that if we neglected you, the Syracusians would subdue
 you, and we thereby should participate of the danger. And it were
 vniust, that the argument you would needs haue to preuaile then
 with vs, should now haue no effect with your selues; or that you
 should be iealous of the much strength we bring against the power of
 the Syracusians, when much rather you should giue the lesse care vn-
 to them. We cannot so much as stay here without you; and if becom-
 ming perfidious, we should subdue these States, yet we are unable to
 hold them, both in respect of the length of the voyage, and for want of B
 meanes of guarding them, because they be great, and provided after
 the manner of the Continent. ... Whereas they, not lodged neere you in
 a Campe, but inhabiting neere you in a Citie of greater power then
 this of ours, will be alwayes watching their aduantages against you:
 And when an opportunity shall be offered against any of your Cities,
 will be sure not to let it slip. This they haue already made to appeare,
 both in their proceedings against the Leontines, and also otherwise.
 And yet haue these the face to moue you against vs that hinder this,
 and that haue hitherto kept Sicily from falling into their hands.
 But we on the other side, inuite you to a farre more reall safety, and C
 pray you not to betray that safety, which we both of vs hold from one
 another at this present, but to consider, that they by their owne num-
 ber haue way to you alwayes, though without Confederates, whereas
 you shall seldome haue so great an ayde againe to resist them. Which
 if through your iealousie, you suffer to goe away without effect, or if
 it miscarry, you will hereafter wish for the least part of the same, when
 their coming can no more doe you good. But (Camarinaeans) bee
 neither you nor others, moued with their calumnies. We haue told you
 the very truth, why wee are suspected; and summarily wee will tell
 it you againe, stayning to preuaile with you thereby. We say, we com- D
 mand yonder, lest else we should obey, and we assert into liberty the Ci-
 ties here, lest else we should be harmed by them. Many things vvee
 are forced to be doing, because many things vve haue to bevvare of.
 And both now, and before, vve came not vncalled, but called, as Con-
 federates to such of you as suffer vvrong. Make not your selues Iud-
 ges of vvhath we doe, nor goe about as Censors (vvhich vvere now
 hard to doe) to diuert vs; but as farre as this busie humour, and fa-
 shion of ours, may be for your owne seruice; so farre take, and vse
 it: and thinke not the same hurtfull alike to all, but that the greatest
 part of the Grecians haue good by it. For in all places; though vve E
 be not of any side, yet both he that looketh to be wronged, and hee that
 contriuncth

A contrineth to doe the wrong, by the obuiou/nesse of the hope that the one hath of our ayd, and of the feare that the other hath of their owne danger; if we should come, are brought by necessity, the one to moderation against his will, the other into safety, without his trouble. Refuse not therefore, the security now present, common both to vs that require it, and to your selues. But doe as others vse to doe; come with vs, and in stead of defending your selues alwayes against the Syracusians, take your turne once, and put them to their guard, as they haue done you. Thus spake Euphemus.

B The Camarinaens stood thus affected: They bare good will to the Athenians; saue that they thought they meant to subiugate Sicily; And were euer at strife with the Syracusians about their borders. Yet because they were afraid that the Syracusians that were neere them, might as well get the victory, as the other, they had both formerly sent them some few horse, and also now resolu'd for the future; to helpe the Syracusians, but vnderhand, and as sparingly as was possible; and withall, that they might no lesse seeme to fauour the Athenians, then the Syracusians, especially after they had wonne a battell, to giue for the present an equall answer vnto both. So after deliberation had, they answered thus: That for as much as they that warred, were both of them their Confederates, they thought it most agreeable to their oath, for the present, to giue ayde to neither. And so the Ambassadors of both sides went their wayes. And the Syracusians made preparation for the Warre by themselves.

The Athenians being encamped at Naxos, treated with the Siculi, to procure as many of them as they might, to their side. Of whom, such as inhabited the Plaine, and were subiect to the Syracusians, for the most part, held off; but they that dwelt in the most inland parts of the Iland, being a free people, and euer before dwelling in Villages, presently agreed with the Athenians; and brought Corne into the Army, and some of them also money. To those that held off, the Athenians went with their Army, and some they forced to come in, and others they hindred from receiuing the aydes, and garrisons of the Syracusians. And hauing brought their Fleet from Naxos, where it had been
E all the Winter till now, they lay the rest of the Winter at Catania, and re-erected their Campe formerly burnt by the Syracusians.

The resolution of the Camarinaens for Newtrality.

The Athenians seek to winne the Siculi.

They bring their Fleet to Catania.

They

They send for ayde to
Carthage, and into Hel-
luz.

And prepare to besiege
Syracuse.

The Syracusians pray ayde
of the Corinthians and
Lacedæmonians.

* Corinth was the mother
City of Syracuse.

Alcibiades at Lacedæmon,
insiggeth the Lacedæ-
monians against his Coun-
treys.

They sent a Gally also to *Carthage*, to procure amity, **A** and what helpe they could from thence: And into *Helluzia*, because some Cities there had of their owne accord promised to take their parts. They sent likewise to the *Siculi* about them, and to *Egesta*, appointing them to send in all the Horse they could, and made ready Bricks, and Iron, and whatsoever else was necessary for a Siege, and euery other thing they needed, as intending to fall in hand with the Warre, early the next Spring.

The Ambassadors of *Syracuse*, which were sent to *Co-*
rinth and *Lacedæmon*, as they sayled by, endeauoured also to **B**
moue the *Italians*, to a regard of this action of the *Athenians*. Being come to *Corinth*, they spake vnto them, and demanded ayde, vpon the * Title of consanguinity. The *Co-*
inthians hauing forthwith, for their owne part, decreed cheerefully to ayde them, sent also Ambassadors from themselves, along with these to *Lacedæmon*, to helpe them to perswade the *Lacedæmonians*, both to make a more open Warre against the *Athenians*, at home, and to send some forces also into *Sicily*.

At the same time that these Ambassadors were at **C**
Lacedæmon, from *Corinth*, *Alcibiades* was also there, with his fellow fugitiues; who presently vpon their escape, passed ouer from *Thuria*, first to *Cyllene*, the Hauen of the *Eleans*, in a Ship, and afterwards went thence to *Lacedæmon*, sent for by the *Lacedæmonians* themselves, vnder publique security. For he feared them for his doings about *Mantineia*. And it fell out, that in the Assembly of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, *Syracusians*, and *Alcibiades*, made all of them the same request. Now the *Ephores* and Magistrates, though intending to send Ambassadors to *Syracuse*, to hinder them **D**
from compounding with the *Athenians*, being yet not forward to send them ayde, *Alcibiades* stood forth, and sharpened the *Lacedæmonians*, inciting them with words to this effect:

THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

IT will be necessary that I say something first concerning mine
owne accusation, lest through iealousie of me, you bring a prei- **E**
dicate eare to the common businesse. My Ancestors hauing on

A certaine quarrell renounced the * office of receiving you, I was the man that restored the same againe, and shewed you all possible respect, both otherwise, and in the * matter of your losse at Pylus. Whilst I persisted in my good-will to you, being to make a Tedece at Athens, by treating the same with my aduersaries, you inusted them with authority, and me with disgrace. For which cause, if in applying my selfe afterwards to the Mantineans, and Argives, or in any thing else I did you hurt, I did it iustly. And if any man heere were causelessly angry with mee then, when hee suffered, let him bee now content againe, when hee knowes the true cause of the same. Or if any man thinke the worse of mee for enclining to the People, let him acknowledge, that therein also hee is offended without a cause. For wee haue beene alwayes Enemies to Tyrants, and what is contrary to a Tyrant, is called the People; and from thence hath continued our adherence to the multitude. Besides, in a City governed by Democracie, it was necessary in most things to follow the present course; neuerthelessse wee haue endeoured to bee more moderate, then suteth with the now headstrong humour of the People. But others there haue beene, both formerly and now, that haue incited the Common People to worse things then I, and they are those that haue also driuen out mee. But as for vs, when wee had the charge of the whole, wee thought it reason, by what forme it was growne most great and most free, and in which we receiued it, in the same to preserue it. For though such of vs as haue indgement, doe know well enough what the Democracie is, and I no lesse then another (inasmuch as I could inueigh against it; But of confessed madnesse nothing can be said that's new) yet wee thought it not safe to change it, when you our Enemies were so neere vs. Thus stands the matter touching my own accusation. And concerning what we are to consult of, both you and I, If I know any thing, which your selues doe not, heare it now. We made this voyage into Sicily, first, (if we could) to subdue the Sicilians; after them the Italians; after them, to assay the dominion of Carthage; & Carthage it selfe. If these or most of these enterprizes succeeded, then next wee would haue vndertaken Peloponnesus, with the accession both of the Greeke Forces there, and with many mercenarie Barbarians, Iberians, and others of those parts, confessed to bee the most warlike of the Barbarians that are now. We should also haue built many Gallies, besides these which we haue already, (there being plenty of Timber in Italy) with the which besieging Peloponnesus round, and also taking the Cities thereof with our Land-forces, vpon such occasions as should arise from the Land, some by assault, and some by siege, wee hoped easily

• *Agathia*. T. Lacedæ-
monian *Andes* again: but
came at any time to Athens,
here entertained by his dis-
ciples; Thence, the first
publishing after upon a
small remnant, and Al-
cibiades for his temper.

* (i.) he favoured their prisoners taken there, and they fled at Athens.

easily to haue debelled it, and afterwards to haue gotten the domination of all Greece. As for Money and Corne to facilitate some points of this, the places wee should haue conquered there, besides what heere wee should haue found, would sufficiently haue furnished vs.

Thus, from one that most exactly knoweth it, you haue heard what is the Designe of the Fleete now gone, and vvhich the Generals there, as farre as they can, vvill also put in execution.

Vnderstand next, that vnlesse you ayde them, they yonder cannot possibly hold out. For the Sicilians, though inexpert, if many of them vnite, may well subsist; but that the Syracusians alone, with their whole power already beaten, and withall kept from the vse of the Sea, should withstand the Forces of the Athenians already there; is a thing impossible. And if their Citie should be taken, all Sicily is had, and soone after Italy also, and the danger from thence, which I foretold you, would not be long ere it fell vpon you. Let no man therefore thinke, that hee now consulteth of Sicily onely, but also of Peloponnesus, vnlesse this bee done with speed. Let the Armie you send bee of such, as being aboard, may row, and landing, presently be armed. And (which I thinke more profitable then the Armie it selfe) send a Spartan for Commander, both to traine the Souldiers already there, and to compell vnto it such as refuse. For thus will your present friends bee the more encouraged, and such as bee doubtfull, come to you with the more assurance. It were also good to make Warre more openly vpon them heere, that the Syracusians seeing your care, may the rather hold out, and the Athenians bee lesse able to send supply to their Armie. You ought likewise to fortifie Decelea in the Territory of Athens, a thing which the Athenians themselues most feare, and reckon for the onely euill they haue not yet tasted in this Warre. And the way to hurt an Enemy most, is to know certainly what he most feareth, and to bring the same vpon him. For in reason a man therefore feareth a thing most, as hauing the precisest knowledge of what will most hurt him. As for the commodities which your selues shall reape, and deprive the Enemy of, by so fortifying, letting much passe, I will summe you vp the principall. Whatsoever the Territory is furnished withall, will come most of it vnto you, partly taken, and partly of its owne accord. The reuenuue of the Silver Mines in Laurium, and whatsoever other profit they haue from their Land, or * from their Courts of Iustice, will presently be lost. And, which is worst, their Confederates will be remisse in bringing in their reuenuue, and will care little for the Athenians, if they beleene once that you follow the Warre to the vtmost.

That

* As Feet, and Finet, which would cease in the Townes abroad, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, or not be able to be conueyed to the City.

- A** That any of these things be put in act, speedily and earnestly, (Men of Lacedæmon) it resteth onely in your selues: for I am confident, and I thinke I erre not, that all these things are possible to bee done. Now I must craue this, that I bee neither the worse esteemed, for that hauing once bene thought a louer of my Countrey, I goe now amongst the greatest Enemies of the same, against it; nor yet mistrusted, as one that speaketh with the zeale of a Fugitiue. For though I flye from the malice of them that draue mee out, I shall not (if you take my counsell) fly your profit. Nor are you enemies so much,
- B** who haue hurt but your enemies, as they are, that haue made enemies of friends. I loue not my Countrey, as wronged by it, but as hauing liued in safety in it. Nor doe I thinke, that I doe herein goe against any Countrey of mine, but that I farre rather seeke to recouer the Countrey I haue not. And hee is truly a louer of his Countrey, not that refuseth to inuade the Countrey hee hath wrongfully lost, but that desires so much to bee in it, as by any meanes hee can, hee will attempt to recouer it. I desire you therefore, (Lacedæmonians)
- C** to make vse of my seruice, in whatsoeuer danger or labour, confidently, seeing you know, (according to the common saying) if I did hurt you much when I was your enemy, I can helpe you much when I am your friend. And so much the more, in that I know the state of Athens, and but coniectured at yours. And considering you are now in deliberation vpon a matter of so extreme importance, I pray you thinke not much to send an Army both into Sicily and Attica, as well to preserue the great matters that are there, with the presence of a small part of your Force, as also to pull downe the power of the Athenians, both present and to come; and afterwards to dwell in safety your selues, and to haue the leading of all Greece; not forced, but voluntary, and with their good affection.
- D**

Thus spake Alcibiades.

- And the Lacedæmonians, though before this they had a purpose of their own accord, to send an Army against Athens, but had delayed and neglected it, yet when these particulars were deliuered by him, they were a great deale the more confirmed in the same, conceiuing that what they had heard, was from one that euidently knew it. Inso much as
- E** they had set their minds already vpon the fortifying at Decælea, and vpon the sending of some succours into Sicily,

The Lacedæmonians resolve to send Gylippus into Sicily.

for the present. And hauing assigned *Gylippus* the sonne A
of *Cleandridas*, vnto the *Syracusan* Ambassadors for chiefe
Commander, they willed him to consider, both with them
and the *Corinthians*, how best (for their present meanes)
and with greatest speed, some helpe might bee conueyed
vnto them in *Sicily*. He thereupon appointed the *Corinthi-
ans* to send him two Gallies presently to *Asine*, and to fur-
nish the rest they meant to send, and to haue them ready
to saile when occasion should serue. This agreed vpon,
they departed from *Lacedemon*.

The *Athenians* resolve to
send prouision and
Horsemen.

In the meane time the Gallie arriued at *Athens*, which B
the Generals sent home for money and Horsemen. And
the *Athenians* vpon hearing, decreed to send both prouision
and Horsemen to the Armie. So the Winter ended, and the
seuenteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE EIGH- TEENTH YEERE.

The *Athenians* burne the
Fields of certaine Towns
of the *Siculi*, and take
Gela & *Syracusa*.

In the very beginning of the next Spring, the *Athenians*
in *Sicily*, departed from *Carana*, and sailed by the Coast to
Megara of *Sicily*. The inhabitants whereof, in the time of
the Tyrant *Gelon*, the *Syracusans*, (as I mentioned before)
had driuen out; and now possesse the Territory them-
selves. Landing heere, they wasted the Fields, and hauing C
assaulted a certaine small Fortresse of the *Syracusans*,
not taking it, they went presently backe, part by Land, and
part by Sea, vnto the River *Tereas*. And landing againe in
the plaine Fields, wasted the same, and burnt vp their
Corne; and lighting on some *Syracusans*, not many, they
slew some of them; and hauing set vp a Trophie, went
all againe aboard their Gallies. Thence they returned to
Carana, and tooke in victuall. Then with their whole Ar-
my they went to *Camoripa*, a small Citie of the *Siculi*, which
yeelding on composition, they departed, and in their way, D
burnt vp the Corne of the *Inesaeans* and the *Hyblaens*. Be-
ing come againe to *Carana*, they find there 250 Horsemen,
arriued from *Athens*, without Horses, though not without
the furniture, supposing to haue Horses there; and 30 Ar-
chers on horsebacke, and 300 Talents of siluer.

They receiue money and
Horsemen from *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonians*
inuaide *Argis*.

The *Argines* take a great
Booty in *Tyreus*.

The same Spring the *Lacedemonians* led forth their Army
against *Argos*, and went as far as to *Cleone*; But an Earth-
quake hapning, they went home againe. But the *Argines*
inuaide the Territory of *Thyrea*, confining on their owne, E
and tooke a great Booty from the *Lacedemonians*, which
they sold for no lesse then *25 Talents.

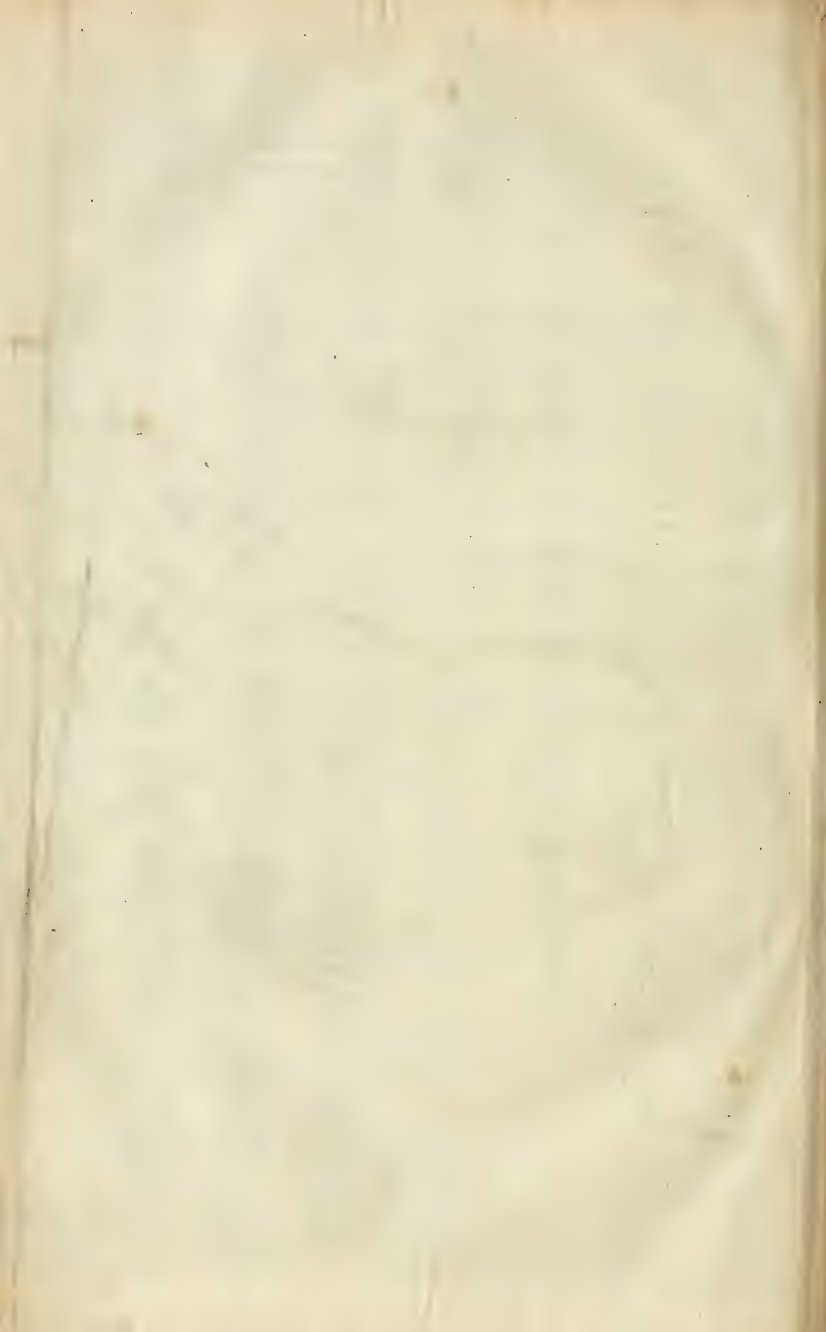
* 27 17 pound, 10 shillings
sterling.

Not

SYRACUSE
BESEEGED BY
the Athenians

A. Acaëma B. Nazos. C. Sycha or Lycia. D. Temonitis. E. Epipolæ. F. The quarries
of prison. G. The fort of Iacodulum. H. Eurcalus. I. The Camp of the Athenians.
The walles made by the Athenians to besiege the City. L. Heaves of Stones
ready for finishing of the wall. M. The Marshes. N. The wall made by
the Syracusians. O. Leon. P. Troglus. Q. Thapsus. R. The great Haven.
The little Haven. T. Plemmyrium. V. Dascon. W. Olympæum.
The high way to Helorus. Y. The river Anapus. Z. The lake
Lysimæia.





A Not long after, the Commons of *Troespie*, set vpon them that had the gouernment; but not preuailing, were part apprehended, and part escaped to *Athens*, the *Athenians* hauing also ayded them.

The Commons of *Troespie* set vpon the *Tons*, but with ill successe.

The *Syracusians* the same Summer, when they heard that the *Athenians* had Horsemen sent to them from *Athens*, and that they were ready now to come against them, conceiuing, that if the *Athenians* gat not *Epipole* a rocky ground, and lying iust against the City, they would not bee able, though Masters of the Field, to take in the City with a Wall; intended therefore, lest the Enemy should come secretly vp, to keepe the passages by which there was access vnto it, with a Guard. For the rest of the place is to the outside high and steepe, falling to the City by degrees, and on the inside wholly subiect to the eye. And it is called by the *Syracusians*, *Epipole*, because it lyeth about the leuell of the rest. The *Syracusians* comming out of the Citie with their whole power, into a Meddow by the side of the Riuer *Anapus*, betimes in the morning, (for *Hermocrates* and his fellow-Commanders had already receiued their charge) were there taking a view of their Armes; but first they had set apart 700. men of Armes vnder the leading of *Diomilus*, an Outlaw of *Andros*, both to guard *Epipole*, and to be ready together quickly, vpon any other occasion wherein there might be vse of their seruice. The *Athenians* the day following, hauing beene already mustred, came from *Catana* with their whole Forces, and landed their Souldiers at a place called *Leon* (6 or 7 furlongs from *Epipole*) vnperceiued, and layed their Nauie at Anchor vnder *Thapsus*. *Thapsus* is almost an Island, lying out into the Sea, and ioyned to the Land with a narrow *Isthmus*, not farre from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. And the naturall Forces of the *Athenians* hauing made a Palizado across the said *Isthmus*, lay there quiet. But the Land-Souldiers marched at high speed toward *Epipole*, & gat vp by *Euryalus*, before the *Syracusians* could come to them from out of the Meddow, where they were mustering. Neuerthelesse they came on, euery one with what speed hee could, not onely *Diomilus* with his 700, but the rest also. They had no lesse to goe from the Meddow, then 25 Furlongs, before they could reach the Enemy: The *Syracusians* therefore comming vp in this manner, and thereby defeated in Battle.

Epipole a high ground before the City of *Syracuse*.

Diomilus flaine.

The Athenians fortifie
Labdalum.

* Tyca, or Tycha, it was a
Temple of Fortune, part of
the City of Syracula.

The Athenians begin to
build on the North fide
of the Fortification
wherein they lay, the
Wall whereunto to
begirt the City.

tell at Epipo'æ, withdrew themfelues into the Citie. But **A**
Diomilus was flaine, and 300 of the reft. The *Athenians* af-
ter this erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the *Syracusans*
the bodies of their dead vnder Truce, and came downe
the next day to the Citie. But when none came out to giue
them battell, they retired againe, and built a Fort vpon
Labdalum, in the very brinke of the precipices of *Epipo'æ*,
on the fide that looketh towards *Megara*, for a place to
keepe their Vtenfiles and Money in, when they went out
either to fight or to worke.

Not long after, there came vnto them from *Egefta* three **B**
hundred Horfemen: and from the *Siculi*, namely the *Na-*
xians, and fome others, about one hundred: and the *Athe-*
nians had of their owne two hundred and fifty; for which
they had Horfes, part from the *Egeftians* and *Cataneans*,
and part they bought. So that they had together in the
whole, fixe hundred and fiftie Horfemen. Hauing put
a Guard into *Labdalum*, the *Athenians* went downe to **Sy-*
ca, and raifed there a Wall in circle, very quickly, fo that
they ftrooke a terrour into the *Syracusans* with the celerity
of the worke. Who therefore comming forth, intended **C**
to haue giuen them Battell, and no longer to haue neg-
lected the matter. But when the Armies were one fet a-
gainft the other, the *Syracusian* Generals perceiuing their
owne to bee in difarray, and not eafily to bee embattailed,
led them againe into the Citie, faue onely a certaine part of
their Horfemen, which ftaying, kept the *Athenians* from
carrying of Stone, and ftaggling farre abroad from their
Campe. But the *Athenians* with one Squadron of men
of Armes, together with their whole number of Horfe,
charged the Horfemen of the *Syracusans*, and put them to **D**
flight. Of whom they flew a part, and erected a Trophy
for this Battell of Horfe.

The next day the *Athenians* fell to worke vpon their
Wall, to the North fide of their circular Wall, fome buil-
ding, and fome fetching Stone and Timber, which they
ftill laid down toward the place called *Trogilus*, in the way
by which the Wall fhould come, with the fhorteft com-
paffe from the great Hauen to the other Sea. The *Syra-*
cufians, by the perfuafion of their Generals, and principal-
ly of *Hermocrates*, intended not to hazard Battell with their **E**
whole power againft the *Athenians* any more, but thought
fit

A fit rather in the way where the *Athenians* were to bring their wall, to raise a counterwall, which if they could but doe, before the wall of the *Athenians* came on, it would exclude their further building. And if the *Athenians* should set vpon them as they were doing it, they might send part of the Army to defend it, and pre-occupate the accesles to it with a Palizado. And if they would come with their whole Army to hinder them, then must they also be forced to let their owne worke stand still. Therefore they came out, and beginning at their owne Citie, drew a crosse wall beneath the circular Fortification of the *Athenians*, and set wooden Turrets vpon it, made of the Oliue-trees, which they felled in the ground belonging to the Temple. The *Athenian* Nauy was not yet come about into the great Hauen, from *Thapsus*, but the *Syracusians* were masters of the places neere the Sea; and the *Athenians* brought their prouision to the Army from *Thapsus*, by land.

The *Syracusians* make a crosse wall in their way.

The *Syracusians*, when they thought both their Palizadoe, and wall sufficient, and considering that the *Athenians* came not to empeach them in the worke, as they that feared to diuide their Army, and to be thereby the more easie to be fought withall, & that also hastened to make an end of their owne wall, wherewith to encompassse the Citie, left one Squadron for a guard of their workes, and retyred with the rest, into the Citie. And the *Athenians* cut off the Pipes of their Conduits, by which their water to drinke was conueyed vnder-ground into the Towne.

And hauing obserued also, that about noone the *Syracusians* kept within their Tents, and that some of them were also gone into the Citie, and that such as were remaining at the Palizado, kept but negligent watch, they commanded three hundred chosen men of Armes, and certaine other picked out and Armed from amongst the vnarmed, to rurne suddenly to that Counterwall of the *Syracusians*. The rest of the Army diuided in two, went one part with one of the Generals, to stop the succour which might be sent from the Citie, and the other with the other Generall, to the Palizado, next to the Gate of the Counterwall. The three hundred assaulted and tooke the Palizado; the guard whereof forsaking it, fled within the wall into the Temple ground, and with them entred also

also their pursuers, but after they were in, were beaten out A
 againe by the *Syracusians*, and some slaine, both of the *Argiues* and *Athenians*, but not many. Then the whole Ar-
 my went backe together, and pulled downe the wall, and
 plucked vp the Palizado, the Pales whereof they carried
 with them to their Campe, and erected a Trophie: The
 next day, the *Athenians* beginning at their Circular wall,
 built onwards to that Cragge over the Marshes, which on
 that part of *Epipolæ*, looketh to the great Haven, and by
 which, the way to the Haven, for their wall to come
 through the Plaine and Marsh, was the shortest. As this B
 was doing, the *Syracusians* came out againe, and made ano-
 ther Palizado, beginning at the Citie, through the middle
 of the Marsh, and a Ditch at the side of it, to exclude the
Athenians from bringing their wall to the Sea. But the
Athenians, when they had finished their worke, as farre as
 to the Cragge, assaulted the Palizado and Trench of the
Syracusians againe. And hauing commanded their Gal-
 lies to be brought about from *Thapsus*, into the great Ha-
 uen of *Syracusa*, about breake of day, went straight downe
 into the Plaine, and passing through the Marsh, where C
 the ground was Clay, and firmeft, and partly vpon Boards,
 and Planckes, won both the Trench and Palizado, all but
 a small part, becimes in the morning, and the rest not long
 after. And here also they fought; and the victory fell
 to the *Athenians*. The *Syracusians*, those of the Right-
 wing, fled to the City, and they of the Left, to the Ri-
 uer. The three hundred chozen *Athenians*, desiring to cut
 off their passage, marched at high speed towards the
 Bridge, but the *Syracusians* fearing to be preuented (for
 most of the Horsemen were in this number) set vpon these D
 three hundred, and putting them to flight, drave them vp-
 on the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and following, affright-
 ed also the formost guard of the Wing. *Lamachus* see-
 ing this, came to aide them with a few *Archers* from the
 left Wing of their owne, and with all the *Argiues*; and
 passing ouer a certaine Ditch, hauing but few with him,
 was deserted and slaine, with some sixe or seuen more.
 These the *Syracusians* hastily snatched vp, and carried into a
 place of safety, beyond the River. And when they saw
 the rest of the *Athenian* Army comming towards them, E
 they departed. In the meane time they that fled at first to
 the

The *Athenians* build from
 their owne Fortification,
 to the Cragges, towards
 the great Haven.

The *Athenians* take their
 Palizado againe.

The Bridge of the River
 Anapus.

Lamachus slaine.

A the Citie, seeing how things went, tooke heart againe, and reibattailed themselves against the same *Athenians* that stood ranged against them before, and wishall sent a certaine portion of their Armie against the circular Fortification of the *Athenians* vpon *Epipole*; supposing to finde it without defendants, and so to take it. And they tooke and demolished the out-worke tenne * *Plethers* in length; but the Circle it selfe was defended by *Nicias*, who chanced to be left within it for infirmity. For he commanded his seruants to set fire on all the Engines, and whatsoeuer B wooden matter lay before the Wall, knowing there was no other possible meanes to saue themselves, for want of men. And it fell out accordingly. For by reason of this fire, they came no neerer, but retired. For the *Athenians* hauing by this time beaten backe the Enemie below, were comming vp to relieue the Circle; and their Gallies withall (as is before mentioned) were going about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen. Which they about perceiuing, speedily made away, they, and the whole Armie of the *Syracusians*, into the Citie; with opinion that they could no longer hinder them, with the strength they now had, from bringing their Wall through vnto the Sea. After this the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the *Syracusians* their dead, vnder Truce; and they on the other side deliuered to the *Athenians*, the body of *Lamachus*; and of the rest slaine with him. And their whole Armie, both Land and Sea-forces being now together, they began to inclose the *Syracusians* with a double Wall, from *Epipole* and the Rockes, vnto the Sea-side. The necessaries of the Army were supplied from all parts of *Italy*; and many of the D *Siculi*, who before stood aloofe to observe the way of Fortune, tooke part now with the *Athenians*, to whom came also three *Penteconteri* [long-boates of 30. Oares apiece] from *Hetruria*; and diuers other wayes their hopes were nourished. For the *Syracusians* also, when there came no helpe from *Peloponnesus*, made no longer account to subsist by Warre, but conferred, both amongst themselves, and with *Nicias*, of composition. For *Lamachus* being dead, the sole command of the Armie was in him. And though nothing were concluded, yet many things (as was likely E with men perplexed, and now more straitely besieged then before) were propounded vnto *Nicias*, and more amongst

Nicias assaulted in his Campe, defended it.
* Ten *Plethers*, *Antiquists*, & *Plether* contained, according to *Strabo*, 68. cubits.

The *Syracusians* change
their Generals,

Gylippus despaireth of
Sicily, and seeks to
leave Italy.

Nicias despiseth the com-
ming of *Gylippus*.

themselves. And the present ill successe, had also bred A
some iealousie amongst them, one of another. And they
discharged the Generals, vnder whose conduct this hap-
ned, as if their harme had come, either from their unlucki-
nelle, or from their perfidiousnesse, and chose *Heraclides*,
Eucles, and *Tellias* in their places.

Whilest this passed, *Gylippus* of *Lacedæmon*, and the Co-
rinthian Gallies were already at *Leucas*, purposing with all
speed to goe ouer into *Sicily*. But when terrible reports
came vnto them from all hands, agreeing in an vntruth,
That *Syracuse* was already quite enclosed, *Gylippus* had B
hope of *Sicily* no longer, but desiring to assure *Italy*, he, and
Pythen, a *Corinthian*, with two *Laconicke* and two *Corinthian*
Gallies, with all speede crossed the *Ionique* Sea to *Taren-*
tum. And the *Corinthians* were to man tenne Gallies of
their owne, two of *Leucas*, and three of *Ambracia*, and
come after. *Gylippus* went first from *Tarentum* to *Thuria*,
as Ambassadour, by his Fathers right, who was free of
the Citie of *Tarentum*; but not winning them to his side,
hee put out againe, and sailed along the Coast of *Italy*. Pas-
sing by the *Terinæan* Gulfe, hee was put from the shore C
(by a wind which in that quarter bloweth strongly against
the North) and driuen into the maine Sea; and after an-
other extreme Tempest, brought in againe, into *Tarentum*,
where he drew vp such of his Gallies as had beene hurt by
the weather, and repaired them.

Nicias hearing that hee came, contemned the small
number of his Gallies, as also the *Thurians* had before, sup-
posing them furnished as for Piracie, and appointed no
Watch for them yet.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Lacedæmonians* D
inuaded the Territory of *Argos*, they and their Confede-
rates, and wasted a great part of their Land. And the *A-*
thenians ayded the *Argiues* with thirty Gallies, which
most apparantly broke the Peace betweene them and the
Lacedæmonians. For before, they went out from *Pylus*
with the *Argiues* and *Mantineans*; but in the nature of Free-
booters; and that also not into *Laconia*, but other parts of
Peloponnesus. Nay, when the *Argiues* haue often entreated
them, but onely to Land with their Armes in *Laconia*, and
hauing wasted neuer so little of their Territory, to re- E
turne, they would not. But now, vnder the Conduct of

Pythodorus,

A Pythodorus, Lepodius, and Demaratus, they landed in the Territory of Epidaurus Limera, and in Prasía, and there and in other places wasted the Countrey, and gaue vnto the Lacedæmonians a most iustifiable cause to fight against the Athenians. After this, the Athenians being departed from Argos with their Gallies, and the Lacedæmonians gone likewise home, the Argives inuaded Phliasia, and when they had wasted part of their Territory, and killed some of their men, returned.

* * *

Ggg 2

THE







A
B
THE
S E V E N T H
BOOKE OF THE HISTO-
RIE OF THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

C
D
Gylippus arriueth at Syracuse, checketh the fortune of the Athenians, and cutteth off their workes with a Counterwall. The Lacedæmonians innade Attica, and fortifie Decelea. The Confederates of each side are solicited for supplies to be sent to Syracuse. Two battels fought in the great Hauen; in the first of which the Syracusians are beaten, in the second, superiour; Demosthenes arriueth with a new Army, and attempting the workes of the enemy in Epipolæ by night, is repulsed with great slaughter of his men. They fight the third time, and the Syracusians hauing the Victory, blocke vp the Hauen with Boats. A Catalogue of the Confederates on each side. They fight againe at the Barres of the Hauen, where the Athenians losing their Gallies, prepare to march away by land. In their march they are afflicted, beaten, and finally subdued by the Syracusians; The death of Nicias and Demosthenes, and misery of the Captiues in the Quarry; which hapned in the nineteenth yeere of this Warre.



Gylippus, and Pythen, hauing repaired their Gallies, from Tarentum, went along the Coast to Locri Epizephyrij. And vpon certaine intelligence now, that Syracuse was not wholly enclozed, but that comming with an Army, there was entrance still by Epipolæ, they consulted

Gylippus and Pythen resolve to goe to Syracuse

E whether it were better to take Sicily on their right hand, and aduenture into the Towne by Sea, or on the left, and

fo

so first to goe to *Himera*, and then taking along both them **A**
 and as many other as they could get to their side, to goe
 into it by Land. And it was resolved to goe to *Himera*;
 the rather, because the foure *Attique* Gallies, which *Nicias*
 (though he contemned them before) had now when he
 heard they were at *Locri*, sent to wait for them, were not
 arrived yet at *Rhegium*. Having prevented this guard,
 they crossed the Streight, and touching at *Rhegium*, and
Messana by the way, came to *Himera*. Being there, they
 prevailed so farre with the *Himerians*, that they not only
 followed them to the War themselves, but also furnished **B**
 with Armour, such of *Gylippus* and *Pythens* Mariners as
 wanted. For at *Himera* they had drawne their Gallies to
 Land. They likewise sent to the *Selinuntians*, to meet
 them at a place assigned with their whole Army. The
Geloans also, and other of the *Siculi*, promised to send them
 Forces, though not many; being much the willinger to
 come to the side, both for that *Archonidas* was lately dead,
 who raiging ouer some of the *Siculi* in those parts, and
 being a man of no meane power, was friend to the *Atheni-*
ans, and also for that *Gylippus* seemed to come from *Laceda-*
mon with a good will to the businesse. *Gylippus* taking **C**
 with him, of his owne Mariners, and Sea-Souldiers, for
 whom he had gotten Armes, at the most 700. and *Himera-*
ans with Armour, and without, in the whole 1000. and
 100 Horse, and some Light-armed *Selinuntians*, with some
 few Horse of the *Geloans*, and of the *Siculi* in all, about
 1000. marched with these towards *Syracuse*.

In the meane time, the *Corinthians*, with the rest of their
 Gallies, putting to Sea from *Leucas*, made after, as they
 were, every one with what speed he could, and *Gongy-*
lus, one of the *Corinthian* Commanders, though the last **D**
 that set forth, arrived first at *Syracuse* with one Gallie,
 and but a little before the comming of *Gylippus*. And find-
 ing them ready to call an Assembly about an end of the
 Warre he hindred them from it, and put them into heart,
 relating, both how the rest of the Gallies were comming,
 and also *Gylippus* the sonne of *Cleandridas* for Generall, sent
 vnto them by the *Lacedaemonians*. With this the *Syracus-*
ans were reconfirmed, and went presently out with their
 whole Army to meet him; for they vnderstood now **E**
 that he was neere. He, hauing taken *Iegas*, a Fort in his
 way

They took the ayde of
 the men of *Himera*.

The *Corinthian* Gallies
 led by *Gylippus* made
 haste after him, and *Gon-*
gylus arriving first, kee-
 peth the *Syracusians* from
 compounding.

A way as he passed through the Territory of the *Siculi*, and imbattelled his men, commeth to *Epipolæ*, and getting vp by *Euryalus*, where also the *Athenians* had gotten vp before, marched together with the *Syracusians*, towards the wall of the *Athenians*. At the time when he arrived, the *Athenians* had finished a double wall, of seven or eight furlongs towards the great Hauen, save onely a little next the Sea, which they were yet at worke on. And on the other side of their Circle, towards *Trogilus*, and the other Sea, the Stones were for the most part laid ready vpon the place, B and the worke was left in some places halfe, and in some wholly finished. So great was the danger that *Syracuse* was now brought into.

Gylippus arriveth at *Syracuse*.

The *Athenians*, at the sodaine comming on of *Gylippus*, though somewhat troubled at first, yet put themselves in order to receive him. And he, making a stand when he came neere, sent a Herald to them, saying, That if they would abandon *Sicily* within five dayes, with bagge and baggage, he was content to give them Truce. Which the *Athenians* contemning, sent him away without any answer.

Gylippus offereth the *Athenians* five dayes Truce to be gone in.

C After this, they were putting themselves into order of battell, one against another; but *Gylippus* finding the *Syracusians* troubled, and not easily falling into their ranks, led backe his Army in a more open ground. *Nicias* led not the *Athenians* out against him, but lay still, at his owne Fortification. And *Gylippus* seeing he came not vp, withdrew his Army, into the top called *Temenites*, where he lodged all night. The next day, he drew out the greatest part of his Army, and imbattelled them before the Fortification of the *Athenians*, that they might not send succour to any D other place, but a part also, they sent to the Fort of *Labdulum*, and tooke it, and slew all those they found within it. For the place was out of sight to the *Athenians*. The same day the *Syracusians* tooke also an *Athenian* Gally, as it entered into the great Hauen.

The *Syracusians* win *Labdulum*.

After this, the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates began a wall through *Epipolæ*, frō the City towards the single crosse wall vpwards; that the *Athenians*, vnlesse they could hinder it, might be excluded frō bringing their owne wall any further on. And the *Athenians* by this time, hauing made E an end of their wall to the Sea, were come vp againe; and *Gylippus* (for some part of the wall was but weake) rising with

The *Syracusians* build a wall vpwards, through *Epipolæ*, to stop the proceeding of the Wall of the *Athenians*.

with his Army by night, went to assault it; but the *Athenians* also knowing it (for they lodged all night without the wall) went presently to releue it; which *Gylippus* perceiuing, againe retired. And the *Athenians*, when they had built it higher, kept the watch in this part themselves, and diuided the rest of the Wall to the charge of their Confederates. Also it seemed good to *Nicias* to fortifie the place called *Plemmyrium*, (it is a Promontory ouer ouer against the Citie, which shooting into the entrance of the great Hauen, streightneth the mouth of the same) which fortified, he thought, would facilitate the bringing in of necessaries to the Army. For by this meanes, their Gallies might ride neerer to the * Hauen of the *Syracusians*, and not vpon euery motion of the Nauy of the enemies, to be to come out against them, as they were before, from the bottome of the [great] Hauen. And he had his mind set chiefly now, vpon the Warre by Sea, seeing his hopes by Land deminished, since the arriual of *Gylippus*. Having therefore drawne his Army, and Gallies to that place, he built about it three Fortifications, wherein he placed his baggage, and where now also lay at Road both his great vessels of Carriage, and the nimblest of his Gallies. Hereupon principally ensued the first occasion of the great losse of his Sea-Souldiers. For hauing but little water, and that farre to fetch, and his Mariners going out also to fetch in wood, they were continually intercepted by the *Syracusan* Horsemen that were masters of the Field. For the third part of the *Syracusan* Cauallery, were quartered in a little Towne called * *Olympieum*, to keepe those in *Plemmyrium*, from going abroad to spoyle the Countrey.

Nicias was aduertized moreouer of the comming of the rest of the *Corinthian* Gallies, and sent out a guard of twenty Gallies, with order to wait for them about *Locri*, and *Rhegium*, and the passage there, into *Sicily*.

Gylippus in the meane time, went on with the wall through *Epipola*, vsing the Stones laid ready there by the *Athenians*, and withall drew out the *Syracusians* and their Confederates beyond the point of the same, and euer as hee brought them forth, put them into their order; and the *Athenians* on the other side imbattelled themselves against them. *Gylippus*, when he saw his time, began the battell, and being come to hands, they fought betweene the Fortifications

The *Athenians* fortifie *Plemmyrium*.

* Viz. the lesser Hauen.

* The Temple there and whole Towne was consecrate to Iupiter *Olympus*.

Nicias sendeth 20 Gallies to lye in wait for the ayd comming from *Epipola*.

Gylippus goeth on with his wall, and fighteth with the *Athenians*, twice and in the latter battell hauing the Victory, he finished his wall, and directly concluded the proceeding of the wall of the *Athenians*.

A fications of them both, where the *Syracusians* and their Confederates had no vse at all of their Horsemen. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates being ouercome, and the *Athenians* hauing giuen them Truce to take vp their dead, and erected a Trophie, *Gylippus* assembled the Armie, and told them, *That this was not theirs, but his owne fault, who by pitching the Battell so farre within the Fortifications, had deprived them of the vse both of their Cavalerry, and Darters; and that therefore bee meant to bring them on againe; and wished them to consider, that for Forces they were nothing inferior*
 B *our to the Enemie: and for courage, it were a thing not to be endured, that being Peloponnesians and Dorians, they should not master, and driue out of the Countrey, Ionians, Islanders, and a rabble of mixed Nations.*

After this, when he saw his opportunity, hee brought on the Armie againe. *Nicias* and the *Athenians*, who thought it necessary, if not to beginne the Battell, yet by no meanes to set light by the Wall in hand (for by this time it wanted little of passing the point of theirs, and proceeding,
 C would giue the Enemie aduantage, both to winne, if hee fought, and not to fight, vnlesse hee listed) did therefore also set forth to meete the *Syracusians*.

Gylippus, when hee had drawne his men of Armes further without the Walles than hee had done before, gaue the onset. His Horsemen and Darters hee placed vpon the Flanke of the *Athenians*, in ground enough, to which neither of their Walles extended. And these Horsemen, after the fight was begunne, charging vpon the left Wing of the *Athenians* next them, put them to flight; by which
 D meanes the rest of the Armie was by the *Syracusians* ouercome likewise, and driuen headlong within their Fortifications. The night following, the *Syracusians* brought vp their Wall beyond the Wall of the *Athenians*, so as they could no longer hinder them, but should bee vterly vnable, though masters of the Field, to encloze the City.

After this, the other 12 Gallies of the *Corinthians*, *Ambraciot*es and *Leucadian*s, vndercryed of the *Athenian* Gallies that lay in waite for them, entred the Hauen, vnder the Command of *Eraclides*, a *Corinthian*, and helped the *Syracusians* to finish what remained, to the crosse Wall.

H h h

Now,

The rest of the Gallies come in from *Peloponnesians*, vnscene of the *Athenians* that were set to watch them.

Gylippus goeth about *Sicily*, and sendeth into *Peloponnesus* for more ayde.

Now *Gylippus* went vp and downe *Sicily*, raising Forces **A** both for Sea and Land, and soliciting to his side all such Cities as formerly either had not bene forward, or had wholly abstained from the Warre. Other Ambassadors also, both of the *Syracusians* and *Corinthians*, were sent to *Lacedaemon* and *Corinth*, to procure new Forces to be transported either in Ships or Boats, or how they could, because the *Athenians* had also sent to *Athens* for the like. In the meane time the *Syracusians* both manned their Nauie, and made tryall of themselves, as intending to take in hand that part also; and were otherwise exceedingly encour- **B** aged.

Nicias writeth to *Athens* for supply, and to be eased of his charge.

Nicias perceiuing this, and seeing the strength of the Enemy, and his owne necessities daily increasing, hee also sent Messengers to *Athens*, both at other times, and often, vpon the occasion of euery action that passed; and now especially, as finding himselfe in danger, and that vnlesse they quickly sent for those away that were there already, or sent a great supply vnto them, there was no hope of safety: and fearing lest such as hee sent, through want of vtterance or iudgement, or through desire to please the Multitude, should deliuer things otherwise **C** then they were, hee wrote vnto them a Letter. Conceauing that thus the *Athenians* should best know his minde, whereof no part could now be suppressed by the Messenger, and might therefore enter into deliberation vpon true grounds.

With these Letters, and other their instructions, the Messengers tooke their Iourney; and *Nicias* in the meane time, hauing a care to the well guarding of his Campe, was wary of entring into any voluntarie dan- **D** gers.

The *Athenians* besiege *Amphipolis*.

In the end of this Summer, *Euction*, Generall for the *Athenians*, with *Perdiccas*, together with many *Toracians*, warring against *Amphipolis*, tooke not the Citie; but bringing his Gallies about into *Strymon*, besieged it from the Riuer lying at *Imeraum*: And so this Summer ended.

The end of the eighteenth Summer.

The next Winter, the Messengers from *Nicias* arrived at *Athens*; and hauing spoken what they had in charge, and answered to such questions as they were asked, they **E** presented the Letter, which the Clerke of the Citie, standing

A ding foorth, read vnto the *Athenians*, containing as followeth.

THE LETTER OF NICIAS to the People of Athens.

ATHENIANS, You know by many other my Letters, what hath passed formerly: nor is it lesse needfull for you to be informed of the state we are in, and to take counsell vpon it at this present. When we had in many Battels beaten the Syracusians, against whom we were sent, and had built the Walles within which we now lye, came Gylippus a Lacedæmonian, with an Armie out of Peloponnesus, and also out of some of the Cities of Sicily; and in the first Battell was overcome by vs; but in the second, forced by his many Horsemen and Darters, we retired vvithin our Workes. Whereupon giuing ouer our vvalling vp of the Citie, for the multitude of our enemies, we now sit still. Nor can vve indeed haue the vse of our vvhole Army, because some part of the men of Armes are employed to defend our Walles. And they haue built a single Wall vnto vs, so that now vve haue no more meanes to encloze it, except one should come with a great Army, and vvinne that crosse-wall of theirs by assault. And so it is, that wee vvho seemed to besiege others, are besieged our selues, for so much as concerneth the Land. For wee cannot goe farre abroad by reason of their Caualery. They haue also sent Ambassadors for another Armie into Peloponnesus; and Gylippus is gone amongst the Cities of Sicily, both to sollicite such to ioyne with him in the Warre, as haue not yet stirred; and of others to get, if he can, both more Land-souldiers, and more munition for their Nauie. For they intend (as I haue bene informed) both to assault our Wall by Land with their Armie, and to make tryall what they are able to doe with their Nauy by Sea. For though our Fleet (vvhich they also haue heard) were vigorous at first, both for soundnesse of the Gallies, and entirennesse of the men; yet our Gallies are now soaked, with lying so long in the water, and our men consumed. For vve vvant the meanes to hale aland our Gallies, and trim them, because the Gallies of the Enemy, as good as ours, and more in number, doe keepe vs in a continuall expectation of assault, which they manifestly endeuour. And seeing it is in their owne choice to attempt or not, they haue therefore liberty to dry their Gallies at their pleasure. For they lye not, as we, in attendance vpon others. Nay, vve could hardly doe it, though we had many Gallies spare, and vvere not

constrained, as now, to keepe watch vpon them with our whole num- A
ber. For should we abate, though but a little, of our obseruance, we
should want prouision, vvhich as we are, being to passe so neere their
Citie, is brought in with difficulty; and hence it is, that our Mari-
ners, both formerly haue beene, and are now wasted. For our Ma-
riners, fetching wood and water, and forraging farre off, are inter-
cepted by the Horsemen; and our Slaues, now wee are on equall
termes, runne ouer to the Enemie. As for strangers, some of them
hauing come aboard by constraint, returne presently to their Cities;
and others hauing beene leuied at first with great wages, and thin- B
king they came to enrich themselues rather then to fight, now they see
the Enemie make so strong resistance, both otherwise beyond their ex-
pectation, and especially, with their Nauie, partly take pretext to bee
gone, that they may serue the Enemie, and partly, (Sicily being
large) slist themselues away, euery one as hee can. Some there are
also, who hauing bought heere * Hyccarian slaues, haue gotten the
Captaines of Gallies to accept of them in the roome of themselues, and
thereby destroyed the purity of our Nauall strength. To you I write,
who know how small a time any Fleet continueth in the height of vi-
gour, and how few of the Mariners are skilfull, both how to hasten
the course of a Gallie, and how to containe the Oare. But of all, my C
greatest trouble is this, that being Generall, I can neither make them
doe better, (for your natures are hard to be gouerned) nor get Mari-
ners in any other place, (which the Enemy can doe from many places)
but must of necessity haue them from whence wee brought both these
we haue, and those we haue lost. For our now Confederate Cities,
Naxus and Catana, are not able to supply vs. Had the Enemie
but this one thing more, that the Townes of Italy, that now send vs
prouision, seeing what estate we are in, and you not helpe vs, would
turne to them, the Warre were at an end, and wee expugned, without
another stroke. I could haue written to you other things, more plea- D
sing then these, but not more profitable, seeing it is necessary for you
to know certainly the affaires heere, when you goe to counsell vpon
them; withall, (because I know your natures to bee such, as though
you loue to heare the best, yet afterwards when things fall not out ac-
cordingly, you will call in question them that write it) I thought best
to write the truth for my owne safeties sake. And now thinke thus,
that though we haue carried our selues, both Captaines and Souldiers,
in that for which we came at first hither, vnblameably; yet since all
Sicily is vnitied against vs, and another Army expected out of Pe-
loponnesus, you must resolue (for those we haue here, are not enow E
for the Enemies present forces) eyther to send for these away, or to send
hither

* These were they, which Ni-
cias, upon the taking of Hyc-
cara, made sale of, himselfe.

A *hither another Army, both of Land and Sea-souldiers, no lesse then the former, and money, not a little; and also a Generall to succeed me who am able no longer to stay heere, being troubled with the stone in the Kidney. I must craue your pardon. I haue done you many good seruices in the conducts of your Armies when I had my health. What you will doe, doe in the very beginning of Spring, and delay it not. For the Enemie will soone haue furnished himselfe of his Sicilian aydes; And though those from Peloponnesus will bee later, yet if you looke not to it, they will get hither partly vnscene, as before, and partly by preuenting you with speed.*

B *These were the Contents of the Letter of Nicias.*

The Athenians, when they had heard it read, though they released not Nicias of his Charge, yet for the present till such time as others chosen to be in Commission might arriue, they ioyned with him two of those that were already in the Armie, Menander and Euthydemon, to the end that hee might not sustaine the whole burthen alone in his sicknesse. They concluded likewise to send another Ar-

C *mie, aswell for the Sea as the Land, both of Athenians enrolled, and of their Confederates. And for fellow-Generals with Nicias, they elected Demosthenes the sonne of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon the sonne of Thucles. Eurymedon they sent away presently for Sicily, about the time of the Winter Solstice, with tenne Gallies, and twenty Talents of Siluer, to tell them there, that ayde was coming, and that there was care taken of them. But Demosthenes staying, made preparation for the Voyage, to set out early the next Spring; and sent vnto the Confederates, appointing what Forces they should prouide, and to furnish himselfe amongst*

D *them, with Money, and Gallies, and men of Armes.*

The Athenians sent also twenty Gallies about Peloponnesus, to watch that none should goe ouer into Sicily, from Corinth or Peloponnesus. For the Corinthians, after the Ambassadours were come to them, and had brought newes of the amendment of the affaires in Sicily, thought it was well that they had sent thither those other Gallies before; but now they were encouraged a great deale more, and prepared men of Armes to be transported into Sicily in Ships, and the Lacedæmonians did the like for the rest of Peloponnesus. The Corinthians manned five and twenty Gallies, to present Battell to the Fleet that kept watch at Naupactus, that

The Athenians conclude to send a new Army to Syracuse.

They send twenty Gallies to Naupactus, to keep the Corinthians from transporting their forces into Sicily.

that the Ships with the men of Armes, whilst the *Athenians* attended these Gallies to embattailed against them, might passe by unhindered.

The *Lacedæmonians*, as they intended before, and being also instigated to it by the *Syracusians* and *Corinthians*, vpon aduertisement now of the *Athenians* new supply for *Sicily*, prepared likewise to inuade *Attica*, thereby to diuert them. And *Alcibiades* also importunately vrged the fortifying of *Decolea*, and by no meanes to warre remissely. But the *Lacedæmonians* were heartned thereunto principally, because they thought the *Athenians* hauing in hand a double War, B one against them, and another against the *Sicilians*, would be the easilier pulled downe; and because they conceiued the breach of the last Peace was in themselves; for in the former Warre, the iniury proceeded from their own side, in that the *Thebans* had entred *Plataea* in time of peace, And because also, whereas it was inserted in the former Articles, that Armes should not bee carried against such as would stand to tryall of Iudgement, they had refused such tryall when the *Athenians* offered it. And they thought all their misfortunes had deseruedly befallne them for that C cause; remembring amongst others, the calamity at *Pylus*. But when the *Athenians* with a Fleet of thirty Sayle had spoiled part of the Territory of *Epidaurus*, and of *Prasæ*, and other places, and their Souldiers that lay in Garrison in *Pylus*, had taken bootie in the Countrey about; And seeing that as often as there arose any controuersie touching any doubtfull point of the Articles, the *Lacedæmonians* offering tryall by Iudgement, they refused it; Then indeed, the *Lacedæmonians* conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee in the same fault that themselves had beene in before, be- D tooke themselves earnestly to the Warre. And this Winter they sent about vnto their Confederates, to make ready Iron, and all Instruments of Fortification. And for the ayde they were to transport in Ships to the *Sicilians*, they both made prouision amongst themselves, and compelled the rest of *Peloponnesus* to doe the like. So ended this Winter, and the eighteenth Yeere of the Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Spring, in the very beginning, earlier then euer before, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates entered with their Armie into *Attica*, vnder the command of E

Agis

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare to inuade *Attica*, and fortifie *Decolea*, supposing the *Athenians* to haue broken the Peace.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE.

The *Peloponnesians* inuade *Attica*, and fortifie *Decolea*.

A Agis the sonne of Archidamus, their King. And first they wasted the Champaigne Countrey, and then went in hand with the Wall at *Decelea*, diuiding the worke amongst the Armie according to their Cities. This *Decelea* is from the Citie of *Athens*, at the most, but 120. Furlongs, and about as much, or a little more from *Boetia*. This Fort they made in the plaine, and in the most opportune place that could bee, to annoy the *Athenians*, and in sight of the Citie. Now the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates in *Asia* went on with their fortification.

B They in *Peloponnesus* sent away their Ships with the men of Armes about the same time into *Sicily*. Of which, the *Lacedæmonians*, out of the best of their *Helotes* and men made newly free, sent in the whole fixe hundred, and *Ecritus* a *Spartan* for Commander. And the *Boetians* three hundred, vnder the Conduct of *Xenon* and *Nicon*, *Thebans*, and *Hegessander* a *Thessian*. And these set forth first, and put to Sea at *Tenarus* in *Laconia*. After them a little, the *Corinthians* sent away five hundred more, part from the Citie it selfe of *Corinth*, and part mercenarie *Arcadians*, and *Alexarchus* a *Corinthian* for Captaine. The *Sicyonians* also sent two hundred with them that went from *Corinth*, and *Sargeus* a *Sicyonian* for Captaine. Now the 25 *Corinthian* Gallies that were manned in Winter, lay opposite to the twenty Gallies of *Athens* which were at *Nausastus*, till such time as the men of Armes in the Ships from *Peloponnesus* might get away; for which purpose they were also set out at first, that the *Athenians* might not haue their mindes vpon these Ships, so much as vpon the Gallies.

The *Peloponnesians* send away their men of Armes for *Sicily*.

D In the meane time also, the *Athenians*, whilest *Decelea* was fortifying, in the beginning of the Spring, sent twenty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Caricles* the sonne of *Apolodorus*, with order when hee came to *Argos*, to take aboard the men of Armes which the *Argives* were to send them, according to League; and sent away *Demosthenes* (as they intended before) into *Sicily*, with threescore Gallies of *Athens*, and five of *Chios*, and one thousand two hundred men of Armes of the Roll of *Athens*, and as many of the Islanders as they could get, provided by their subiect Confederates of all other necessaries for the

E Warre: But he had order to ioyne first with *Charicles*, and helpe him to make Warre first vpon *Laconia*. So *Demosthenes*

The *Athenians* send out *Demosthenes* toward *Sicily*.

mosthenes went to *Agina*, and stayed there both for the remnant of his owne Army, if any were left behind, and for *Charicles* till he had taken aboard the *Argives*. A

Gylippus perswadeth the *Syracusians* to fight by Sea.

In *Sicily*, about the same time of the Spring, *Gylippus* also returned to *Syracuse*, bringing with him from the Cities hee had dealt withall, as great forces as feuerally hee could get from them; And hauing assembled the *Syracusians*, he told them, that they ought to man as many Gallies as they could, and make triall of a battell by Sea, and that he hoped thereby to performe somewhat to the benefit of the Warre, which should be worthy the danger. *Hermocrates* also was none of the least meanes of getting them to vndertake the *Athenians* with their Nauy, who told them, That neither the *Athenians* had this skill by Sea, hereditary, or from cuerlasting, but were more Inland-men then the *Syracusians*, and forced to become Sea-men by the *Medes*: And that to daring men, such as the *Athenians* are, they are most formidable that are as daring against them. For wherewith they terrifie their neighbours, which is not alwayes the auantage of power, but boldnesse of enterprizing, with the same shall they in like manner be terrified by their enemies. He knew it, he said, certainly, that the *Syracusians* by their vnexpected daring to encounter the *Athenian* Nauy, would get more aduantage in respect of the feare it would cause, then the *Athenians* should endamage them by their oddes of skill. He bade them therefore, to make triall of their Nauy, and to be afraid no longer. The *Syracusians* on these perswasions of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, and others, if any were, became now extremely desirous to fight by Sea, and presently manned their Gallies. B C

The *Syracusians* win *Plemmyrium*, but are beaten by Sea.

Gylippus, when the Nauy was ready, drew out his whole power of Land Souldiers in the beginning of night, meaning to goe himsele and assault the Fortifications in *Plemmyrium*. Withall, the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, by appointment, 35 of them came vp towards it, out of the great Hauen, and 45 more came about out of the little Hauen, where also was their Arsenall, with purpose to ioyne with those within, and to goe together to *Plemmyrium*, that the *Athenians* might be troubled on both sides. But the *Athenians* hauing quickly manned 60 Gallies to oppose them; with 25 of them, they fought with the 35 of the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen, and with the rest went to E

A to meete those that came about from the little Hauen. And these fought presently before the mouth of the great Hauen, and held each other to it for a long time; one side endeououring to force, the other to defend the entrance.

The *Syracusians* wonne the
works of the *Athenians*
in *Plemmyrium*.

In the meane time *Gylippus* (the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium* being now come downe to the water side, and hauing their mindes busied vpon the fight of the Gallies) betimes in the morning, and on a sudden assaulted the Fortifications, before they could come backe againe to defend them; and possessed first the greatest, and afterwards the two les-

B ser: for they that watched in these, when they saw the greatest so easily taken, durst stay no longer. They that fled vpon the losing of the first Wall, and put themselves into Boats, and into a certaine Ship, got hardly into the Campe; for whilest the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen, had yet the better in the fight vpon the water, they gaue them chase with one nimble Gally. But by that time that the other two Walles were taken, the *Syracusians* vpon the water were ouercome, and the *Athenians* which fled from those two Walles, got to their Campe with more

C ease. For those *Syracusan* Gallies that fought before the Hauens mouth, hauing beaten backe the *Athenians*, entered in disorder, and falling foule one on another, gaue away the Victorie vnto the *Athenians*, who put to flight not onely them, but also those other, by whom they had before beene ouercome within the Hauen, and sunke eleuen Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and slew most of the men aboard them, saue onely the men of three Gallies, whom they tooke aliue. Of their owne Gallies they lost onely three.

The *Athenians* get the
victory by water.

D When they had drawne to Land the wrecke of the *Syracusan* Gallies, and erected a Trophie in the little Iland ouer against *Plemmyrium*, they returned to their Campe. The *Syracusians*, though such were their successe in the Battell by Sea, yet they wonne the Fortification in *Plemmyrium*, and set vp three Trophies, for euery Wall one. One of the two Walles last taken, they demolished, but two they repayred, and kept with a Garrison.

At the taking of these Walles, many men were slaine, E and many taken aliue, and their goods, which all together was a great matter, were all taken. For the *Athenians*

using these Workes for their storehouse; there was in them A much wealth and victuall, belonging vnto Merchants, and much vnto Captaines of Gallies: For there were Sayles within it for fortie Gallies, besides other furniture, and three Gallies drawne to Land. And this losse of *Plemmyrium* was it that most and principally empayred the *Athenians* Army. For the entrance of their prouision was now no longer safe, (for the *Syracusians* lying against them there with their Gallies, kept them out) and nothing could be brought in vnto them but by fight, and the Armie besides was thereby otherwise terrified and B deiected.

After this the *Syracusians* sent out twelue Gallies, vnder the command of *Agatharchus* a *Syracusan*. Of which one carried Ambassadors into *Peloponnesus*, to declare what hope they had now of their businesse, and to instigate them to a sharper Warre in *Attica*. The other eleuen went into *Italy*, vpon intelligence of certaine Vessels laden with commodities comming to the *Athenians* Army: which also they met with, and destroyed most of them; and the Timber which for building of Gallies, the *Athenians* had ready framed, they burned in the Territory of *Caulonia*. C

After this they went to *Locri*, and riding heere, there came vnto them one of the Ships that carried the men of Armes of the *Thebians*; whom the *Syracusians*, tooke aboard, & went homeward by the Coast. The *Athenians* that watched for them with 20 Gallies at *Megara*, tooke one of them, and the men that were in her, but could not take the rest: So that they escaped through to *Syracuse*.

There was also a light Skirmish in the Hauen of D *Syracuse*, about the Piles which the *Syracusians* had driuen downe before their old Harbour, to the end that the Gallies might ride within, and the *Athenians* not annoy them by assault. The *Athenians* hauing brought to the place a Ship of huge greatnesse, fortified with Woodden Turrets, and couered against Fire, caused certaine men with little Boats, to goe and fasten Cords vnto the Piles, and so broke them vp with craning. Some also the Diuers did cut vp with Sawes. In the meane time the *Syracusians* from the Harbour, and they E from the great Ship, shot at each other, till in the end,

A end, the greatest part of the Piles were by the *Athenians* gotten vp. But the greatest difficulty was to get vp those Piles which lay hidden; for some of them they had so driuen in, as that they came not about the Water. So that hee that should come neere, was in danger to bee throwne vpon them, as vpon a Rocke. But these also for reward the Diuers went downe, and sawed asunder. But the *Syracusians* continually draue downe other in their stead. Other deuices they had against each other, (as was not vnlikely betweene Armies so neere opposed) and many light
 B Skirmishes passed, and attempts of all kindes were put in execution.

The *Syracusians* moreouer sent Ambassadors, some *Corinthians*, some *Ambraciotes*, and some *Lacedaemonians*, vnto the Cities about them, to let them know, that they had wonne *Plemmyrium*, and that in the Battell by Sea, they were not ouercome by the strength of the Enemy, but by their own disorder; and also to shew what hope they were in, in other respects, and to intreat their ayd both of Sea and Land-forces, forsomuch as the *Athenians* expecting another
 C Army, if they would send ayde before it came, whereby to ouerthrow that which they had now there, the Warre would be at an end. Thus stood the affaires of *Sicily*.

Demosthenes, as soone as his forces which he was to carry to the succour of those in *Sicily*, were gotten together, put to Sea from *Agina*, and sayling into *Peloponnesus*, ioyned with *Charicles*, and the 30. Gallies that were with him. And hauing taken aboard some men of Armes of the *Argiues*, came to *Laconia*, and first wasted part of the Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*. From thence, going to that part of
 D *Laconia* which is ouer against the Iland *Cythera*, (where is a Temple of *Apollo*) they wasted a part of the Countrey, and fortified an Isthmus there, both that the *Helots* might haue a refuge in it, running away from the *Lacedaemonians*, and that Freebooters from thence, as from *Pylus*, might fetch in Prizes from the Territory adioyning. As soone as the place was taken in, *Demosthenes* himselfe went on to *Corcyra*, to take vp the Confederates there, with intent to goe thence speedily into *Sicily*. And *Charicles* hauing staid to finish, and put a Garrison into the Fortification, went af-
 E terwards with his thirty Gallies to *Athens*; and the *Argiues* also went home.

Demosthenes, in his way to *Sicily*, fortifieth a necke of Land in *Laconia*.

The aydes of the Thracians came too late to get into Sicily.

The incommodities which bredd the Athenians by the fortification in Declea.

The same Winter also came to *Athens* a thousand and A
three hundred Targettiers, of those called *Macharophori*, of
the race of them that are called *Dij*, and were to haue
gone with *Demosthenes* into *Sicily*. But comming too late,
the *Athenians* resolved to send them backe againe into
Thrace, as being too chargeable a matter to entertaine
them onely for the Warre in *Declea*; for their pay was
to haue beene a Drachma a man by the day. For *Declea*
being this Summer fortified, first by the whole Army,
& the by the feuerall Cities maintained with a Garrison by
turnes, much endamaged the *Athenians*, and weakned their B
estate, both by destroying their commodities, and consu-
ming of their men, so as nothing more. For the former
inualions hauing beene short, hindred them not from reaping
the benefit of the earth for the rest of the time; but
now, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, and some-
times with greater forces, sometimes of necessity with the
ordinary Garrison making incurfions, and fetching in booty,
Agis the King of *Lacedemon* being alwayes there in person,
and diligently prosecuting the Warre, the *Athenians*
were thereby very grievously afflicted: for they were not C
onely deprived of the fruit of the Land, but also about
twenty thousand of their slaues fled ouer to the Enemy,
whereof the greatest part were Artificers.

Besides, they lost all their Sheepe and Oxen. And by
the continuall going out of the *Athenian* Horsemen, making
excursions to *Declea*, and defending the Countrey, their
Horses became partly lamed, through incessant labour
in rugged grounds & partly wounded by the Enemy.
And their provision, which formerly they vsed to bring
in from *Eubœa* by *Oropus*, the shortest way, through *Declea* D
by Land, they were now forced to fetch in by Sea, at
great cost, about the Promontory of *Sunium*. And what-
soeuer the City was wont to be serued withall from without,
it now wanted, and in stead of a Citie was become
as it were a Fort. And the *Athenians* watching on the Battlements
of the Wall, in the day time by turnes, but in the night,
both Winter and Summer, all at once, (except the Horsemen)
part at the Wall, and part at the Armes, were quite tyred.
But that which pressed them most, was that they had two Warres
at once. And yet their obstinacie was so great, as no man would
haue beleueed, till now they

- A they saw it. For being besieged at home, from the Fortification of the *Peloponnesians*, no man would haue imagined, that they should not onely not haue recalled their Armie out of *Sicily*, but haue also besieged *Syracuse* there, a Citie of it selfe no lesse then *Athens*, and therein so much haue exceeded the expectation of the rest of the *Grecians*, both in power and courage, (who in the beginning of this Warre conceiued, if the *Peloponnesians* inuaded their Territory, some of them, that they might hold out two yeeres, others three, no man more) as that in the seuenteenth yeere after they were first inuaded, they should haue vnder taken an expeditiō into *Sicily*, & being euery way weakened already by the former Warre, haue vndergone another, not inferiour to that which they had before with the *Peloponnesians*. Now their Treasure being by these Warres, and by the detriment sustained from *Decelea*, and other great expences that came vpon them, at a very low ebbe, about this time they imposed on such as were vnder their dominion, a twentieth part of all goods passing by Sea, for a Tribute, by this meanes to improue their commings in.
- C For their expences were not now as before, but so much greater, by how much the Warre was greater, and their reuenue besides cut off.

The *Thracians* therefore, that came too late to goe with *Demosthenes*, they presently sent backe, as being vnwilling to lay out money in such a scarcity; and gaue the charge of carrying them backe to *Dijtrephes*, with command as he went along those Coasts, (for his way was through the * *Euripus*) if occasion serued, to do somewhat against the Enemye. He accordingly landed them by *Tinagra* and hastily

The *Thracians* sent backe, in their way sacke the citie of *Mycaleffus*.

* The Straights betwixt *Eubœa* and *Attica*.

- D fetched in some small booty. Then going ouer the *Euripus* from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, he disbarqued againe in *Bœotia*, and led his Souldiers towards *Mycaleffus*, and lay all night at the Temple of *Mercury* vndiscovered; which is distant from *Mycaleffus* about sixteene furlongs. The next day he commeth to the City, being a very great one, and taketh it. For they kept no Watch, nor expected that any man would haue come in and assaulted them, so farre from the Sea. Their Walles also were but weaker, in some places false downe; and in others low built, and their Gates open through security. The *Thracians* entering into *Mycaleffus*, spoiled both Houses and Temples, slew the people, without

The barbarous cruelty of the *Thracians*.

without mercy on old or young, but killed all they could A
 light on, both women and children, yea, and the labour-
 ing Cattell, and whatsoeuer other liuing thing they saw.
 For the Nation of the *Thracians*, where they dare, are ex-
 treme bloody, equall to any of the *Barbarians*. Inſomuch
 as there was put in praſtiſe at this time, beſides other diſ-
 order, all formes of ſlaughter that could be imagined.
 They likewiſe fell vpon the Schoolehouſe (which was
 in the Citie a great one, and the children newly entred into
 it) and killed them euery one. And the calamity of the
 whole City, as it was as great as euer befell any, ſo alſo B
 was it more vnexpected, and more bitter. The *Thebans*
 hearing of it, came out to helpe them; and ouertaking
 the *Thracians* before they were gone farre, both recovered
 the booty, and chaſed them to the *Euripus*, and to the Sea,
 where the Gallies lay that brought them. Some of them
 they killed, of thoſe moſt, in their going aboard. For
 ſwimme they could not; and ſuch as were in the ſmall
 Boats, when they ſaw how things went a-land, had thruſt
 off their Boats, and lay without the *Euripus*. In the reſt
 of the retreat, the *Thracians* behaued themſelues not vn- C
 handſomely, againſt the *Theban* Horſemen, by whom
 they were charged firſt; but running out, and againe ral-
 lying themſelues in a circle, according to the manner of
 their Countrey, defended themſelues well, and loſt but few
 men in that action. But ſome alſo they loſt in the City
 it ſelfe, whileſt they ſtayed behind for pillage. But in the
 whole, of 1300, there were ſlaine, onely 250. Of the *The-*
bans and others that came out to helpe the Citie, there were
 ſlaine Horſemen, and men of Armes, one with another, a-
 bout 20, and amongſt them *Scirphondas* of *Thebes*, one of D
 the Gouvernours of *Bootia*. And of the *Mycaleſians*
 there periſhed a part. Thus went the matter at *Myca-*
leſſus, the loſſe which it receiued, being for the quantity of
 the City, no leſſe to be lamented, then any that happened
 in the whole Warre.

Demosthenes going from *Corcyra*, after his fortifying in
Laeonia, found a Ship lying in *Phia* of *Eliu*, and in her cer-
 taine men of Armes of *Corinth*, ready to goe into *Sicily*.
 The Ship he ſunke, but the men eſcaped, and after-
 wards getting another Shippe, went on in their E
 voyage.

After

A After this, *Demosthenes* being about *Zacynthus*, and *Cephallenia*, tooke aboard their men of Armes, and sent to *Naupactus* for the *Messenians*. From thence he crossed o-
uer to the Continent of *Acarnania*, to *Alyzea*, and *Anactorium*, which belonged to the *Athenians*. Whilest he was
in these parts, he met with *Eurymedon* out of *Sicily*, that
had been sent in Winter vnto the Army with commodi-
ties, who told him amongst other things, how he had
heard by the way, after he was at Sea, that the *Syracusians*
had wonne *Plemmyrium*. Conon also the Captaine of *Naupactus*
came to them, and related, that the 25 Gallies, of
B *Corinth* that lay before *Naupactus*, would not giue ouer
Warre, and yet delayed to fight, and therefore desired to
haue some Gallies lent him, as being vnable with his
18 to giue battell to 25 of the enemy. Whereupon *Demos-
thenes* and *Eurymedon* sent 20 Gallies more to those at
Naupactus, the nimblest of the whole Fleet, by *Conon* him-
selfe; And went themselues about furnishing of what
belonged to the Army. Of whom *Eurymedon* went to
Coreyra, & hauing appointed the there to man 15 Gallies,
C leuyed men of Armes; for now giuing ouer his course to *A-
thens*, he ioyned with *Demosthenes*, as hauing been elected
with him, in the charge of Generall; and *Demosthenes*
tooke vp Slingers and Darters, in the parts about *Acar-
nania*.

The Ambassadors of the *Syracusians*, which after the
taking of *Plemmyrium*, had been sent vnto the Cities about,
hauing now obtained, and leuyed an Army amongst
them, were conducting the same to *Syracuse*. But *Nicias*,
vpon intelligence thereof, sent vnto such Cities of the *Si-
cili* as had the passages, and were their Confederates, the
D *Centoripines*, *Halicynaens*, and others, not to suffer the ene-
my to goe by, but to vnite themselues and stop them; for
that they would not so much as offer to passe any other
way, seeing the *Agrigentines* had already denyed them.
When the * *Sicilians* were marching, the * *Siculi*, as the
Athenians had desired them, put themselues in Ambush in
three seuerall places, and setting vpon them vnawares, and
ona sodaine, flew about eight hundred of them, and all
the Ambassadors, saue onely one, a *Corinthian*, which
E conducted the rest that escaped, being about 1500, to *Sy-
racuse*.

Eurymedon commeth to
Demosthenes out of *Sicily*,
and telleth him of the
taking of *Plemmyrium*.

Demosthenes and *Euryme-
don* leuy forces for *Sicily*.

Nicias ouerthroweth the
new supply going to *Sy-
racuse* from the neigh-
bouring Cities, and kil-
leth 800 of them.

* *Σικανιστοι*,
* *Σικανοι*.

About

About the ſame time, came vnto them, alſo the ayde of A the *Camarinians*, 500 men of Armes, 300 Darters, and 300 Archers. Alſo the *Geloans* ſent them men for ſiue Gallies, beſides 400 Darters, and 200 Horſemen. For now all *Sicily* (except the *Agrigentines*, who were Newtrall but all the reſt, who before ſtood looking on, came in, to the *Syracufaſian* ſide againſt the *Athenians*. Neuertheleſſe, the *Syracufaſians*, after this blow receiued amongſt the *Siculi*, held their hands, and aſſaulted not the *Athenians* for a while.

* The Continent about Acarnania, for there was Demosthenes; and at Corcyra was Eurymedon.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* hauing their Army now ready, croſſed ouer from *Corcyra*, and the * Continent with B the whole Army, to the Promontory of *Iapygia*. From thence they went to the *Charades*, Ilands of *Iapygia*, and here tooke in certaine *Iapygian* Darters, to the number of 250, of the *Mellapian* Nation. And hauing renewed a certaine ancient alliance, with *Arias*, who raigned there, and granted them thoſe Darters, they went thence to *Metapontium*, a City of *Italy*. There by vertue of a League, they got two Gallies, and 200 Darters, which taken aboard, they kept along the Shoare, till they came to the Territory of *Thuria*. Here they found the aduers faction C to the *Athenians* to haue been lately driuen out in a ſediti- on. And becauſe they deſired to muſter their Army here, that they might ſee if any were left behind, and perſwade the *Thurians* to ioyne with them freely in the War, (and as things ſtood) to haue for friends and enemies, the ſame that were ſo to the *Athenians*, they ſtaied about that in the Territory of the *Thurians*.

The battell by Sea, be- fore Naupactus, betweene the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*.

The *Peloponneſians*, and the reſt, who were at the ſame time in the 25 Gallies that for ſafegard of the Ships, lay oppoſite to the Gallies before *Naupactus* hauing prepared D themſelues for battell, and with more Gallies, ſo as they were little inferiour in number to thoſe of the *Athenians*, went to an Anchor vnder *Erineus* of *Achaia* in *Rhyfica*. The place where they rid, was in forme like a halfe-Moone, and their Land forces they had ready on either ſide to aſſiſt them, both *Corinthians*, and other their Confederates of thoſe parts, embattelled vpon the points of the Promontory, and their Gallies made vp the ſpace betweene, vnder the command of *Polyanthes*, a *Corinthian*. Againſt theſe, the *Athenians* came vp, with 33 Gallies from *Naupactus*, E commanded by *Diphilus*. The *Corinthians* at firſt lay ſtill, but

A but afterwards when they saw their time, and the Signall giuen, they charged the *Athenians*, and the fight began. They held each other to it long. The *Athenians* sunke three Gallies of the *Corinthians*. And though none of their owne were sunke, yet seauen were made vserviceable, which hauing encountred the *Corinthian* Gallies a-head, were torne on both sides between the beake and the oares, by the beakes of the *Corinthian* Gallies, made stronger for the same purpose. After they had fought with equall fortune, and so as both sides challenged the victory, (though

B yet the *Athenians* were masters of the wrecks, as driuen by the wind into the maine, and because the *Corinthians* came not out to renew the fight) they at length parted. There was no chasing of men that fled, nor a prisoner taken on either side, because the *Peloponnesians* and *Corinthians* fighting neere the Land, easily escaped, nor was there any Gally of the *Athenian*, sunke. But when the *Athenians* were gone backe to *Naupactus*, the *Corinthians* presently set vp a Trophie, as victors, in regard that more of the *Athenian* Gallies were made vserviceable, than of theirs; and thought

C themselves not to haue had the worse, for the same reason, that the others thought themselves not to haue had the better. For the *Corinthians* thinke they haue the better, when they haue not much the worse; and the *Athenians* thinket they haue the worse, when they haue not much the better. And when the *Peloponnesians* were gone, and their Armie by Land dissolued, the *Athenians* also set vp a Trophie in *Achaea*, as if the victorie had beene theirs, distant from *Erineus*, where the *Peloponnesians* rid, about twenty Furlongs. This was the successe of that battell by Sea.

D *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, after the *Thurians* had put in readinesse to goe with them, 700. men of Armes, and 300. Darters, commanded their Gallies to go along the Coast, to *Croton*, and conducted their Land-souldiers, hauing first taken a muster of them all vpon the side of the Riuer *Sycaris*, through the Territory of the *Thurians*. But comming to the Riuer *Hylas* vpon word sent them from the men of *Croton*, that if the Army went thorow their Territory, it should be against their will, they marched downe to the Sea side, and to the mouth of the Riuer *Hylas*, where they layed all that night, and were met by their Gallies.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* come along the shore of *Italy*, and take vp forces.

The next day imbarcking, they kept along the shore, and A
touched at euery Towne sauing *Locri*, till they arriued at
Petra, in the Territory of *Rhegium*.

The *Syracusans* make ready their Gallies, to fight with the *Athenians* there, before the supply came.

Their maner of strengthening their Gallies.

The *Syracusians* in the meane time, vpon intelligence of their comming on, resolved to try againe what they could doe with their Nauy, and with their new supply of Landmen, which they had gotten together on purpose, to fight with the *Athenians*, before *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* should arriue. And they furnished their Nauie, both otherwise, according to the aduantages they had learnt in the last battell, and also made shorter the heads of their Gallies, and thereby stronger, and made beakes to them of a great thicknesse, which they also strengthened with rafters fastned to the sides of the Gallies; both within and without, of 6 cubits long, in such manner as the *Corinthians* had armed their Gallies a-head to fight with those before *Naupactus*. For the *Syracusians* made account, that against the *Athenian* Gallies, not so built, but weake before, as not vsing so much to meet the Enemie a-head, as vpon the side, by fetching a compasse, they could not but haue the better; and that to fight in the great Hauen, many Gallies in not much roome, was an aduantage to them, for that vsing to direct encounter, they should breake with their firme and thicke beakes, the hollow and infirme foreparts of the Gallies of their Enemies; and that the *Athenians* in that narrow roome, would want meanes both to goe about, and to goe through them, which was the point of Art they most relied on. For as for their passing through, they would hinder it themselves as much as they could, and for fetching compasse, the straightnesse of the place would not suffer it. And that fighting a-head, which seemed before D
to be want of skill in the Masters [to doe otherwise,] was it they would now principally make vse of; for in this would bee their principall aduantage. For the *Athenians*, if ouercome, would haue no retiring, but to the Land, which was but a little way off, and little in compasse, neere their owne Campe, and of the rest of the Hauen themselves should be Masters, and the Enemie being prest, could not choose, thronging together into a little roome, and all into one & the same place, but disorder one another, (which was indeed the thing that in all their battells by Sea, did the *Athenians* the greatest hurt, hauing not, as the *Syracusians* had, E

- A had the liberty of the whole Haven to retire vnto, and to goe about into a place of more roomes, they hauing it in their power to set vpon them from the maine Sea, and to retire againe at pleasure, they should neuer be able, especially hauing *Plemmyrium* for enemy, and the Hauens mouth not being large. The *Syracusians* hauing deuised thus much ouer and aboue their former skill and strength, and far more confident now since the former Battell by Sea, assaulted them both with their Army and with their Navy at once.
- B The Landmen from the City *Gylippus* drew sooner out a little, and brought them to the Wall of the *Athenians* Campe, vpon the side towards the Citie; and from *Olympieum*, the men of Armes, all that were there, and the Horsemen and light-armed of the *Syracusians*, came vp to the Wall on the other side. And by and by after came sailing forth also the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates. The *Athenians* that thought at first, they would haue made the attempt only with their Landmen, seeing also the Gallies on a sudden comming towards them, were in confusion, and some of them put themselves in order vpon and before the Wall, against those
- C that came from the Citie, and others went out to meete the Horsemen and Darters, that were comming in great numbers, and with speed from *Olympieum*, and the parts without. Others againe went aboard, and withall came to ayde those ashore; but when the Gallies were manned, they put off, being 75. in number, and those of *Syracuse* about 80. Hauing spent much of the day in charging and retiring, and trying each other, and performed nothing worth the mentioning, saue that the *Syracusians* sunke a
- D Gallie or two of the *Athenians*, they parted againe, and the Land-souldiers retired at the same time from the Wall of the *Athenian* Campe. The next day the *Syracusians* lay still, without shewing any signe of what they meant to doe. Yet *Nicias* seeing that the Battell by Sea was with equality, and imagining that they would fight againe, made the Captaines to repaire their Gallies, such as had beene torne, and 2 great Ships to be moored, without those Piles which he had driuen into the Sea before his Gallies, to bee instead of a Haven inclozed. These Ships he placed about
- E 2 acres breadth asunder, to the end if any Gally chanced to bee pressed, it might safely runne in, and againe

The Athenians and Syracusians fight.

The Athenians and Syracu-
sians fight againe.

The Stratagem of Ariflon,
a Master of a Gally.

goe safely out at leasure. In performing of this, the *Athe- A*
nians spent a whole day from morning vntill night.

The next day the *Syracusians* assaulted the *Athenians* a-
gain with the same Forces both by Sea and Land, that
they had done before, but begunne earlier in the morning,
and being opposed Fleet against Fleet, they drew out a
great part of the day, now againe, as before, in attempting
vpon each other without effect. Till at last *Ariflon*
the sonne of *Pyrrhicus*, a *Corinthian*, the most expert Ma-
ster that the *Syracusians* had in their Fleet, perswaded the
Commanders of the Nauie, to send to such in the Citie as B
it belonged to, and command that the Market should bee
speedily kept at the Sea-side, and to compell euery man to
bring thither whatsoeuer hee had fit for meate, and there
to sell it, that the Mariners disbarking, might presently
dine by the Gallies sides, and quickly againe vnlooked-
for, assault the *Athenians* afresh the same day.

This aduice being liked, they sent a Messenger, and the
Market was furnished. And the *Syracusians* suddenly row-
ed a-sterne, towards the Citie, and disbarking, dined there-
right on the shore. The *Athenians* supposing they had C
retired towards the Citie, as vanquished, landed at leasure,
and amongst other businesse, went about the dressing of
their dinner, as not expecting to haue fought againe the
same day. But the *Syracusians* suddenly going aboard, came
towards them againe. And the *Athenians* in great tu-
mult, and for the most part vndined, imbarcking disorderly,
at length with much adoe went out to meete them. For
a while they held their hands on both sides, and
but obserued each other; But anon after, the *Athenians*
thought not fit by longer dallying, to ouercome them- D
selues with their owne labour, but rather to fight as soone
as they could; and thereupon at once with a ioynt shout,
charged the Enemie, and the fight began. The *Syracusians*
receiued and resisted their charge; and fighting, as
they had before determined, with their Gallies head to
head with those of the *Athenians*, and prouided with beakes
for the purpose, brake the Gallies of the *Athenians* very
much, between the heads of the Gallies and the oares. The
Athenians were also annoyed much by the Darters from the
Deckes, but much more by those *Syracusians*, who going a- E
bout in small Boats, passed vnder the rowes of the Oares
of

A of the Enemies Gallies, and comming close to their sides, threw their Darts at the Mariners from thence.

The *Syracusians* hauing fought in this manner with the vtmost of their strength, in the end gat the victory, and the *Athenians*, betweene the two *Ships*, escaped into their harbour. The *Syracusan* Gallies chased them as farre as to those *Ships*, but the *Dolphins* hanging from the Masts ouer the entrance of the harbour, forbad them to follow any further. Yet there were two Gallies, which vpon a iollity after victory approached them, but were both lost, of which one with her men and all was taken. The *Syracusians*, after they had sunke seuen Gallies of the *Athenians*, and torne many more, and of the men had taken some aliue, and killed others, retired, and for both the battels erected Trophies, and had already an assured hope, of being farre superiour by Sea, and also made account to subdue the Army by Land. And they prepared to assault them againe in both kindes.

The *Syracusians* haue the victory.

In the meane time *Demosthenes*, and *Eurymedon* arriued with the *Athenian* supply, being about 73 Gallies, and men of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates about 5000. Besides Darters, as well *Barbarians* as *Greekes*, not a few, and Slingers, and Archers, and all other prouision sufficient. For the present, it not a little daunted the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, to see no end of their danger, and that notwithstanding the fortifying in *Decelea*, another Army should come now, equall, and like vnto their former, and that their power should be so great in every kind. And on the other side, it was a kind of strengthening after weakenesse, to the *Athenian* Army that was there before. *Demosthenes*, when hee saw how things stood, and thinking it vnfit to loyter, and fall into *Nicias* his case (For *Nicias*, who was formidable at his first coming, when he set not presently vpon *Syracuse*, but Wintred at *Catana*, both grew into contempt, and was preuented also by the coming of *Gylippus* thither, with an Army out of *Peloponnesus*. The which if *Nicias* had gone against *Syracuse* at first, had neuer been so much as sent for. For supposing themselues to haue been strong enough alone, they had at once both found themselues too weak, and the City been enclosed with a Wall, whereby though they had sent for it, it could not haue helped them, as it did)

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon*, with a new Army arriue at *Syracuse*.

Demoſthenes attempteth to win the Wall which the *Syracuſians* had built through *Epipolæ*, to exclude the proceeding of the Wall of the *Athenians*.

did) *Demoſthenes* I ſay conſidering this, and that he alſo, A
even at the preſent, and the ſame day was moſt terrible to
the enemy, intended with all ſpeed to make uſe of this pre-
ſent terribleſſe of the Army. And having obſerved
that the Croſſe-wall of the *Syracuſians*, wherewith they
hindred the *Athenians* from enclosing the Citie, was but
ſingle, and that if they could be Maſters of the aſcent to
Epipolæ, and againe of the Campe there, the ſame might
eaſily be taken, (for none would haue ſtood againſt
them) haſted to put it to triall, and thought it his ſhort-
teſt way to the diſpatching of the Warre. For either he B
ſhould haue ſucceſſe, he thought, and ſo winne *Syracuſe*,
or he would lead away the Army, and no longer without
purpoſe conſume, both the *Athenians* there with him, and
the whole State. The *Athenians* therefore went out, and
firſt waſted the Territory of the *Syracuſians*, about the Ri-
uer *Anapus*, and were the ſtronger as at firſt, both by Sea
and Land. For the *Syracuſians* durſt neither way goe out
againſt them, but onely with their Horſemen and Dar-
ters from *Olympicum*.

After this, *Demoſthenes* thought good to try the Wall, C
which the *Athenians* had built to encloſe the City withall,
with Engines, but ſeeing the Engines were burnt by the
Defendants fighting from the Wall, and that having af-
ſaulted it in diuers parts with the reſt of his army, he was,
notwithſtanding put backe, he reſolved to ſpend the time
no longer, but (having gotten the conſent of *Nicias*, and the
reſt in Commiſſion, thereunto) to put in execution his de-
ſigne for *Epipolæ*, as was before intended. By day, it was
thought impoſſible not to be diſcouered, either in their ap-
proach, or in their aſcent. Having therefore firſt com- D
manded to take five dayes prouiſion of Victuall, and all
the Maſons and Workmen, as alſo ſtore of Caſting Wea-
pons, and whatſoeuer they might need, if they overcame,
for Fortification, He, and *Eurymedon*, and *Menander*, with
the whole Army, marched about midnight to *Epipolæ*, lea-
uing *Nicias* in the Campe. Being come to *Epipolæ* at *Eur-
yalus* (where alſo the Army went vp before) they were
not onely not diſcouered by the *Syracuſians* that kept the
Watch, but aſcending, tooke a certaine Fortification of
the *Syracuſians* there, and killed part of them that kept it. E
But the greateſt number eſcaping, ranne preſently to the
Campes,

A Campes, of which there were in *Epipole* three walled about, without the City, one of *Syracusians*, one of other *Sicilians*, and one of Confederates, and carried the newes of their comming in, and told it to those 600 *Syracusians* that kept this part of *Epipole* at the first, who presently went forth to meet them. But *Demosthenes* and the *Athenians* lighting on them, though they fought valiantly, put them to flight, and presently marched on, making vse of the present heat of the Army, to finish what he came for, before it were too late. And others going on, in their first

B course tooke the Crosse-wall of the *Syracusians*, they flying that kept it, and were throwing downe the Battlements thereof. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, and *Gylippus*, and those with him, came out to meet them, from their Campes, but because the attempt was vnexpected, and in the night, they charged the *Athenians* timorously, and were euen at first forced to retire. But as the *Athenians* aduanced more out of order, chiefly as hauing already gotten the victory, but desiring also, quickly to passe through all that remained yet vnfoughten with, (left through

C their remissenesse in following, they might againe rally themselves,) the *Bæotians* withstood them first, and charging, forced them to turne their backs. And here the *Athenians* were mightily in disorder, and perplexed, so that it hath been very hard to be informed of any side, in what manner each thing passed. For if in the day time, when things are better seene, yet they that are present cannot tell how all things goe, saue onely what euery man with much adoe seeth neere vnto himselfe? How then in a battell by night, (the onely one that hapned betweene

D great Armies in all this Warre) can a man know any thing for certaine? For though the Moone shined bright, yet they saw one another no otherwise then (as by Moone-light was likely) so as to see a body, but not be sure whether it were a friend, or not. And the men of Armes on both sides being not a few in number, had but little ground to turne in. Of the *Athenians*, some were already ouercome, others went on in their first way. Also a great part of the rest of the Army was already, part gotten vp, and part ascending, and knew not which way to

E march; For after the *Athenians* once turned their backs, all before them was in confusion; and it was hard to distinguish

distinguish of any thing for the noyse. For the *Syracusians* **A**
 and their Confederates preuailing, encouraged each other,
 and receiued the assailants with exceeding great shouts,
 (for they had no other meanes in the night to expresse
 themselues.) And the *Athenians* fought each other, and
 tooke for Enemies all before them, though friends, and of
 the number of those that fled. And by often asking the
Word, there being no other meanes of distinction, all ask-
 ing at once, they both made a great deale of stirre amongst
 themselues, and reuealed the *Word* to the Enemy. But
 they did not in like manner know the *Word* of the *Syracu-* **B**
sians, because these, beeing victorious, and vndistracted,
 knew one another better. So that when they lighted on
 any number of the Enemy, though they themselues were
 more, yet the Enemy escaped, as knowing the Watch-
 word; but they, when they could not answer, were
 slaine. But that which hurt them most, was the tune of
 the * *Paan*, which being in both Armies the same, draue
 them to their wits end. For the *Argines* and *Coreyrians*,
 and all other of the *Dorique* Race on the *Athenians* part,
 when they sounded the *Paan*, terrified the *Athenians* on one **C**
 side, and the Enemy terrified them with the like on the
 other side. Wherefore at the last falling one vpon ano-
 ther in diuers parts of the Armie, friends against friends,
 and Countrey men against Countrey men, they not onely
 terrified each other, but came to hand-strokes, and could
 hardly againe be parted.

* A *Hymne* with *Trumpets* or
other loud musiques, both be-
 fore and after *Wartell*.

The *Athenians* fly.

As they fled before the Enemy, the way of the de-
 scent from *Epipole*, by which they were to goe backe, be-
 ing but strait, many of them threw themselues downe
 from the Rockes, and dyed so: and of the rest that gate **D**
 downe safely into the Plaine, though the greatest part,
 and all that were of the old Armie, by their knowledge of
 the Countrey escaped into the Campe, yet of these that
 came last, some lost their way, and straying in the Fields,
 when the day came on, were cut off by the *Syracusan*
Horsemen that ranged the Countrey about.

The next day the *Syracusians* erected two *Trophies*, one
 in *Epipole* at the ascent, and another, where the first checke
 was given by the *Baotians*. The *Athenians* receiued their
 dead vnder Truce, and many there were that dyed, both **E**
 of themselues and of their Confederates. But the Armes
 taken,

A taken, were more then for the number of the slaine: for of such as were forced to quit their Bucklers, and leape downe from the Rockes, though some perished, yet some there also were that escaped.

The *Syracusians* find for more supplies, and hope to winne the *Athenian* Campe.

After this, the *Syracusians* hauing by such inlooked for prosperity recovered their former courage, sent *Sicanus* with fiftene Gallies to *Agrigentum* being in sedition, to bring that Citie if they could to their obedience. And *Gylippus* went againe to the *Sicilian* Cities by Land, to raise yet another Army, as being in hope to take the Campe of the *Athenians* by assault, considering how the matter had gone in *Epipole*.

The *Athenian* Commanders take counsell what to doe.

In the meane time the *Athenian* Generals went to Councell vpon their late ouerthrow, and present generall weaknesse of the Army. For they saw, not onely that their designes prospered not, but that the Souldiers also were weary of staying. For they were troubled with sickness, proceeding from a double cause; this being the time of the yeere most obnoxious to diseases, and the place where they lay, moorish and noysome. And all things else appeared desperate.

The aduice of *Demosthenes*.

Demosthenes thought fit to stay no longer; and since the execution of his Designe at *Epipolæ* had failed, deliuered his opinion for going out of the *Hauen* whilest the Seas were open, and whilest, at least with this addition of Gallies, they were stronger then the Army of the Enemy. For it was better, hee said, for the Citie to make Warre vpon those which fortifie against them at home, then against the *Syracusians*, seeing they cannot now be easily overcome; and there was no reason why they should spend much money in lying before the City. This was the opinion of *Demosthenes*.

Nicias, though he also thought their estate bad, yet was vnwilling to haue their weaknesse discouered, and by decreeing of their departure openly with the Votes of many, to make knowne the same to the enemy. For if at any time they had a minde to bee gone, they should then bee lesse able to doe it secretly. Besides, the estate of the Enemy, in as much as hee vnderstood it better then the rest, put him into some hope that it might yet grow worse then their owne, in case they pressed the Siege, especially beeing already Masters of the Sea, farre and neere, with their present Fleet. There was moreouer a party

The opinion of Nicias.

for the Athenians in Syracuse that desired to betray the State into their hands, and that sent messengers vnto him, and suffered him not to rise and be gone. All which hee knowing, though hee were intruth doubtfull what opinion to be of, and did yet consider, neuertheless openly in his speech, hee was against the withdrawing of the Armie, and said, *That he was sure, the People of Athens would take it ill, if hee went thence without their order: For that they were not to haue such Iudges, as should giue sentence vpon their owne sight of things done, rather then vpon the report of Calumniators, but such as would beleeeue whatsoever some fine speaker should accuse them of. That many, nay most of the Souldiers heere, who now cry out vpon their misery, will there cry out on the contrary, and say the Generals haue betrayed the State, and come away for a bribe. That hee would not therefore, knowing the nature of the Athenians so well, chuse to bee put to death vniustly, and charged with a dishonourable crime by the Athenians, rather then, if he must needs doe one, to suffer the same at the hand of the Enemy by his owne aduenture. And yet, he said, the State of the Syracusians was still inferiour to their owne: For paying much money to strangers, and laying out much more on Forts without and about the Citie; hauing also had a great Nauie a yeere already in pay, they must needs want money at last, and all these things faile them. For they haue spent already two thousand Talents, and are much in debt besides. And whensoever they shall giue ouer this course, and make pay no longer, their strength is gone, as being auxiliary, and not constrained to follow the Warre, as the Athenians are. Therefore it was fit, he said, to stay close to the Citie, and not to goe away, as if they were too weake in money, wherein they were much superiour.*

Nicias, when he spake this, assured them of it, as knowing the state of Syracuse precisely, and their want of money; and that there were some that desired to betray the Citie to the Athenians, and sent him word not to goe. Withall hee had now confidence in the Fleet, which, as being before ouercome, he had not. As for lying where they did, Demosthenes would by no meanes heare of it. But if the Armie might not be carried away without order from the Athenians, but must needs stay in Sicily, then he said they might goe to Thapsus, or Catana, from whence by their Land men they might inuade, and turne

A turne much of the Countrey to them, and wasting the Fields of the Enemies, weaken the *Syracusians*, and bee to fight with their Gallies in the maine Sea, and not in a narrow (which is the aduantage of the Enemy) but in a wide place, where the benefit of skill should bee theirs, and and where they should not be forced in charging and retreating, to come vp, and fall off in narrow and circumscribed limits. In summe he said, he by no meanes liked to stay where they were, but with all speed, no longer delaying the matter, to arise and be gone. *Eurymedon* also gaue the like counsell. Neuerthelesse vpon the contradiction of *Nicias*, there grew a kind of sloth and procrastination in the businesse, and a suspicion withall, that the asseueration of *Nicias*, was grounded on somewhat that he knew about the rest, and therevpon the *Athenians* deferred their going thence, and stayed vpon the place.

In the meane time *Gylippus* and *Sycanus* returned vnto *Syracuse*. *Sycanus* without his purpose at *Agrigenu* (for whilest he was yet in *Gela*, the sedition which had beene raised in the behalfe of the *Syracusians* was turned into friendship;) but *Gylippus* not without another great Army out of *Sicily*. besides the men of Armes, which hauing set forth from *Peloponnesus* in Ships the Spring before, were then lately arriued at *Selinus* from out of *Africke*. For hauing beene driuen into *Africke*, and the *Cyreneans* hauing giuen them two Gallies with *Pilots*, in passing by the shore they ayded the *Eusperites*, besieged by the *Africans*, and hauing ouercome the *Africans*, they went on to *Neapolis*, a Towne of traffique belonging to the *Carthaginians*, where the passage into *Sicily* is shortest, and but two dayes and a nights saile ouer. And from thence they crossed the Sea to *Selinus*. As soone as they were come, the *Syracusians* againe presently prepared to set vpon the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land. The *Athenian* Generals seeing them haue another Armie, and their owne not bettering, but growing euery day worse then other, but especially as being pressed to it by the sicknesse of the Souldiers, repented now that they removed not before; and *Nicias* being now no longer against it, as he was, but desirous onely that it might not be concluded openly, gaue order vnto all, as secretly as was possible, to put forth of the Harbour, and to be ready, when the signe should be giuen.

Gylippus returneth with another Armie from the Cities of *Sicily*.

The *Athenians* out of superstition forbore to remoue, because of an eclipse of the Moone.

The *Syracusians* assault the *Athenian* Campe with their Land-souldiers.

The *Syracusians* overcome the *Athenians* againe by Sea.

But when they were about it, and euery thing was ready, the Moone hapned to bee eclipsed. For it was full Moone. And not onely the greatest part of the *Athenians* called vpon the Generals to stay, but *Nicias* also (for hee was addicted to superstition, and obseruations of that kind somewhat too much) said, that it should come no more into debate, whether they should goe or not, till the three times nine dayes were past, which the Southsayers appoint in that behalfe. And the *Athenians*, though vpon going, stayed still for this reason.

The *Syracusians* also, hauing intelligence of this, were encouraged vnto the pressing of the *Athenians* much the more, for that they confessed themselues already too weake for them, both by Sea and Land; for else they would neuer haue sought to haue runne away.

Besides, they would not haue them sit downe in any other part of *Sicily*, and become the harder to be warred on; but had rather there-right, and in a place most for their owne aduantage, compell them to fight by Sea. To which end they manned their Gallies, and after they had rested as long as was sufficient, when they saw their time, the first day they assaulted the *Athenians* Campe, and some small number of men of Armes, and Horsemen of the *Athenians* sallied out against them by certaine Gates, and the *Syracusians* intercepting some of the men of Armes, beat them backe into the Campe. But the entrance being strait, there were 70 of the Horsemen lost, and men of Armes some, but not many.

The next day, they came out with their Gallies, 76 in number, and the *Athenians* set forth against them with 86; and being come together, they fought. *Eurymedon* had charge of the Right Wing of the *Athenians*, and desiring to encompassse the Gallies of the Enemies, drew forth his owne Gallies in length more toward the shoare; and was cut off by the *Syracusians*, that had first overcome the middle battell of the *Athenians* from the rest, in the bottome and inmost part of the Hauen; and both slaine himsele, and the Gallies that were with him lost. And that done, the rest of the *Athenian* Fleet was also chased and driuen ashore.

Gylippus, when he saw the Nauy of the Enemy vanquished, and carried past the Piles, and their owne Harbour,

A bour, came with a part of his Armie to the peere, to kill such as landed, and to cause that the *Syracusians* might the easilier pull the Enemies Gallies from the shore, whereof themselves were Masters. But the *Tuscans*, who kept guard in that part for the *Athenians*, seeing them comming that way in disorder, made head, and charging these first, forced them into the Marish, called *Lysimella*. But when afterwards a greater number of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates came to helpe them, then also the *Athenians*, to helpe the *Tuscans*, and for feare to lose their Gallies, fought with them, and hauing overcome them, pursued them, and not onely slew many of their men of Armes, but also saued the most of their Gallies, and brought them backe into the Harbour. Neuerthelesse the *Syracusians* tooke eighteene, and slew the men taken in them. And amongst the rest, they let driue before the Wind, (which blew right vpon the *Athenians*) an old Ship, full of Faggots and Brands set on fire, to burne them. The *Athenians* on the other side, fearing the losse of their Nauie, deuised remedies for the fire, and hauing quenched the flame, and kept the Shippe from comming neere, escaped that danger.

After this the *Syracusians* set vp a Trophie both for the Battell by Sea, and for the men of Armes which they intercepted aboue before the Campe, where also they tooke the Horsés. And the *Athenians* erected a Trophie likewise, both for the flight of those Footmen, which the *Tuscans* draue into the Marish, and for those which they themselves put to flight with the rest of the Armie.

When the *Syracusians* had now manifestly overcome their Fleet (for they feared at first the supply of Gallies that came with *Demosthenes*) the *Athenians* were in good earnest vtterly out of heart. And as they were much deceiued in the euent, so they repented more of the Voyage. For hauing come against these Cities, the onely ones that were for institution like vnto their owne, and gouerned by the People, as well as themselves, and which had a Nauie, and Horsés, and greatnesse, seeing they could create no dissention amongst them, about change of gouernment, to winne them that way, nor could subdue it with the greatnesse of their Forces, when they were farre the stronger, but mis-

The *Athenians* delected,
repent of the voyage.

The *Syracufians* intend to keepe in the *Athenians*, & reckon vpon the glory of a full victory.

wits end. But now, when they were also vanquished by A Sea (which they would neuer haue thought) they were much more deiected then euer.

The *Syracufians* went presently about the Hauen without feare, and meditated how to shut vp the same, that the *Athenians* might not steale away without their knowledge, though they would. For now they studied not onely how to saue themselves, but how to hinder the safety of the *Athenians*. For the *Syracufians* conceived (not vntruely) that their owne strength was at this present the greater, and that if they could vanquish the *Athenians*, B and their Confederates, both by Sea and Land, it would be a mastery of great honour to them, amongst the rest of the *Grecians*. For all the rest of *Greece* should be one part freed by it, and the other part out of feare of subiection hereafter. For it would be vnpossible for the *Athenians*, with the remainder of their strength to sustaine the Warre that would be made vpon them afterwards; and they being reputed the authors of it, should be had in admiration, not only with all men now liuing, but also with posterity. And to say truth, it was a worthy Mastery, C both for the causes shewne, and also for that they became Victors not of the *Athenians* onely, but many others their Confederates, nor againe they themselves alone, but their Confederates also, hauing been in ioynt command with the *Corinthians* and *Lacedaemonians* and both exposed their City to the first hazard, and of the busines by Sea performed the greatest part themselves.

The Nations that were at the Warres of *Syracuse* on one side or other.

The greatest number of Nations, except the generall Roll of those which in this Warre adhered to *Athens*, and D *Lacedaemon*, were together at this one City; And this number on both sides, against *Sicilie*, and for it, some to helpe winne, and some to helpe saue it, came to the Warre at *Syracuse*, not on any pretence of right, nor as kindred to aid kindred, but as profit or necessity seuerally chanced to induce them. The *Athenians* being *Ionique* went against the *Syracufians* that be *Dorique*, voluntarily. With these, as being their Colonies, went the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians*, and the *Ægineia*, that dwelt in *Ægina* then, all of the same language and institutions with themselves. E

Athenians.

Lemnians. *Imbrians*.

Ægineia.

Hestizans of *Eubaea*.

Also the *Hestizans* of *Eubaea*. Of the rest, some went with

A with them as their subiects, and some as their free Confederates, and some also hired. Subiects and Tributaries, as the *Eretrians*, *Chalcedians*, *Syrrians*, and *Carystians*, from *Eubœa*. *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, from out of the Islands. *Milefians*, *Samians*, and *Chians*, from *Ionia*. Of these the *Chians* followed them as free, not as tributaries of money, but of Gallies. And these were almost all of them *Ionians*, descended from the *Athenians*, except onely the *Carystians*, that are of the Nation of the *Dryopes*. And though they were subiects and went vpon constraint, yet they

B were *Ionians* against *Derians*. Besides these, there went with them *Æolians*, namely the *Methymnæans*, subiects to *Athens*, not tributaries of mony, but of Gallies, & the *Tenedians* and *Ænians* tributaries. Now here, *Æolians* were constrained to fight against *Æolians*, namely against their Founders the *Bœotians*, that tooke part with the *Syracusians*. But the *Placæans*, and onely they, being *Bœotians*, fought against *Bœotians* vpon iust quarrell. The *Rhodians* and *Cytherians* Dorique both, by constraint, bore Armes one of them, namely the *Cytherians* a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians* with

C the *Athenians*, against the *Lacedæmonians* that were with *Gylippus*; and the other, that is to say, the *Rhodians*, being by descent *Argiues*, not onely against the *Syracusians*, who were also Dorique, but against their owne Colony the *Gelans* which tooke part with the *Syracusians*. Then of the Islanders about *Peloponnesus*, there went with them the *Cephalenians*, and *Zaibythians*, not but that they were free States, but because they were kept in awe as Islanders by the *Athenians* who were masters of the Sea. And the *Corcyraans*, being not only Dorique, but *Corinthians*, fought openly

D against both *Corinthians* and *Syracusians*, though a Colony of the one, and of kin to the other: which they did necessarily (to make the best of it) but indeed no lesse willingly, in respect of their hatred to the *Corinthians*. Also the *Messenians* now so called, in *Naupactus*, were taken along to this Warre, and the *Messenians* at *Pylus* then holden by the *Athenians*. Moreouer the *Megarean* Out-lawes though not many, by aduantage taken of their misery, were faine to fight against the *Salinuntians*, that were *Megareans* likewise. But now the rest of their Army was rather voluntary. The *Argiues* not so much for the League,

as for their enmity with the *Lacedæmonians* and their present

Eretrians, *Carystians*,
Syrrians, *Ceians*,
Andrians, *Tenians*,
Samians, *Chians*.

Methymnæans, *Tenedians*, *Ænians*.

Placæans,
Rhodians and *Cytherians*.

Cephalenians, *Zaibythians*.

Corcyraans.

Messenians.

Megareans.

Argiues.

sent

Aeginetians; and other *Arcadians*.

Cretans;
Ætoliens.

Acarnanians.

Thurians.
Metapontians, *Naxians*.
Catanæans, *Egestæans*

Thuscans.
Iapygians.

Syracusians.
Camarinæans.

Himeræi.

Siculi.

Lacedæmonians.
** Macedonia* *not* *made* *free*.

Corinthians.
Leucadians, *Ambraciotes*, *Arcadian* *Mercenaries*.
Sicyonians.

sent particular spleene, followed the *Athenians* to the Warre **A** though *Ionique*, against *Dorians*. And the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadian* *Mercenaries* went with him, as men accustomed euer to invade the enemy shewed them, and now for gaine, had for enemies as much as any those other *Arcadians* which went thither with the *Corinthians*. The *Cretans*, and *Ætoliens* were all *Mercenary*, and it fell out, that the *Cretans*, who together with the *Rhodians* were Founders of *Gela*, not onely tooke not part with their Colony, but fought against it willingly for their hire. And some *Acarnanians* also went with them for gaine, but **B** most of them went as *Confederates*, in loue to *Demosthenes*, and for good will to the State of *Athens*. And thus many, within the bound of the *Ionian* Gulfe. Then of *Italians* fallen into the same necessity of seditious times, there went with them to this Warre, the *Thurians*, and *Metapontians*. Of Greeke *Sicilians*, the *Naxians* and *Catanæans*. Of *Barbarian*, the *Egestæans*, who also drew with them the most of those Greeke *Sicilians*. Without *Sicily*, there went with them some *Thuscans*, vpon quarrels betweene them and the *Syracusians*; and some *Iapygian* *Mercenaries*. These were the Nations that followed the Army of the *Athe-* **C** *nians*.

On the other side, there opposed them, on the part of the *Syracusians*, the *Camarinæans* their borderers. And beyond them againe the *Geloans*. And then (the *Agrigemines* not stirring) beyond them againe the same way, the *Selinuntians*. These inhabite the part of *Sicily*, that lyeth opposite to *Africke*. Then the *Himeræans*, on the side that lyeth to the *Tirrhæan* sea, where they are the only *Grecians*, inhabiting and onely ayded them. These were their *Confederates* of the *Greeke* Nation, within *Sicily*; all *Doreans* and free States. **D** Then of the *Barbarians* there, they had the *Siculi*, all but what reuolted to the *Athenians*. For *Grecians* without *Sicily*, the *Lacedæmonians* sent them a *Spartan* Commander, with some *Helotes* and the rest * *Freed-men*. Then ayded them, both with *Gallies* and with *Land-men* the *Corinthians* onely; and for kindreds sake the *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*. Out of *Arcadia*, those *Mercenaries* sent by the *Corinthians*. And *Sicyonians* on constraint. And from without *Peloponnesus*, the *Bootians*. To the forraigne **E** aydes, the *Sicilians* themselues, as being great Cities; added more

A more in every kinde then as much againe; for they got together men of Armes, Gallies and Horses, great store, and other number in abundance. And to all these againe the *Syracusians* themselves, added, as I may say, about as much more, in respect of the greatnesse, both of their Citie, and of their danger.

These were the succours assembled on either part, and which were then all there, and after them came no more, neither to the one side nor the other. No maruell then, if the *Syracusians* thought it a noble mastery, if to the victorie by Sea already gotten, they could adde the taking of the whole *Athenian* Armie, so great as it was, and hinder their escape both by Sea and Land.

The *Syracusians* shut vp the Haven.

Presently therefore they fall in hand with stopping vp the mouth of the great Haven, beeing about eight Furlongs wide, with Gallies laid crosse, and Lighters and Boats vpon their Anchors, and withall prepared whatsoever else was necessary, in case the *Athenians* would hazard another Battell, meditating on no small matters in any thing.

The *Athenians* seeing the shutting vp of the Haven, and the rest of the Enemies designs, thought good to goe to counsell vpon it: and the Generals, and Commanders of Regiments, hauing met, and considered their present want, both otherwise, and in this, that they neither had prouision for the present, (for vpon their resolution to bee gone, they had sent before to *Catana*, to forbid the sending in of any more) nor were likely to haue for the future, vnlesse their Nauy got the vpper hand, they resolved to abandon their Campe aboue, and to take in some place, no greater then needs they must, neere vnto their Gallies, with a Wall, and leauing some to keepe it, to goe aboard with the rest of the Armie, and to man every Gallie they had, seruiceable and lesse seruiceable, and hauing caused all sorts of men to goe aboard, and fight it out, if they gat the victorie, to goe to *Catana*; if not, to make their retreat in order of Battell, by Land (hauing first set fire on their Nauy) the neereſt way vnto some amicable place, either *Barbarian* or *Grecian*, that they should best be able to reach vnto before the Enemy. As they had concluded, so they did; for they both came downe to the shore

from their Campe aboue, and also manned euery Gallie A they had, and compelled to goe aboard euery man of age, of any ability whatsoeuer. So the whole Nauie was manned, to the number of a hundred and tenne Gallies, vpon which they had many Archers and Darters, both *Acarnanians* and other strangers, and all things else provided, according to their meanes and purpose. And *Nicias*, when almost euery thing was ready, perceiuing the Souldiers to bee deiected, for beeing so farre ouercome by Sea, contrary to their custome, and yet in respect of the scarcity of victuall, desirous as soone as could be to fight, called them B together, and encouraged them then the first time, with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

Souldiers, Athenians, and other our Confederates, though the tryall at hand will be common to all alike, and will concerne the safety and Countrey, no lesse of each of vs, then of the Enemy: (For if our Gallies get the victory, we may euery one see C his native Citie againe) yet ought wee not to bee discouraged, like men of no experience, who failing in their first adventures, euer after carry a feare suitable to their misfortunes. But you Athenians beere present, hauing had experience already of many Wars, and you our Confederates, that haue alwayes gone along with our Armies, remember how often the euent falleth out otherwise in Warre, then one would thinke; and in hope that Fortune will once also be of our side, prepare your selues to fight againe, in such manner as shall be worthy the number you see your selues to bee. What we thought would be helpes in the narrownesse of the Hauen, against D such a multitude of Gallies as will be there, and against the prouision of the Enemy vpon their Deckes, whereby wee were formerly annoyed, we haue with the Masters now considered them all, and as well as our present meanes will permit, made them ready. For many Archers and Darters shall goe aboard, and that multitude, which if wee had beene to fight in the maine Sea, we would not haue used, because by slugging the Gallies, it would take away the vse of Skill, will neuerthelesse bee usefull beere, where wee are forced to make a Land-fight from our Gallies. Wee haue also deuised, instead of what should E haue beene provided for in the building of our Gallies, against

Against the thicknesse of the beakes of theirs, which did most hurt vs, to lash their Gallies vnto ours with Iron Grapnels, whereby (if the men of Armes doe their part) wee may keepe the Gallies which once come close vp, from falling backe againe. For we are brought to a necessity now, of making it a Land-fight vpon the Water; and it will be the best for vs, neither to fall backe our selues, nor to suffer the Enemie to doe so. Especially, when, except what our men on Land shall make good, the shore is altogether hostile. Which you remembering, must therefore fight it out to the utmost, and not suffer your selues to bee beaten backe vnto the shore. But when Gallie to Gallie shall
B once be fast close, neuer thinke any cause worthy to make you part, vnlesse you haue first beaten off the men of Armes of the Enemy, from their Decks. And this I speake to you rather, that are the men of Armes, than to the Mariners, in as much as that part belongeth rather vnto you that fight aboue; and in you it lyeth, euen yet to atchieue the Victory for the most part with the Land-men. Now for the Mariners, I aduise, and withall beseech them, not to bee too much daunted with the losses past, hauing now, both a greater number of Gallies, and greater Forces vpon the Decks. Thinke it a pleasure worth preserving, that being taken, by your knowledge of the language, and imitation of our fashions for Athenians, (though you be not so) you are not only admired for it through all Greece, but also partake of our dominion, in matter of profit, no lesse then our selues; and for awfulesse to the Nations subiect, and protection from iniury, more. You therefore that alone participate freely of our Dominion, cannot with any iustice betray the same. In despite therefore of the Corinthians, whom you haue often vanquished, and of the Sicilians, who, as long as our Fleet was at the best, durst neuer so much as stand vs, repell them, and make it appeare, that your knowledge, euen with weaknesse and losse, is better then the strength of another, with Fortune. Again, to such of you as are Athenians, I must remember this, that you
D haue no more such Fleets in your Harbours, nor such able men of Armes, and that if ought happen to you but victory, your Enemies here will presently bee vpon you as home; and those at home will bee vnable to defend themselves, both against those that shall goe hence, and against the Enemy that lyeth there already. So one part of vs shall fall into the mercy of the Syracusians, against whom you your selues know, with what intent you came hither, and the other part which is at home, shall fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. Being therefore in this one battell to fight both for your selues
E and them, be therefore valiant now, if euer, & beare in mind euery one of you, that you that goe now aboard, are the Land-forces, the Sea-forces,

the whole estate, and great name of Athens. For which, if A
any man excell others in skill or courage, he can neuer shew it more
opportunely then now, when he may both helpe himselfe with it, and
whole.

Nicias hauing thus encouraged them, commanded presently to goe aboard.

Gylippus and the Syracusians, might easily discern that
the Athenians meant to fight, by seeing their preparation. Besides, they had aduertisement of their purpose to cast
Iron Grapnels into their Gallies. And as for euery thing B
else, so also for that, they had made prouision. For
they couered the fore-part of their Gallies, and also the
Deckes for a great way, with Hydes, that the Grapnels
cast in, might slip, and not be able to take hold. When
all was ready, Gylippus likewise, and other the Commanders,
vsed vnto their Souldiers this hortatiue.

THE ORATION OF GYLIPPVS, and the Syracusian Generals.

C
THAT not onely our former acts haue beene honourable, but
that wee are to fight now also for further honour, (Men of
Syracuse, and Confederates) the most of you seeme to know
already (for else you neuer would so valiantly haue undergone it.)
And if there be any man that is not so sensible of it as he ought, wee
will make it appeare vnto him better. For whereas the Atheni-
ans came into this Countrey, with designe, first to enslave Sicily,
and then, if that succeeded, Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece,
And whereas already they had the greatest dominion of any Gre-
cians whatsoeuer, either present or past, you, the first that euer D
withstood their Navy, wherewith they were euery where Masters,
haue in the former Battels overcome them, and shall in likelihood o-
uercome them againe in this. For men that are cut short, where
they thought themselves to exceed, became afterwards further out
of opinion with themselves, then they would haue beene, if they had
neuer thought so. And when they come short of their hope, in things
they glory in, they come short also in courage, of the true strength of
their forces. And this is likely now to be the case of the Athenians.
Whereas with vs, it falleth out, that our former courage, where-
with, though vnexperienced, we durst stand them, being now con- E
firmed, and an opinion added of being the stronger, giueth to euery one
of

A of vs a double hope. And in all enterprizes, the greatest hope conferreth for the most part the greatest courage. As for their imitation of our provisions, they are things we are acquainted withall, and we shall not in any kinde be vnprouided for them. But they, when they shall haue many men of Armes vpon their Deckes, (being not vsed to it) and many (as I may terme them) *Land-Darters, both ACARNANIANS and others, who would not be able to direct their Darts, though they should sit, how can they choose but put the Gallies into danger, and be all in confusion amongst themselves, mouing in a fashion not their owne? As for the number of their Gallies, it will helpe them nothing.

B (if any of you feare also that, as being to fight against oddes in number.) For many in little roome, are so much the slower to doe what they desire, and easiest to bee annoyed by our minition. But the very truth you shall now vnderstand by these things, whetsoeuer we suppose we haue most certaine intelligence.

Overwhelmed with Calamities, and forced by the difficulties which they are in at this present, they are growne desperate, not trusting to their Forces, but willing to put themselves vpon the decision of Fortune, as well as they may, that so they may either goe out by force, or else make their retreat after ward by Land, as men whose estates cannot change into the worse.

C Against such confusion therefore, and against the fortune of our greatest enemies, now betraying it selfe into our hands; let vs fight with anger, and with an opinion, not onely that it is most lawfull, to fulfill our hearts desire vpon those our enemies that iustified their coming hither, as a righting of themselves against an assailable; but also; that to be reuenged on an Enemie, is both most naturall, and, as is most commonly said, the sweetest thing in the world. And that they are our Enemies, and our greatest Enemies, you all well enough know, seeing them come hither into our dominion, to bring vs into seruitude.

D Wherein if they had sped, they had put the men to the greatest tortures, the women and children to the greatest dishonesty, and the whole Citie to the most ignominious name in the world. In regard whereof, it is not fit that any of you should be so tender, as to thinke it gainie, if they goe away without putting you to further danger; for so they meane to doe, though they get the victory. But effecting (as it is likely we shall) what wee intend, both to be reuenged of these, and to deliuer vnto all Sicily their liberty, which they enjoyed before, but now is more assured. Honourable is that Combate, and rare are those hazards, wherein the failing bringeth little losse, and the success, a great deal of Profit.

E When

* Land-Darters, the name of a sort of men, who were used to fight on foot.

* that is, according to the nature of the land, and not according to the sea.

* viz. the name of Sicily.

When Gylippus, and the Commanders of the *Syracusians* A
had in this manner encouraged their Souldiers, they presently put their men aboard, perceiving the *Athenians* to doe the same.

Nicias encourageth his
Souldiers anew.

Nicias perplexed with this present estate, and seeing how great and how neere the danger was, being now on the point to put forth from the Harbour, and doubting (as in great battels it falleth out) that somewhat in every kind was still wanting, and that he had not yet sufficiently spoken his mind, called vnto him againe, all the Captaines of Gallies, and spake vnto them every one by their fathers, B
their tribes, and their proper names, and entreated every one of them that had reputation in any kind, not to betray the same; and those whose Ancestors were eminent, not to deface their hereditary vertues; remembring them of *their Countreis liberty, and the uncontrolled power of all men to live as they pleased*, and saying whatsoever else in such a pinch men are accustomed, not out of their store to * vtter things stale, and in all occasions the same, touching their *Wiues, Children, and patriall Gods*, but such things as being thought by them auailable in the present discouragement, they C
vse to cry into their eares. And when he thought he had admonished them not enough, but as much as the time would permit, he went his way, and drew out those forces that were to serue on Land, to the Seaside, and embattelled them so, as they might take vp the greatest length of ground they were able, thereby, so much the more to confirme the courage of them that were aboard. And *Demosthenes, Menander, and Eudemus*, (for those of the *Athenian* Commanders went aboard) putting forth of the Harbour, went immediately to the Locke of the Hauen, D
and to the passage that was left open, with intention to force their way out. But the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being out already with the same number of Gallies, they had before disposed part of them to the guard of the open passage, and therest in circle about the Hauen, to the end they might fall vpon the *Athenians* from all parts at once, and that their Land-forces might withall be neere to aide them, wheresoeuer the Gallies touched. In the *Syracusan* Navy, commanded *Sicanus*, and *Agatharchus*, each of them ouer a Wing, and *Pythen*, with the *Corinthians*, had E
the middle Battell. After the *Athenians* were come to

the

* *ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης. To speake old
or stale Sentences.*

He preparerth to fight.

A the Locke of the Hauen, at the first charge they overcame the Gallies placed there to guard it, and endeavoured to breake open the barres thereof. But when afterwards the *Syracusians* and Confederates came vpon them from every side, they fought not at the Locke only, but also in the Hauen it selfe. And the battell was sharpe, and such as there had neuer before been the like. For the courage wherewith the Mariners on both sides brought vp their Gallies to any part they were bidden, was very great, and great was the plotting and counterplotting, and contention one against another of the Masters. Also the Souldiers, when the Gallies boorded each other, did their vtmost to excell each other in all points of skill that could be vsed from the Decks, and every man in the place assigned him, put himselfe forth to appeare the formost. But many Gallies falling close together in a narrow compasse (for they were the most Gallies that in any battell they had vsed, and fought in the least roome, being little fewer on the one side and the other, then 200.) they ranne against each other, but seldome, because there was no meanes of retiring, nor of passing by, but made assaults vpon each other oftner, as Gally with Gally, either flying, or pursuing, chanced to fall foule. And as long as a Gally was making vp, they that stood on the Decks, vsed their Darts and Arrowes, and Stones in abundance, but being once come close, the Souldiers at hand-Stroke attempted to boord each other. And in many places it so fell out, through want of roome, that they which ran vpon a Gally on one side, were runne vpon themselves on the other; and that two Gallies, or sometimes more, were forced to lye aboard of one, and that the Masters were at once to haue a care, not in one place onely, but in many together, how to defend on the one side, and how to offend on the other. And the great noise of many Gallies fallen foule of one another, both amazed them and tooke away their hearing of what their * *Directors* directed; for they directed thicke and loud on both sides, not onely as Art required, but out of their present eagernes, the *Athenians* crying out to theirs, to force the passage, and now, if euer, valiantly to lay hold vpon their safe returne to their Country; and the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, to theirs, how honourable a thing to every one of them it would be, to hinder

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

* *directors*

hinder their escape, and by this Victory to improve, every A
 man, the honour of his owne Countrey. Moreover, the
 Commanders of either side where they saw any man with-
 out necessity to row a Sterne, would call vnto the Captain
 of the Gally by his name, & aske him, The *Athenians*, whe-
 ther he retired, because he thought the most hostile Land
 to be more their friend then the Sea, which they had so
 long beene masters of? The *Syracusians* theirs, whether
 when they knew that the *Athenians* desired earnestly by a-
 ny meanes to flie, they would neuertheless flie from the
 Flyers? Whilest the Conflict was vpon the Water, the B
 Land-men had a Conflict and sided with them in their
 affections. They of the place, contending for increase of
 the honours they had already gotten, and the Inuaders fea-
 ring a worse estate the they were already in. For the *Atheni-
 ans*, who had their whole fortune at stake in their Gallies,
 were in such a feare of the euent, as they had neuer been in
 the like; and were thereby of necessity to behold the fight
 vpon the Water, with very different passions. For the fight
 being neere, and not looking all of them vpon one and the
 same part, he that saw their owne side preuaile, tooke C
 heart, and fell to calling vpon the Gods, that they would
 not deprive them of their safety; and they that saw them
 haue the worse, not onely lamented, but shrieked out-right,
 and had their minds more subdued by the sight of what
 was done, then they, that were present in the battell it
 selfe. Others that looked on some part where the fight
 was equall, because the contention continued so, as they
 could make no iudgment on it, with gesture of body on eue-
 ry occasion, agreeable to their expectation, passed the time
 in a miserable perplexity. For they were euer within a lit- D
 tle ether of escaping, or of perishing. And one might heare
 in one and the same Army, as long as the fight vpon the
 Water was indifferent, at one & the same time, *Lamentati-
 ons, Shouts, That they won, That they lost*, and whatsoeuer else a
 great Army, in great danger is forced differently to vtter.
 They also that were aboard, suffered the same, till at last
 the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, after long resistance
 of the other side, put them to flight, & manifestly pressing,
 chased them with great clamor & encouragement of their
 owne, to the Shoare. And the Sea-forces making to the E
 Shore, some one way, and some another, except only such as
 were

The diversity of passion
 of them that beheld the
 fight, from the Shoare.

The *Athenians* flie.

- A were lost by being far from it, escaped into the Harbour. And the Army that was vpon the Land, no longer now of different passions, with one and the same vehemence, all with strikes and sighes, vnable to sustaine what befell, ran part to saue the Gallies, part to the defence of the Campe; and the residue, who were far the greatest number, fell presently to consider euery one of the best way to saue himselfe. And this was the time, wherein of all other they stood in greatest feare, and they suffered now, the like to what they had made others to suffer before at *Pylos*. For
- B the *Lacedemonians* then, besides the losse of their Fleet, lost the men which they had set ouer into the Island, and the *Athenians* now (without some accident not to be expected) were out of all hope to saue themselves by Land. After this cruell battell, and many Gallies and men on either side consumed, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates hauing the victory, tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of their dead, and returning into the City, erected a Trophy. But the *Athenians*, in respect of the greatnesse of their present losse, neuer thought vpon asking leaue to take vp their dead or wreck,
- C but fell immediately to consultation how to bee gone the same night. And *Demosthenes* comming vnto *Nicias*, deliuered his opinion, for going once againe aboard, and forcing the passage, if it were possible, betimes the next morning, saying that their Gallies which were yet remaining, and seruiceable, were more then those of the Enemy. (for the *Athenians* had yet left them about 60, and the *Syracusians* vnder 50.) But when *Nicias* approued the aduice, and would haue manned out the Gallies, the Mariners refused to goe aboard, as being not onely deiected with their defeat, but also without opinion of euer hauing the vpper hand any more. Whereupon they now resolued all, to make their retreat by Land. But *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* suspecting their purpose, and apprehending it as a matter dangerous, that so great an Army going away by Land, and sitting downe in some part or other of *Sicily*, should there renue the War, repayred vnto the Magistrates, and admonished them, that it was not fit through negligence, to suffer the Enemy in the night time to goe their wayes, (allegding what he thought best to the purpose) but that
- E all the *Syracusians* and their Confederates should goe out and fortifie in their way, and prepossesse all the narrow

The stratagem of *Hermocrates*, to hinder the escape of the *Athenians*.

passages with a guard. Now they were all of them of the same opinion, no lesse then himselfe, and thought it fit to be done, but they conceaued withall, that the Souldier now ioyfull, and taking his ease after a fore battell, being also holiday, (for it was their day of sacrifice to *Hercules*) would not easily be brought to obey. For through excelsse of ioy for the victory, they would most of them, being holiday, be drinking, and looke for any thing, rather then to be perswaded at this time to take Armes againe, and goe out. But seeing the Magistrates vpon this consideration thought it hard to be done, *Hermocrates* not preuailing, of his own head contriued this. Fearing lest the *Athenians* should passe the worst of their way in the night, and so at ease out-goe them, as soone as it grew darke, he sent certaine of his friends, and with them certaine Horsemen, to the *Athenian* Campe, who approaching so neere as to be heard speake, called to some of them to come forth, as if they had beene friends of the *Athenians* (for *Nicias* had some within that vsed to giue him intelligence) and bade them to aduise *Nicias* not to dislodge that night, for that the *Syracusians* had beset the waies, but that the next day, hauing had the leasure to furnish their Armie, they might march away. Vpon this aduertisement they abode that night, supposing it had beene without fraud. And afterwards, because they went not presently, they thought good to stay there that day also; to the end that the Souldiers might packe vp their necessities as commodiously as they could, and be gone, leauing all things else behind them, saue what was necessary for their bodies. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*, with their land-forces, went out before them, and not only stopped vp the waies in the Countrey about, by which the *Athenians* were likely to passe, and kept a guard at the foords of brookes and riuers, but also stood embattelled to receiue and stop their Army in such places as they thought conuenient. And with their Gallies they rowed to the Harbour of the *Athenians*, and towed their Gallies away from the shore; some few whereof they burnt, as the *Athenians* themselves meant to haue done; but the rest, at their leasure, as any of them chanced in any place to driue ashore, they afterwards haled into the City. After this, when euery thing seemed vnto *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, sufficiently prepared, they dislodged, being now the third day from their fight by Sea.

Gylippus goeth out with his Forces, and besets the way.

The *Athenians* march away from before *Syracuse* by Land.

It

- A** It was a lamentable departure, not onely for the particulars, as that they marched away with the losse of their whole Fleet, & that in stead of their great hopes, they had endangered both themselves and the State, but also for the dolorous objects, which were presented both to the eye and minde of euery of them in particular, in the leaving of their Campe. For their dead lying vnburyed, when any one saw his friend on the ground, it strooke him at once: both with feare and griefe. But the liuing that were sicke or wounded, both grieued them more then the dead, and were more miserable. For with intreaties and lamentations they put them to a stand, pleading to bee taken along by whomsoever they saw of their fellowes or familiars, and hanging on the neckes of their Camerades, and following as farre as they were able. And when the strength of their bodies failed, that they could goe no further, with Ay-mees and imprecations, were there left. Inasmuch as the whole Armie filled with teares, and irresolute, could hardly get away, though the place were hostile, and they had suffered already, and feared to suffer in the future, more then with teares could bee expressed, but hung downe their heads, and generally blamed themselves. For they seemed nothing else, but euen the people of some great City expugned by siege, and making their escape. For the whole number that marched, were no lesse, one with another, then 40000. men. Of which, not onely the ordinary sort carried euery one what he thought he should haue occasion to vse; but also the men of Armes & Horsemen, contrary to their custome, carried their victuals vnder their Armes, partly for want, & partly for distrust of their seruants, who from time to time ran ouer to the enemy; but at this time went the greatest number: and yet what they carried, was not enough to serue the turne. For not a iot more prouision was left remaining in the Campe. Neither were the sufferings of others, and that equal diuision of misery, which neuertheless is wont to lighten it, in that we suffer with many, at this time so much as thought light in it selfe. And the rather, because they considered from what splendor and glory which they enioyed before, into how low an estate they were now falne: For neuer *Grecian Army* so differed from it selfe. For whereas they came with a purpose to enslave others, they departed in greater feare of

being made slaues themselves, and in stead of Prayers **A** and Hymnes, with which they put to Sea, they went backe againe with the contrary maledictions; and where-as they came out Sea-men, they departed Land-men, and relyed not vpon their Nauall forces, but vpon their men of Armes. Neuertheless, in respect of the great danger yet hanging ouer them, these miseries seemed all but tolerable. *Nicias* perceiuing the Armie to be deiected, and the great change that was in it, came vp to the Rankes, and encouraged and comforted them, as far as for the present meanes he was able. And as he went from part to part, **B** he exalted his voyce more then euer before, both as being earnest in his exhortation, and because also he desired that the benefit of his words might reach as farre as might be.

THE ORATION OF *Nicias* to his afflicted Army.

A Thenians, and Confederates, we must hope still, euen in our present estate. Men haue beene saued ere now from greater dangers then these are. Nor ought you too much to accuse your selues, either for your losses past, or the undeserued miseries we are now in. Euen I my selfe, that haue the advantage of none of you in strength of body, (you see how I am in my sicknesse) nor am thought inferiour to any of you for prosperity past, either in respect of mine owne priuate person, or otherwise, am neuertheless now in as much danger as the meaneest of you. And yet I haue worshipped the Gods frequently according to the Law, and liued iustly and vnb lamably towards men. For which cause, my hope is still confident of the future, though these calamities, as being not according to the measure of our desert, doe indeed make me feare. But they may perhaps cease. For both the Enemies haue already had sufficient fortune, and the Gods if any of them haue beene displeased with our Voyage, haue already sufficiently punished vs. Others haue invaded their neighbours as well as wee, and as their offence, which proceeded of humane infirmity, so their punishment also hath beene tolerable. And we haue reason now, both to hope for more fauour from the Gods, (for our case deserueth their pitty rather then their hatred) and also not to despaire of our selues, seeing how good and how many men of Armes you are, marching together in order of **B** Butell. Make account of this, that wheresoeuer you please to sit downe, there presently of your selues you are a City, such as not any
other

- A other in Sicily can either easily sustaine, if you assault, or remoue if you be once seated. Now for your March, that it may be safe and orderly, looke to it your selues, making no other account any of you but what place soeuer he shall be forced to fight in, the same, if he win it, must be his Country and his Wallis. March you must with diligence, both night and day alike, for our victuall is short; and if we can but reach some amicable Territory of the Siculi, (for these are still firme to vs for feare of the Syracusians,) then you may thinke your selues secure. Let vs therefore send before to them, and bid them meete vs, and bring vs forth some supplies of victuall.
- B all. In summe, Souldiers, let me tell you, it is necessary that you be valiant; for there is no place neere, where being cowards, you can possibly be saued. Whereas if you escape thorow the Enemies at this time, you may euery one see againe whatsoeuer any where he most desires, and the Athenians may re-erect the great power of their City, how low soeuer false. For the men, not the Wallis, nor the empty Gallies, are the Citie.

Nicias, as he vsed this hortatiue, went withall about the Armie, and where he saw any man straggle, and not march in his Ranke, he brought him about, and set him in his place. Demosthenes hauing spoken to the same or like purpose, did as much to those Souldiers vnder him; and they marched forward, those with Nicias in a square Battallion, and then those with Demosthenes in the Rere. And the men of Armes receiued those that carried the Baggage, and the other multitude, within them.

- When they were come to the Foord of the Riuer *Anapus*, they there found certaine of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates embattelled against them on the banke, but these they put to flight, and hauing wonne the passage, marched forward. But the *Syracusan* Horsemen lay still vpon them, and their Light-armed plyed them with their Darts in the flanke. This day the *Athenians* marched forty Furlongs, and lodged that night at the foot of a certaine Hill. The next day, as soone as it was light, they marched forwards, about 20 Furlongs, and descending into a certaine Champaigne ground, encamped there, with intent both to get victuall at the houses, (for the place was inhabited) and to carry water with them thence; for before them in the way they were to passe, for many Furlongs together there was little to bee had. But the *Syracusians*

The Athenians march,
and the Syracusians assault
them alwaies as they goe

Syracusians in the meane time got before them, and cut off **A** their passage with a wall. This was at a steepe Hill, on either side wherof was the Channel of a torrent with steep and rocky banks, and it is called *Acræum Lepas*. The next day the *Athenians* went on. And the Horsemen and Darters of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, being a great number of both, pressed them so with their Horses and Darts, that the *Athenians* after long fight, were compelled to retire againe into the same Campe: But now with lesse victuall then before, because the Horsemen would suffer them no more to straggle abroad. In the morning be- **B** times they dislodged, and put themselves on their march againe, and forced their way to the Hill which the Enemy had fortified, where they found before them, the *Syracusan* Foot embattelled in great length aboute the Fortification, on the Hills side (for the place it selfe was but narrow.) The *Athenians*, comming vp assaulted the Wall, but the shot of the Enemy, who were many, and the steepnesse of the Hill (for they could easily cast home from aboue) making them vnable to take it, they retired againe and rested. There hapned withall some claps of Thun- **C** der, and a showre of Raine, as vsually falleth out at this time of the yeere, being now neere *Autumne*, which further disheartened the *Athenians*, who thought that also this did tend to their destruction. Whilst they lay still, *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* sent part of their Army, to raise a Wall at their backs, in the way they had come, but this the *Athenians* hindred, by sending against them part of theirs. After this, the *Athenians* retiring with their whole Army into a more Champaigne ground, lodged there that night; and the next day went forward againe. And the *Syracusians* with their Darts from euery part round about, **D** wounded many of them; and when the *Athenians* charged, they retired, and when they retired, the *Syracusians* charged, and that especially vpon the hindmost, that by putting to flight a few, they might terrifie the whole Army. And for a good while the *Athenians*, in this manner withstood them, and afterwards, being gotten fise or six Furlongs forward, they rested in the Plaine; and the *Syracusians* went from them to their owne Campe.

and Demosthenes rise
up, and march
away, *Nicias*
in order,
in the
er and more
et.

This night it was concluded by *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, **E** seeing the miserable estate of their Army, and the want already

A already of all necessities, and that many of their men, in many assaults of the Enemy were wounded, to lead away the Army as farre as they possible could, not the way they purposed before, but toward the Sea, which was the contrary way to that which the *Syracusians* guarded. Now this whole journey of the Army lay not towards *Catana*, but towards the other side of *Sicily*, *Camarina*, and *Gela*, and the Cities, as well *Grecian*, as *Barbarian*, that way. When they had made many fires accordingly, they marched in the night, and (as usually it falleth out in all Armies, and

B most of all in the greatest, to be subiect to affright and terrour, especially marching by night, and in hostile ground, and the enemy neere) were in confusion. The Army of *Nicias* leading the way, kept together and got farre afore, but that of *Demosthenes*, which was the greater halfe, was both seuered from the rest, and marched more disorderly. Neuerthelesse, by the morning betimes they got to the Sea side, and entring into the *Helorine* way, they went on towards the Riuer *Cacyparis*, to the end when they came thither to march vpwards along the Riuer side, through

C the heart of the Countrey. For they hoped that this way, the *Siculi* to whom they had sent, would meet them. When they came to the Riuer, here also they found a certaine guard of the *Syracusians*, stopping their passage with a Wall, and with Pyles. When they had quickly forced this guard, they passed the Riuer, and againe marched on, to another Riuer called *Erineus*, for that was the way which the Guides directed them. In the meane time the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, as soone as day appeared, and that they knew the *Athenians* were gone, most

D of them accusing *Gylippus*, as if he had let them go with his consent, followed them with speed the same way, which they easily vnderstood they were gone, and about dinner time ouertooke them. When they were come vp to those with *Demosthenes*, who were the hindmost, and had marched more slowly and disorderly then the other part had done, as hauing been put into disorder in the night, they fell vpon them, and fought. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen hemmed them in, and forced them vp into a narrow compasse, the more easily now, because they were

E diuided from the rest. Now the Army of *Nicias* was gone by this time 150 Furlongs further on. For he led away

Demosthenes ouertaken by the enemy, resisteth as long as he can, and is taken.

away the faster, because he thought not that their safety A
 consisted in staying and fighting voluntarily, but rather in
 a speedy retreat, and then onely fighting when they could
 not choose. But *Demosthenes* was both in greater, and in
 more continuall toyle, in respect that he marched in the
 Reere, and consequently was pressed by the Enemy. And
 seeing the *Syracusians* pursuing him, he went not on, but
 put his men into order to fight, till by his stay he was en-
 compassed, and reduced, he and the *Athenians* with him in-
 to great disorder. For being shut vp; within a place en-
 closed round with a Wall, and which on either side had a B
 way open, amongst abundance of Olive trees, they were
 charged from all sides at once with the Enemies shot.
 For the *Syracusians* assaulted them in this kind, and not in
 close battell, vpon very good reason. For to hazzard bat-
 tell against men desperate, was not so much for theirs, as
 for the *Athenians* aduantage. Besides, after so manifest suc-
 cesses, they spared themselves somewhat, because they
 were loth to weare themselves out before the end of the
 businesse, and thought by this kind of fight, to subdue and
 take them alieue. Whereupon, after they had plyed the C
Athenians & their Confederates, all day long from euery side
 with shot, and saw that with their wounds, and other an-
 noyance, they were already tired, *Gylippus*, and the *Syracu-
 sians*, and their Confederates, first made Proclamation, that
 if any of the Islanders would come ouer to them, they
 should be at liberty; And the men of some few Cities
 went ouer. And by and by after they made agreement
 with all the rest, that were with *Demosthenes*, That they
 should deliuer vp their Armes, and none of them be put to death,
 neither violently, nor by bonds, nor by want of the necessities of D
 life. And they all yeelded, to the number of 6000 men;
 and the siluer they had, they laid it all downe, casting
 it into the hollow of Targets, and filled with the same,
 foure Targets. And these men, they carried presently in-
 to the Citie.

Demosthenes yeeldeth.

Nicias and those that were with him attained the same
 day to the Riuer *Erineus*, which passing, he caused his
 Armie to sit downe vpon a certaine ground more eleuate
 then the rest; where the *Syracusians* the next day ouertooke
 and told him, That those with *Demosthenes* had yeelded E
 themselves, and willed him, to do the like. But he, not
 beleeuing

Abeleueing it, tooke Truce for a Horseman to enquire the truth. Vpon returne of the Horseman, and word that they had yeelded, he sent a Herald to *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*, saying, That he was content to compound on the part of the *Athenians*, to repay whatsoeuer money the *Syracusians* had laid out, so that his Army might be suffered to depart. And that till payment of the money were made, he would deliuer them Hostages, *Athenians*, euery Hostage rated at a Talent. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* refusing the condition, charged them, and hauing hemmed them in, B pyled them with shot, as they had done the other Army, from euery side, till euening. This part of the Armie was also pinched with the want both of victuall and other necessities. Neuerthelesse obseruing the quiet of the night, they were about to march. But no sooner tooke they their Armes vp, then the *Syracusians* perceiuing it, gaue the Alarme. Whereupon the *Athenians* finding themselves discouered, sate downe againe; all but 300, who breaking by force through the guards, marched as farre as they could that night. And *Nicias* when it was day, led C his Army forward, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates still pressing them in the same manner, shooting and darting at them from euery side. The *Athenians* halted to get the Riuer *Asinarus*, not onely because they were vrged on euery side by the assault of the many Horsemen, and other multitude, and thought to be more at ease when they were ouer the Riuer, but out of wearinesse also, and desire to drinke. When they were come vnto the Riuer, they rushed in without any order, euery man struing who should first get ouer. But the pressing of the Enemy, made the D passage now more difficult. For being forced to take the Riuer in heaps, they fell vpon and trampled one another vnder their feet; and falling amongst the Speares, and vtensiles of the Armie, some perished presently, and others catching hold one of another, were carried away together downe the streame. And not only the *Syracusians* standing along the farther banke being a steepe one, killed the *Athenians* with their shot from aboue, as they were many of them greedily drinking, and troubling one another in the hollow of the Riuer, but the *Peloponnesians* came also E downe, and slew them with their Swords, and those especially that were in the Riuer. And suddenly the

The offer of *Nicias* to redeeme his army, not accepted.

water was corrupted. Neuerthelesse they drunke it, foule **A**
 as it was, with blood and mire, and many also fought for
 it. In the end, when many dead lay heaped in the Riuer,
 and the Armie was vtterly defeated, part at the Riuer, and
 part (if any gat away) by the Horsemen, *Nicias* yeelded
 himselfe vnto *Gylippus*, (hauing more confidence in him
 then in the *Syracusians*) *To be for his owne person at the discre-*
tion of him and the Lacedæmonians, and no further slaughter to
be made of the Souldiers. *Gylippus* from thenceforth comman-
 ded to take prisoners. So the residue, except such as were
 hidden from them (which were many) they carried alieue **B**
 into the Citie. They sent also to pursue the 300. which
 brake through their guards in the night, and tooke them.
 That which was left together of this Armie, to the pub-
 like, was not much; but they that were conueyed away
 by stealth were very many: and all *Sicily* was filled with
 them, because they were not taken, as those with *Demo-*
sthenes were, by composition. Besides, a great part of these
 were slaine; for the slaughter at this time was exceeding
 great, none greater in all the *Sicilian* Warre. They were
 also not a few that dyed in those other assaults in their **C**
 March. Neuerthelesse many also escaped, some then pre-
 sently, and some by running away after seruitude, the Ren-
 dez-uous of whom was *Catana*.

The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being come to-
 gether, returned with their prisoners, all they could get,
 and with the spoile, into the Citie. As for all other the
 prisoners of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, they put
 them into the * *Quarries*, as the safest custodie. But *Nicias*
 and *Demosthenes* they killed, against *Gylippus* his will. For
Gylippus thought the victory would be very honourable, if **D**
 ouer and aboue all his other succeſſe, he could carry home
 both the Generals of the Enemy to *Lacedæmon*. And it
 fell out, that the one of them, *Demosthenes*, was their grea-
 test Enemy, for the things he had done in the * *Iland*, and
 at *Pylus*; and the other, vpon the same occasion, their grea-
 test friend; For *Nicias* had earnestly laboured to haue
 those prisoners which were taken in the *Iland*, to bee set at
 liberty, by perswading the *Athenians* to the Peace. For
 which cause the *Lacedæmonians* were inclined to loue him.
 And it was principally in confidence of that, that he ren- **E**
 dred himselfe to *Gylippus*. But certaine *Syracusians*, (as it is
 repor-

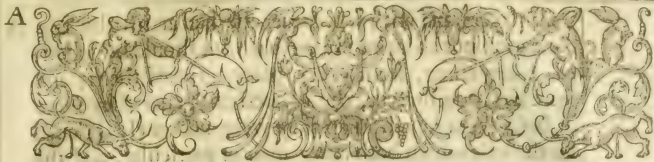
* *Νικηταριον*.* *Σφακτηρις*.

A reported) some of them for feare (because they had beene tampering with him) lest being put to the torture, hee might bring them into trouble, whereas now they were well enough; and others (especially the *Corinthians*) fearing he might get away by corruption of one or other, (being wealthy) and worke them some mischiefe afresh, hauing perswaded their Confederates to the same, killed him. For these, or for causes neere vnto these, was hee put to death, being the man that of all the *Grecians* of my time, had least deserued to be brought to so great a degree of misery.

B As for those in the Quarries, the *Syracusians* handled them at first but vngently. For in this hollow place, first the Sunne and suffocating ayre (being without roofe) annoyed them one way: and on the other side, the nights comming vpon that heate, autumnall and cold, put them, by reason of the alteration, into strange diseases. Especially, doing all things for want of roome, in one and the same place, and the Carcasses of such as dyed of their wounds, or change of ayre, or other like accident, lying together there on heaps. Also the smell was intollerable,

C besides that they were afflicted with hunger and thirst. For for eight moneths together, they allowed them no more but to euery man a * *Coyle* of water by the day, and two *Coriles* of Corne. And whatsoeuer misery is probable that men in such a place may suffer, they suffered. Some 70 dayes they liued thus thronged. Afterwards, retaining the *Athenians*, and such *Sicilians* and *Italians* as were of the Army with them, they sold the rest. How many were taken in all, it is hard to say exactly; but they were 7000 at the fewest. And this was the greatest action that happened in all this Warre, or at all, that we haue heard of amongst the *Grecians*, being to the Victors most glorious, and most calamitous to the vanquished. For being wholly ouercome, in euery kinde, and receiuing small losse in nothing, their Army, and Fleet, and all that euer they had, perished (as they vse to say) with an vniuersall destruction. Few of many returned home. And thus passed the businesse concerning *Sicily*:

* A small measure, about
half our Pynt.



THE
EIGHTH BOOK
OF THE HISTORIE
OF THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The Revolt of the Athenian Confederates, and the Offers made by
Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus, the Kings Lieutenants of
the lower Asia, draw the Lacedæmonians to the Warre in I-
onia, and Hellespont. First in Ionia, and the Prouinces of

Tissaphernes, who by the Counsell of Alcibiades, and con-
tinuence of Astyochus, hindereth their proceedings. Alcibia-
des in the meane while to make way for his returne into his coun-
trei, giueth occasion of sedition about the government, whence en-
sued the authority of the 400, vnder the pretext of the 5000; the
recalling of Alcibiades by the Army; and at length by his coun-
tenance the deposing againe of the 400, and end of the Sedition.

But in the meane time they lose Eubœa. Mindarus, Successor
of Astyochus, finding himselfe abused by Tissaphernes, carri-
eth the Warre to Pharnabazus, into Hellespont, and there
presently loseth a Battell to the Athenians before Abydus, be-
ing then Summer, and the 21 yeere of the Warre.



When the newes was told at Athens, they
beleueed not a long time, though it were
plainly related, and by those very Soul-
diers that escaped from the defeat it selfe,
that all was so vtterly lost, at it was.

When they knew it, they were mighti-
ly offended with the Orators that furthered the Voyage,
as if they themselues had neuer decreed it, They were an-
gry also with those that gaue out Prophecies, and with the
Soothsayers,

The feare and sorrow of
the Athenians vpon the
hearing of the newes.

Soothsayers, and with whosoever else had at first by any A
 diuination put them into hope that *Sicily* should be subdued.
 Euery thing, from euery place, grieved them; and
 feare and astonishment, the greatest that euer they were
 in, beset them round. For they were not onely grieved
 for the losse which both euery man in particular, and the
 whole City sustained, of so many men of Armes, Horse-
 men, and seruiceable men, the like whereof they saw was
 not left, but seeing they had neither Gallies in their Ha-
 uen, nor money in their Treasurie, nor furniture in their
 Gallies, were euen desperate at that present of their B
 safety, and thought the Enemy out of *Sicily*, would come
 forthwith with their Fleet into *Piræus*, (especially after
 the vanquishing of so great a Nauy) and that the Enemy
 here would surely now, with double preparation in euery
 kinde, presse them to the vtmost, both by Sea and Land,
 and be aided therein by their reuolting Confederates. Ne-
 uerthelesse, as farre as their meanes would stretch, it was
 thought best to stand it out, and getting materials and mo-
 ney where they could haue it, to make ready a Nauie, and
 to make sure of their Confederates, especially those of C
Eubæa; and to introduce a greater frugality in the Citie,
 and to erect a Magistracie of the elder sort, as occasion
 should be offered, to præconsult of the businesse that pas-
 sed. And they were ready, in respect of their present
 feare, (as is the Peoples fashion) to order euery thing a-
 right. And as they resolu'd this, so they did it. And the
 Summer ended.

The Athenians resolute to
 stand it out.

The end of the nine-
 teenth Summer.

The Grecians take part all
 of them against the A-
 thenians.

The Winter following, vpon the great ouerthrow of
 the Athenians in *Sicily*, all the Grecians were presently vp a-
 gainst them. Those who before were Confederates of D
 neither side, thought fit no longer, though vncalled, to
 abstaine from the Warre, but to goe against the Athenians
 of their owne accord, as hauing not onely enery one seue-
 rally this thought, that had the Athenians prospered in *Si-
 cily*, they would afterwards haue come vpon them also,
 but imagined withall, that the rest of the Warre would be
 but short, whereof it would be an honour to participate.
 And such of them as were Confederates of the *Lacedæmo-
 nians*, longed now more then euer, to be freed as soone as
 might be of their great toyle. But about all, the Cities E
 subiect to the Athenians, were ready, euen beyond their a-
 bility,

A bility, to reuolt, as they that iudged according to their passion, without admitting reason in the matter, that the next Summer they were to remaine with victory. But the *Lacedemonians* themselves tooke heart, not onely from all this, but also principally from that, that their Confederates in *Sicily*, with great power, hauing another Nauy now necessarily added to their owne, would in all likelihood be with them in the beginning of the Spring. And being euery way full of hopes, they purposed without delay to fall close to the Warre; making account, if this were well ended, both to be free hereafter from any more such dangers as the *Athenians*, if they had gotten *Sicily*, would haue put them into, and also hauing pulled them downe, to haue the principality of all *Greece*, now secure vnto themselves.

The hopes of the *Lacedemonians*.

B Whereupon *Agis* their King went out with a part of his Armie the same Winter from *Decelea*, and leuiod money amongst the Confederates, for the building of a Nauy. And turning into the *Meilian* Gulfe vpon an old grudge, tooke a great Booty from the *Oetaans*, which hee made money of, and forced those of *Phiotis*, being *Achaians*, and others in those parts, Subiects to the *Thessalians*, (the *Thessalians* complaining, and vnwilling) to giue him Hostages, and Money. The Hostages he put into *Corinth*, and endeououred to draw them into the League.

Agis leuieth money.

C And the *Lacedemonians* imposed vpon the States confederate, the charge of building 100 Gallies, [that is to say] on their owne State, and on the *Bæotians*, each 25. On the *Phoceans* and *Locrians*, 15. On the *Corinthians*, 15. On the *Arcadians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Pellenians*, 10. And on the *Megaraeans*, *Træzenians*, and *Hermionians*, 10. And put all things else in readinesse, presently with the Spring to beginne the Warre.

The *Lacedemonians* appoint a Fleet of 100. Gallies, to be made ready amongst the Cities of League.

D The *Athenians* also made their preparations, as they had designed, hauing gotten Timber, and built their Nauie this same Winter, and fortified the Promontory of *Sunium*, that their Corne-boats might come about in safety. Also they abandoned the Fort in *Laconia*, which they had built as they went by for *Sicily*. And generally where there appeared expence vpon any thing vnusefull, they contracted their charge.

The *Athenians* build their Nauy, and contract their charges.

E Whilest they were on both sides doing thus, there came

The *Eubæans* offer to reuolt to *Agis*.

vnto

vnto *Agis*, about their reuolt from the *Athenians*, first the *A*
Ambassadors of the *Eubœans*. Accepting the motion,
 he sent for *Alcarnenes* the sonne of *Sibonclaidas*, and for *Melan-*
thon, from *Lacedæmon*, to goe Commanders into *Eubœa*.
 Whom, when he was come to him, with about 300 freed-
 men, he was now about to send ouer. But in the meane
 time came the *Lesbians*, they also desiring to reuolt, and
 by the meanes of the *Bœotians*, *Agis* changed his former re-
 solution, and prepared for the reuolt of *Lesbos*, deferring
 that of *Eubœa*, and assigned them *Alcarnenes*, the same
 that should haue gone into *Eubœa*, for their Gouver- *B*
 nour. And the *Bœotians* promised them tenne Gallies,
 and *Agis* other tenne. Now this was done, without ac-
 quainting therewith the State of *Lacedæmon*. For *Agis*, as
 long as he was about *Decelea* with the power he had, had
 the Law in his owne hands, to send what Armie, and
 whither he listed, and to leuy men and mony at his plea-
 sure. And at this time, the Confederates of him (as I may
 call them) did better obey him, then the Confederates of
 the *Lacedæmonians* did them at home. For hauing the po-
 wer in his hands, he was terrible wheresoeuer he came. *C*
 And he was now for the *Lesbians*. But the *Chians* and *Ery-*
thræans, they also desiring to reuolt, went not to *Agis*, but
 to the *Lacedæmonians* in the City, and with them went also
 an Ambassadour from *Tissaphernes*, Lieutenant to King
Darius in the low Countries of *Asia*. For *Tissaphernes* also
 instigated the *Peloponnesians*, and promised to pay their
 Fleet. For he had lately begged of the King the Tribute
 accruing in his owne Prouince, for which he was in arrea-
 rage, because he could receiue nothing out of any of the
Greeke Cities, by reason of the *Athenians*. And therefore *D*
 he thought by weakning the *Athenians*, to receiue his Tri-
 bute the better, and withall to draw the *Lacedæmonians*
 into a League with the King, and thereby, as the King had
 commanded, to kill or take aliue *Amorges*, *Pissuthnes* his
 bastard sonne, who was in rebellion against him about *Ca-*
ria. The *Chians* therefore and *Tissaphernes*, followed this
 businesse ioyntly.

The *Lesbians* offer to re-
 uolt to *Agis*.

The *Chians* and *Erythræans*
 desire to reuolt.

Tissaphernes Lieutenant of
 the lower *Asia*, laboureth
 to haue the *Lacedæmonians*
 come vnto him.

Pharnabazus Lieutenant
 of *Persia*, laboureth
 the like for himselfe.

Caligetus the sonne of *Laophon*, a *Magarean*, and *Timagoras*
 the sonne of *Athenagoras*, a *Cyzicene*, both banished their
 owne Cities, and abiding with *Pharnabazus* the sonne of *E*
Pharnaces came also about the same time to *Lacedæmon*, sent
 by

A by *Pharnabazus*, to procure a Fleet for the *Helleſpont*, that he alſo, if he could, might cauſe the *Athenian* Cities in his Province to revolt for his Tributes ſake, and be the firſt to draw the *Lacedæmonians* into league with the King. Juſt the ſame things that were deſired before by *Tiſſaphernes*. Now *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes* treating apart, there was great canuaſing at *Lacedæmon*, betweene the one ſide, that perſwaded to ſend to *Ionia* and *Chius*, and the other, that would haue the Armie and Fleet goe firſt into the *Helleſpont*. But the *Lacedæmonians* indeed approued beſt by much of the buſineſſe of the *Chians*, and of *Tiſſaphernes*. For with theſe cooperated *Alcibiades*, hereditary Gueſt and friend of *Endius*, the *Ephore* of that yeere, in the higheſt degree; inſomuch as in reſpect of that gueſthood, *Alcibiades* his family receiued a *Laconique* name. For *Endius* was called *Endius* * *Alcibiadis*. Neuertheleſſe the *Lacedæmonians* ſent firſt one *Phrynis*, a man of thoſe parts, to *Chius*, to ſee if the Gallies they had, were ſo many as they reported, and whether the Citie were otherwiſe ſo ſufficient as it was ſaid to be. And when the meſſenger brought backe word that all that had beene ſaid, was true, they receiued both the *Chians* and the *Erythreans* preſently into their League. and decreed to ſend them forty Gallies, there being at *Chius*, from ſuch places as the *Chians* named, no leſſe then 60 already. And of theſe at firſt they were about to ſend out tenne, with *Melaneridas* for Admirall; but afterwards, vpon occaſion of an Earthquake, for *Melaneridas* they ſent *Chalcideus*, and in ſtead of tenne Gallies, they went about the making ready of five onely, in *Laconia*. So the Winter ended, and nineteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

* The name of *Endius* his father was *Alcibiades*, to whom *Clonias* being Gueſt, for that cauſe gave the name of *Alcibiades* to his ſonne, this *Alcibiades* *Clonius*.

D In the beginning of the next Summer, becauſe the *Chians* preſſed to haue the Gallies ſent away, and feared leſt the *Athenians* ſhould get notice what they were doing, (for all their Ambaſſadours went out by ſtealth) the *Lacedæmonians* ſend away to *Corinth* three *Spartans*; to will them with all ſpeed to transport their Gallies ouer the *Iſthmus*, to the other Sea towards *Athens*, and to goe all to *Chius*, as well thoſe which *Aris* had made ready to goe to *Leſbes*, as the reſt. The number of the Gallies of the League, which **E** were then there, being forty wanting one.

But *Calligetis* and *Timagoras*, who came from *Pharna-*

P p p

bazus,

THE TWENTY-
FIFTH YEERE.

The *Lacedæmonians* ſend to *Corinth*, to ſtaſſen away the Fleet to *Chius*.

* 4687 pounds 10 Shillings
sterling.

The Confederates in
councell at Corinth set
downe an order for the
Warre following, with
which to beginne, and
which to follow.

bazus, would haue no part in this Fleet that went for *A*
Chius, nor would deliuer the Money, * twenty five Ta-
lents, which they had brought with them to pay for their
setting forth, but made account to goe out with another
Fleet afterwards by themselves.

When *Agis* saw that the *Lacedæmonians* meant to send
first to *Chius*, he resolued not of any other course himselfe,
but the Confederates assembling at *Corinth*, went to coun-
cell vpon the matter, and concluded thus, That they should
goe first to *Chius*, vnder the command of *Chalcidæus* who
was making ready the five Gallies in *Laconia*; And then, *B*
to *Lesbos*, vnder the charge of *Alcamenes*, intended also to
be sent thither by *Agis*; and lastly into *Helleſpont*, in which
voyage they ordained that *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias*
should haue the Command; and concluded to carry ouer
the *Isthmus*, first the one halfe of their Gallies, and that
those should presently put to Sea, that the *Athenians* might
haue their mindes more vpon those, then on the other halfe
to bee transported afterwards. For they determined to
passe that Sea openly, contemning the weaknesse of the
Athenians, in respect they had not any Navy of impor-
tance yet appearing. As they resolued, so presently they
carried ouer one and twenty Gallies. But when the rest
yrged to put to Sea, the *Corinthians* were vnwilling to goe
along, before they should haue ended the celebration of
the *Isthmian* Holidayes, then come. Heerevpon *Agis*
was content that they for their parts should obserue the
Isthmian Truce; and he therefore to take the Fleet vpon
himselfe as his owne. *C*

The *Athenians* vnderstand
the purpose of the *Chians*
to reuolt,

But the *Corinthians* not agreeing to that, and the time
passing away, the *Athenians* got intelligence the easilier *D*
of the practice of the *Chians*, and sent thither *Aristocrates*,
one of their Generals, to accuse them of it. The *Chians*
denying the matter, hee commanded them, for their
better credit, to send along with him some Gallies for
their ayde, due by the League, and they sent seuen. The
cause why they sent these Gallies, was the *Many* not ac-
quainted with the practice, and the *Few* and conscions not
willing to vndergoe the enmity of the multitude, with-
out hauing strength first, and their not expecting any
longer the coming of the *Lacedæmonians*, because they *E*
had so long delayed them.

In

A In the meane time, the *Isthmian* Games were celebrating, and the *Athenians* (for they had word sent them of it, came and saw; and the businesse of the *Chians* grew more apparent. After they went thence, they tooke order presently, that the Fleet might not passe from *Cenebrea* vndiscovered. And after the Holidayes were ouer, the *Corinthians* put to Sea for *Chius*, vnder the conduct of *Alcamenes*. And the *Athenians* at first, with equall number came vp to them, and endeououred to draw them out into the maine Sea. But seeing the *Peloponnesians* followed not farre, but
 B turned another way, the *Athenians* went also from them. For the seuen Gallies of *Chius*, which were part of this number, they durst not trust. But afterwards hauing manned thirty seuen others, they gaue chase to the Enemy by the shore, and draue them into *Piræus*, in the Territorie of *Corinth*, (this *Piræus* is a desert Hauen, and the vtmoit vpon the Confinnes of *Epidauria*.) One Gallie that was farre from Land, the *Peloponnesians* lost, the rest they brought together into the Hauen. But the *Athenians* charging them by Sea with their Gallies, and withall setting
 C their men aland, mightily troubled and disordered them, brake their Gallies vpon the shore, and slew *Alcamenes* their Commander. And some they lost of their owne.

The fight being ended, they assigned a sufficient number of Gallies to lye opposite to those of the Enemy, and the rest to lye vnder a little Island, not farre off, in which also they encamped, and sent to *Athens* for supply. For the *Peloponnesians* had with them for ayde of their Gallies, the *Corinthians* the next day, and not long after, diuers others
 D of the Inhabitants thereabouts. But when they considered that the guarding of them in a desert place would be painefull, they knew not what course to take, and once they thought to haue set the Gallies on fire; but it was concluded afterwards to draw them to the Land, and guard them with their Land-men, till some good occasion should bee offered for their escape. And *Agis* also, when he heard the newes, sent vnto them *Thermon*, a *Spartan*.

The *Lacedæmonians* hauing beene aduertised of the departure of these Gallies from the *Isthmus*, (for the *Ephores* had commanded *Alcamenes*, when he put to Sea, to send him

The *Athenians* drawe the rest of their Gallies into *Piræus*, a desert Hauen, and there besiege them.

The voyage of *Charicles* and *Alcander* to *Chius*.

word by a Horseman) were minded presently to haue sent away the fise Gallies also that were in *Laconia*, and *Chalcidius* the Commander of them, and with him *Alcibiades*; but afterwards, as they were ready to goe out, came the newes of the Gallies chased into *Peireus*: which so much discouraged them, in respect they stumbled in the very entrance of the *Ionique* Warre, that they purposed now, not onely not to send away those Gallies of their owne, but also to call backe againe some of those that were already at Sea.

When *Alcibiades* saw this, he dealt with *Endius*, and the rest of the *Ephores* againe, not to feare the Voyage, allea-
ging that they would make haste, and be there before the *Chians* should haue heard of the misfortune of the Fleet. And that as soone as he should arriue in *Ionia* himselfe, he could easily make the Cities there to reuolt, by declaring vnto them the weaknesse of the *Athenians*, and the diligence of the *Lacedemonians*, wherein he should be thought more worthy to bee belieued then any other. Moreouer to *Endius* hee said, that it would be an honour in particular to him, that *Ionia* should reuolt, and the King be made Con-
federate to the *Lacedemonians*, by his owne meanes, and not to haue it the mastery of *Agis*, for he was at difference with *Agis*. So, hauing preuailed with *Endius* and the o-
ther *Ephores*, he tooke Sea with 5 Gallies, together with *Chalcidius* of *Lacedemon*, and made haste.

About the same time, came backe from *Sicily* those 16 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, which hauing ayded *Gylippus* in that Warre, were intercepted by the way, about *Leucadia*, and euill intreated by twenty seuen Gallies of *Athens*, that watched thereabouts, vnder the command of *Hippocles* the sonne of *Menippus*, for such Gallies as should returne out of *Sicily*. For all the rest, sauing one, auoyding the *Athenians*, were arriued in *Corinth* before.

Chalcidius and *Alcibiades*, as they sayled, kept prisoner euery man they met with by the way, to the end that notice might not be giuen of their passage, and touching first at *Corycus* in the Continent, where they also dismissed those whom they had apprehended, after conference there with some of the Conspirators of the *Chians*, that aduised them to goeto the Citie, without sending them word before, they came vpon the *Chians* suddenly and vnexpected. It
put

Sixteene Gallies of *Peloponnesians* intercepted, and hardly handled, in their returne from *Sicily*, by the *Athenians* arriue in *Corinth*.

A put the *Commons* into much wonder and astonishment, but the *Few* had so ordered the matter beforehand, that an Assembly chanced to be holden at the same time. And when *Chalcidians*, and *Alcibiades* had spoken in the same, and told them that many Gallies were comming to them, but not that those other Gallies were besieged in *Peiræus*, the *Chians* first, and afterwards the *Erythreans*, revolted from the *Athenians*.

Chius and Erythra revolt.

After this, they went with three Gallies to *Clazomenæ*, and made that City to revolt also. And the *Clazomenians* presently crossed over to the Continent, and there fortified *Polichna*, lest they should need a retyring place from the little Island wherein they dwelt. The rest also, all that had revolted, fell to fortifying, and making of preparation for the Warre.

Clazomenæ revolteth.

This newes of *Chius* was quickly brought to the *Athenians*, who conceiuing themselves to be now beset with great and euident danger, and that the rest of the Confederates, seeing so great a City to revolt, would be no longer quiet, in this their present feare, decreed that those * 1000 Talents, which through all this Warre, they had affected to keepe vntouched, forthwith abrogating the punishment ordained for such, as spake or gaue their suffrages to stirre it, should now be vsed, and therewith Gallies, not a few, manned. They decreed also to send thither out of hand, vnder the command of *Strombichides* the sonne of *Diotimus*, 8 Gallies, of the number of those that besieged the Enemy at *Peiræus*, the which, hauing forsaken their charge to giue chase to the Gallies that went with *Chalcidians*, and and not able to ouertake them, were now returned, and shortly after also to send *Thrasicles* to help the with 12 Gallies more, which also had departed from the same guard vpon the Enemy. And those 7 Gallies of *Chius*, which likewise kept watch at *Peiræus* with the rest, they fetched from thence, and gaue the bondmen that serued in them their liberty, and the chaynes to those that were free. And in stead of all those Gallies, that kept guard vpon the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, they made ready other with all speed in their places, besides 30 more which they intended to furnish out afterwards. Great was their diligence, and nothing was of light importance, that they went about for the recovery of *Chius*.

The *Athenians* abrogate the decree touching the 1000 Talents reserved for the extremities of State, and furnish out a Fleet with the money. * 187500 pounds sterling.

Strom-

Strombichides in the meane time arriued at *Samos*, and taking into his company, one *Samian* Gally, went thence to *Teus*, and entreated them not to stirre. But towards *Teus*, was *Chalcideus* also comming with 23 Gallies from (*Chius*, and with him also the Land-forces of the *Clazomenians*, and *Erythraeans*, whereof *Strombichides* hauing been aduertized, he put forth againe, before his arriual, and standing off at Sea, when he saw the many Gallies that came from (*Chius*, he fled towards *Samos*, they following him. The Land-forces, the *Teans* would not at the first admit, but after this flight of the *Athenians*, they brought them in. And these for the most part held their hands for a while, expecting the returne of *Chalcideus* from the chase; but when he stayed somewhat long, they fell of themselues to the demolishing of the wall built about the Citie of *Teus*, by the *Athenians*, towards the Continent; wherein they were also helped by some few *Barbarians* that came downe thither, vnder the leading of *Tages*, Deputy Lieutenant of *Tisaphernes*.

Chalcideus, and *Alcibiades*, when they had chased *Strombichides* into *Samos*, armed the Mariners that were in the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and left them in (*Chius*, in stead of whom they manned with Mariners of (*Chius*, both those, and 20 Gallies more, and with this Fleet they went to *Miletus*, with intent to cause it to reuolt. For the intention of *Alcibiades*, that was acquainted with the principall *Milesians*, was to preuent the Fleet which was to come from *Peloponnesus*, and to turne these Cities first, that the honour of it might be ascribed to the *Chians*, to himselfe, to *Chalcideus*, and (as he had promised) to *Endius*, that set them out, as hauing brought most of the Cities to reuolt, with the Forces of the *Chians* onely, and of those Gallies that came with *Chalcideus*. So these, for the greatest part of their way vndiscovered, and arriuing, not much sooner then *Strombichides*, and *Thrasicles*, (who now chancing to be present with those 12 Gallies from *Athens*, followed them with *Strombichides*) caused the *Milesians* to reuolt. The *Athenians* following them at the heeles with 19 Gallies, being shut out by the *Milesians*, lay at Anchor at *Lada*, an Island ouer against the City.

Presently vpon the reuolt of *Miletus*, was made the first League

Teus reuolteth.

Miletus reuolteth.

E

A League betweene the King, and the Lacedæmonians by Tisſaphernes and Chalcideus, as followeth.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, haue made a League with the King and Tiſſaphernes, on theſe Articles.

League betweene Tiſſaphernes and the Lacedæmonians,

Whatſoeuer Territory or Cities the King poſſeſſeth, and his Anceſtors haue poſſeſſed, the ſame are to remaine the Kings.

Whatſoeuer money or other profit redounded to the Athenians from their Cities, the King, and the Lacedæmonians are ioynly to hinder, ſo as the Athenians may receiue nothing from thence,

B *neither money nor other thing.*

The King and the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, are to make ioynly Warre againſt the Athenians. And without conſent of both parts, it ſhall not be lawfull to lay downe the Warre againſt the Athenians, neither for the King, nor for the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates.

If any ſhall reuolt from the King, they ſhall be enemies to the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates. And if any ſhall reuolt from the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, they ſhall in like manner be enemies to the King.

C This was the League.

Preſently after this, the Chians ſet out ten Gallies more, and went to Anæa, both to hearken what became of the buſineſſe at Miletus, and alſo to cauſe the Cities there, abouts to reuolt. But word being ſent them from Chalcideus, to goe backe, and that Amorges was at hand with his Army, they went thence to the Temple of Iupiter. Being therethey deſcryed 16 Gallies more, which had beene ſent out by the Athenians vnder the charge of Diomedon, after the putting to Sea of thoſe with Thraſycles, vpon ſight of whom they fled, one Gally to Ephesus, the reſt towards Teos. Foure of them, the Athenians tooke, but empty, the men being gotten on Shore; the reſt eſcaped into the City of Teos. And the Athenians went away againe towards Samos.

D

The Chians putting to Sea againe, with the remainder of their Fleet, and with the Land-forces, cauſed firſt Lebedus to reuolt, and then Ere. And afterwards returned, both with their Fleet and Land-men, euery one to his owne.

Lebedus and Ere reuolt.

E About the ſame time, the twenty Gallies of Peloponneſus, which the Athenians had formerly chaſed into Peiræus, and

The Peloponneſians in Peiræus eſcape.

Astyocheus Admirall of the
Peloponnesians.

Tissaphernes razeth the re-
mainder of the *Athenian*
Wall at *Teos*.

* The Nobility of *Samos*, fo-
cal eo, for that they shared
the Land amongst them.

The *Chians* endeavour to
turne *Lesbos* from the *A-*
thenians to the *Lacedæmo-*
nians, with their single po-
wer, and could first *Ase-*
thymna then *Mytilene* to
reuoit.

* It seemeth that some-
thing is here wanting,
and supplied thus by
Tran. Porta [Then the *Chi-*
ans, having foure Gallies
went for guard of the place,
went to *Mytilene* with the
rest, and caused this City also
to reuoit.]

and against whom they now lay with a like number, sud- A
denly forced their passage, and hauing the victory in fight,
tooke foure of the *Athenian* Gallies, and going to *Cenchreae*,
prepared afresh for their voyage to *Chius* and *Ionis*. At
which time there came also vnto them from *Lacedæmon*,
for Commander, *Astyocheus*, who was now Admirall of the
whole Nauy.

When the Land-men were gone from *Teos*, *Tissaphernes*
himselfe came thither with his Forces, and he also demo-
lished the Wall, as much as was left standing, and went
his way againe.

Not long after the going away of him, came thither B
Diomedon with tenne Gallies of *Athens*, and hauing made
a Truce with the *Teians*, that he might also bee receiued,
he put to Sea againe, and kept the shore to *Ere*, and assaul-
ted it, but failing to take it, departed.

It fell out about the same time, that the Commons of
Samos, together with the *Athenians* who were there with
three Gallies, made an insurrection against the great men,
and slew of them in all about two hundred. And hauing
banished foure hundred more, and distributed amongst C
themselues their Lands and Houses, the *Athenians* hauing
now, as assured of their fidelity, decreed them their liber-
ty) they administred the affaires of the Citie from that
time forward, by themselues, no more communicating
with the * *Geomori*, nor permitting any of the Common
people to marry with them.

After this, the same Summer, the *Chians*, as they had
begunne, perseuering in their earnestnesse to bring the Ci-
ties to reuoit, euen without the *Lacedæmonians*, with their
single forces, and desiring to make as many fellowses of D
their danger, as they were able, made Warre by themselues
with thirteene Gallies, against *Lesbos*, (which was accord-
ing to what was concluded by the *Lacedæmonians*, namely
to goe thither in the second place, and thence into the *Hel-*
lespont.) And withall, the Land-forces, both of such *Pe-*
loponnesians as were present, and of their Confederates
thereabouts, went along by them to *Clazomena* and *Cyme*.
These vnder the command of *Eualas* a *Spartan*, and the
Gallies, of *Deiniadas*, a man of the parts thereabouts. The
Gallies putting in at *Methymna*, caused that Citie to re- E
uoit first. * * * * *

The

A Now *Astyochus* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, hauing set forth as he intended from *Cenchrae*, arriued at *Chius*. The third day after his comming thither, came *Leon* and *Dionedon* into *Lesbos*, with 25 Gallies of *Athens*; for *Leon* came with a supply of tenne Gallies more, from *Athens* afterwards. *Astyochus* in the euening of the same day, taking with him one Gally more of *Chius*, tooke his way toward *Lesbos*, to helpe it what he could, and put in at *Pyrrha*, and the next day at *Eressus*. Here he heard that *Mitylene* was taken by the *Athenians*, euen with the shout of their voyces. For the *Athenians* comming v unexpected, entred the Hauen, and hauing beaten the Gallies of the *Chians*, disbarked, and ouercame those that made head against them, and wonne the Citie. When *Astyochus* heard this, both from the *Eressians*, and from those *Chian* Gallies that came from *Methymna* with *Eubulus*, (which hauing beene left there before, as soone as *Mitylene* was lost, fled, and three of them chanced to meete with him, for one was taken by the *Athenians*) he continued his course for *Mitylene* no longer, but hauing caused *Eressus* to reuolt, and armed the Souldiers he had aboard, made them to march toward *Antissa* and *Methymna* by Land, vnder the conduct of *Eleonicus*, and he himselfe with his owne Gallies, and those 3. of *Chius*, rowed thither along the shore, hoping that the *Methymneans*, vpon sight of his Forces, would take heart, and continue in their reuolt. But when in *Lesbos* all things went against him, he reimbarqued his Army, and returned to *Chios*. And the Landmen that were aboard, and should haue gone into *Hellepont*, went againe into their Cities. After this came to them fixe Gallies to *Chios*, of those of the Confederate Fleet at *Cenchrae*. The *Athenians*, when they had reestablished the State of *Lesbos*, went thence, and tooke *Polichna*, which the *Clazomenians* had fortified in the Continent, and brought them all backe againe into the Citie, which is in the Iland, saue onely the authors of the reuolt, (for these got away to *Daphnus*) and *Clazomena* returned to the obedience of the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* recover *Mitylene*.

Astyochus seeing hee could doe no good at *Lesbos*, returned to *Chios*.

The *Athenians* recover *Clazomena*.

Chalcideus slayes.

The same Summer, those *Athenians* that with twenty Gallies lay in the Ile of of *Lada*, before *Miletus*, landing in the Territory of *Miletus*, at *Panormus*, slew *Chalcideus* the *Lacedemonian* Commander, that came out against him but with a few; and set vp a Trophie, and the third

day after departed. But the *Milesians* pulled downe A
the *Trophic*, as erected where the *Athenians* were not
Masters.

The *Athenians* make
sharp war vpon *Chios*.

Leon and *Diomedon*, with the *Athenian Gallies* that were
at *Lesbos*, made Warre vpon the *Chians* by Sea, from the
Iles called *Oinussa*, which lye before *Chios*, and from *Sidus-*
sa, and *Pteleum* (Forts they held in *Erythraea*) and from *Les-*
bos. They that were aboard, were men of Armes of the
Roll, compelled to serue in the Fleet. With these they
landed at *Cardamyle*; and hauing ouerthrowne the *Chians*
that made head, in a Battell at *Bolisus*, and slaine many of B
them, they recouered from the Enemy all the places of
that quarter. And againe they ouercame them in another
Battell at *Phanae*, and in a third at *Leuconium*. After this, the
Chians went out no more to fight; by which meanes the
Athenians made spoile of their Territory, excellently well
furnished. For except it were the *Lacedaemonians*, the *Chi-*
ans were the onely men that I haue heard of, that had ioy-
ned aduisednesse to prosperity, and the more their Citie
increased, had carried the more respect in the administra-
tion thereof to assure it. Nor ventured they now to reuolt C
(lest any man should thinke, that in this act at least they
regarded not what was the safest) till they had many and
strong Confederates, with whose helpe to try their for-
tune; nor till such time as they perceiued the People of
Athens (as they themselues could not deny) to haue their
estate, after the defeat in *Sicily*, reduced to extreme weak-
nesse.

Praise of the *Chians*.

And if through humane misreckoning, they miscar-
ryed in ought, they erred with many others, who in like
manner had an opinion, that the State of the *Athenians* D
would quickly haue beene ouerthrowne.

Beeing therefore shut vp by Sea, and hauing their
Lands spoyled, some within vndertooke to make the
Citie returne vnto the *Athenians*. Which though the
Magistrates perceiued, yet they themselues stirred not,
but hauing receiued *Astyochus* into the City, with foure
Gallies that were with him from *Erythrae*, they tooke ad-
uice together, how by taking Hostages, or some other
gentle way, to make them giue over the Conspiracy. Thus
stood the businesse with the *Chians*.

In the end of this Summer (a thousand five hundred
men

E

A men of Armes of *Athens*, and a thousand of *Argos* (for the *Athenians* had put Armour vpon five hundred Light-armed of the *Argiues*) and of other Confederates a thousand more, with forty eight Gallies, reckoning those which were for transportation of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Phrynichus*, *Onomacles*, and *Scironidas*, came in to *Samos*, and crossing ouer to *Miletus*, encamped before it. And the *Milesians* issued forth with eight hundred men of Armes of their owne, besides the *Peloponnesians* that came with *Chalcideus*, and some auxiliar strangers with *Tissaphernes*, (Tissaphernes himselfe being also there with his Caualtery) and fought with the *Athenians* and their Confederates. The *Argiues*, who made one Wing of themselves, aduancing before the rest, and in some disorder in contempt of the enemy, as being *Ionians*, and not likely to sustaine their charge, were by the *Milesians* overcome, and lost no lesse then 300 of their men. But the *Athenians*, when they had first ouerthrowne the *Peloponnesians*, and then beaten backe the *Barbarians* and other multitude, and not fought with the *Milesians* at all, (for they, after they were come from the chase of the *Argiues*, and saw their other Wing defeated, went into the Towne) sate downe with their Armes, as being now masters of the Field, close vnder the Wall of the Citie. It fell out in this Battell, that on both sides the *Ioniques* had the better of the *Doriques*. For the *Athenians* ouercame the opposite *Peloponnesians*, and the *Milesians* the *Argiues*. The *Athenians*, after they had erected their Trophy, the place being an *Isthmus*, prepared to take in the Towne with a Wall; supposing if they got *Miletus*, the other Cities would easily come in. In the meane time it was told them about twi-light, that the five and fifty Gallies from *Peloponnesus* and *Sicily* were hard by, and onely not already come. For there came into *Peloponnesus* out of *Sicily*, by the instigation of *Hermocrates*, to helpe to consummate the subuersion of the *Athenian* State, twenty Gallies of *Syracuse*, and two of *Selinus*. And the Gallies that had bene preparing in *Peloponnesus* beeing then also ready, they were, both these and the other, committed to the charge of *Theramenes*, to bee conducted by him to *Astyochus* the Admirall. And they put in first at *Eleus*, an Island ouer against *Miletus*, and beeing aduertised there, that the *Athenians* lay before the Towne,

they

The *Athenians* held on the *Milesians*, and began to besiege the City.

The *Athenians* rise from *Miletus*, vpon the coming of 55 Gallies from *Peloponnesus*.

they went from thence into the Gulfe of *Iasus*, to learne **A**
 how the affaires of the *Milesians* stood. *Alcibiades* comming
 a horsebacke to *Teichiussa*, of the Territory of *Miletus*, in
 which part of the Gulfe the *Peloponnesian* Gallies lay at
 Anchor, they were informed by him of the Battell; for
Alcibiades was with the *Milesians*, and with *Tissaphernes* pre-
 sent in it. And he exhorted them (vnlesse they meant to
 lose what they had in *Ionia*; and the whole businesse) to
 succour *Miletus* with all speed, and not to suffer it to be ta-
 ken in with a Wall. According to this they concluded to
 goe the next morning and relieue it. *Phrynichus*, when hee **B**
 had certaine word from *Derus*, of the arrivall of those Gal-
 lies, his Colleagues advising to stay, and fight it out with
 their Fleet, said, that he would neither do it himselfe, nor
 suffer them to doe it, or any other, as long as he could hin-
 der it. For seeing he might fight with the hereafter, when
 they should know against how many Gallies of the Ene-
 my, & with what addition to their owne, sufficiently, and
 at leasure made ready, they might do it; he would neuer, he
 said, for feare of being vpbraided with basenesse, (for it was
 no basenesse for the *Athenians* to let their Nauy giue way **C**
 vpon occasion; but by what meanes soeuer it should fall
 out, it would be a great basenesse to be beaten) be swayed
 to hazard battell against reason, and not only to dishonour
 the State, but also to cast it into extreme danger. Seeing
 that, since their late losses, it hath scarce beene fit, with
 their strongest preparation, willingly, no nor vrged by
 precedent necessity, to vndertake, how then without con-
 straint to seeke out voluntary dangers? Therefore he com-
 manded them with all speede to take aboard those that
 were wounded, and their Land-men, and whatsoeuer **V. D**
 tenfiles they brought with them, but to leaue behind what-
 soeuer they had taken in the territory of the Enemy, to the
 end that their Gallies might be the lighter, and to put off
 for *Samos*, and thence, when they had all their Fleete to-
 gether to make out against the Enemy, as occasion should
 be offered.

As *Phrynichus* advised this, so he put it in execution, and
 was esteemed a wise man, not then onely, but afterwards,
 nor in this onely, but in whatsoeuer else he had the orde-
 ring of. Thus the *Athenians* presently in the euening, with **E**
 their victory vnperfect, dislodged from before *Miletus*.
 From

A From *Samos*, the *Argives* in haste, and in anger for their overthrow, went home.

The *Peloponnesians* setting forth betimes in the morning from *Teichiussa*, put in at *Miletus*, and stayed there one day. The next day they tooke with them those Gallies of *Cornus*, which had formerly been chased together with *Chalcidens*, and meant to haue returned to *Teichiussa*, to take aboard such necessities as they had left a Shore; But as they were going, *Tissaphernes* came to them with his Landmen, and perswaded them to set vpon *Iasus*, where *Amorges* the *Kings* Enemy then lay. Whereupon they assailed *Iasus* vpon a sodaine, and (they within not thinking but they had been the Fleet of the *Athenians*) tooke it. The greatest praise in this action was given to the *Syracussians*. Hauing taken *Amorges*, the bastard sonne of *Pissuthnes*, but a Rebelle to the King, the *Peloponnesians* deliuered him to *Tissaphernes*, to carry him, if he would, to the King, as he had order to doe. The City they pillaged, wherein, as being a place of ancient riches, the Army got a very great quantity of money. The auxiliary Souldiers of

B *Amorges*, they receiued, without doing them hurt, into their owne Army, being for the most part *Peloponnesians*. The Towne it selfe they deliuered to *Tissaphernes*, with all the prisoners, as well free, as bond, vpon composition with him, at a Darique stater by the poll. And so they returned to *Miletus*. And from hence they sent *Pedarithus* the sonne of *Leon*, whom the *Lacedemonians* had sent hither to be Gouvernour of *Chius*, to *Erythrae*, and with him, the bands that had ayded *Amorges*, by Land, and made *Philip* Gouvernour there, in *Miletus*. And so this Summer ended.

D The next Winter *Tissaphernes*, after he had put a Garrison into *Iasus*, came to *Miletus*, and for one moneths pay, (as was promised on his part at *Lacedemon*) he gaue vnto the Souldiers through the whole Fleet after an Attique * Drachma a man by the day. But for the rest of the time he would pay but * 3 oboles, till he had asked the Kings pleasure; and if the King commanded it, then he said he would pay them the full Drachma. Neuertheless vpon the contradiction of *Hermocrates* Generall of the *Syracussians* (for *Theramenes* was but slacke in exacting pay, as not being Generall, but onely to deliuer the Gallies that came

The *Peloponnesians* and *Tissaphernes* take *Iasus*, wherein was *Amorges*, the bastard sonne of the King, whom they take prisoner.

The end of the 20 Summer.

* 7 pence halfe penny, of our money.

* 3 pence halfe penny farthing. This diminution of their stipend, proceeded from the counsell which *Alcibiades* gaue to *Tissaphernes*, as is hereafter declared.

came with him, to *Astyochus*.) It was agreed that but for **A** the * five Gallies that were ouer and aboue, they should haue more then 3 oboles a man. For to 55 Gallies, he allowed three Talents a moneth, and to as many, as should be more then that number, after the same proportion.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were at *Samos*, (for there were now come in 35 Gallies more from home, with *Charminus*, *Strombichides*, and *Euctemon*, their Commanders) hauing gathered together their Gallies, as well those that had been at *Chius*, as all the rest, concluded, distributing to euery one his charge by Lot, to goe lye before *Miletus* with **B** a Fleet, but against *Chius*, to send out both a Fleet, and an Army of Landmen. And they did so. For *Strombichides*, *Onomacles*, and *Euctemon*, with thirty Gallies, and part of those 1000 men of Armes that went to *Miletus*, which they caried along with them in vessels for transportation of Souldiers, according to their Lot, went to *Chius*, and the rest remaining at *Samos* with 74 Gallies, were Masters of the Sea, and went to *Miletus*.

Astyochus, who was now in *Chius*, requiring Hostages in respect of the Treason, after he heard of the Fleet that was come with *Thestamenes*, and that the Articles of the **C** League with *Tissaphernes* were mended, gaue ouer that business; and with 10 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and 10 of *Chius*, went thence, and assaulted *Pteleum*, but not being able to take it, he kept by the Shore to *Clazomena*. There hee summoned those within to yeeld, with offer to such of them as fauoured the *Athenians*, that they might go vp and dwell at *Daphnus*. And *Tamos* the Deputy Lieutenant of *Ionis*, offered them the same. But they not hearkning thereunto, he made an assault vpon the Citie being vnwalled, but when he could not take it, he put to Sea againe, **D** and with a mighty Wind, was himselfe carried to *Phocæa*, and *Cyme*, but the rest of the Fleet put in at *Marathusa*, *Pele*, and *Drimysa*, Islands that lye ouer against *Clazomena*. After they had stayed there 8 dayes in regard of the Winds, spoyling and destroying, and partly taking aboard whatsoever goods of the *Clazomenians* lay without, they went afterwards to *Phocæa*, and *Cyme*, to *Astyochus*. While *Astyochus* was there, the Ambassadors of the *Lesbians* came vnto him, desiring to reuolt from the *Athenians*, and as for **E** him, they preuailed with him, but seeing the *Corinthians* and

* They had been due Gallies 150, that is, out 50 at 1000000 50, their pay had been 2 oboles a man, at 3 Talents to the 50 Gallies for a moneth. Qu how many men paid in a Gally, it is not said but 18.

The Athenians send part of the Fleet, against *Chius*, and part against *Miletus*.

Astyochus goeth from *Chius* to *Clazomena*, thence to *Phocæa*, and *Cyme*.

The *Lesbians* offer to turne to *Astyochus*.

A and the other Confederates were vnwilling, in respect of their former ill successe there, hee put to Sea for *Chius*. Whither, after a great Tempest, his Gallies, some from one place, and some from another, at length arriued all.

After this, *Pedaritus*, who was now at *Erythrae*, whither he was come from *Miletus* by Land, came ouer with his Forces into *Chius*. Besides those Forces hee brought ouer with him, he had the Souldiers which were of the five Gallies that camethither with *Chalcideus*, and were left there to the number of five hundred, and Armour to Armethem.

Now some of the *Lesbians* hauing promised to reuolt, *Astyochus* communicated the matter with *Pedaritus* and the *Chians*, alleaging how meete it would be to goe with a Fleet, and make *Lesbos* to reuolt, for that they should eyther get more Confederates, or sayling, they should at least weaken the *Athenians*. But they gaue him no eare; and for the *Chian* Gallies, *Pedaritus* told him plainely, he should haue none of them. Whereupon *Astyochus* taking with him five Gallies of *Corinth*, a sixth of *Megara*, one of *Hermione*, and those of *Laconia* which he brought with him, went towards *Miletus* to his Charge; mightily threatening the *Chians*, in case they should neede him, not to helpe them.

When he was come to *Corycus* in *Erythrae*, hee stayed there; and the *Athenians* from *Samos* lay on the other side of the point, the one not knowing that the other was so neere. *Astyochus*, vpon a Letter sent him from *Pedaritus*, signifying that there were come certaine *Erythraean* Captiues dismissed from *Samos*, with designe to betray *Erythrae*, went presently backe to *Erythrae*, so little he misied of falling into the hands of the *Athenians*. *Pedaritus* also went ouer to him, and hauing narrowly enquired touching these seeming Traytors, and found that the whole matter was but a pretence, which the men had vsed for their escape from *Samos*, they acquitted them, and departed, one to *Chius*, the other, as hee was going before, towards *Miletus*.

In the meane time, the Army of the *Athenians* beeing come about by Sea from *Corycus*, to *Argenum*, lighted on three long Boats of the *Chians*, which when they saw, they presently

Astyochus, and *Pedaritus*
the Gouvernour of *Chius*
disagrec.

The *Athenian* Gallies rescued with Tempest.

presently chased. But there arose a great Tempest, and A the long Boats of *Chius* with much adoe recovered the Harbour. But of the *Athenian* Gallies, especially such as followed them furthest, there perished three, driven ashore at the Citie of *Chius*; and the men that were aboard them, were part taken, and part slaine; the rest of the Fleet escaped into a Haven called *Phenicus*, vnder the Hill *Mimas*; from whence they got afterwards to *Lisbos*, and there fortified.

The *Athenians* take the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, sent to waite in the Ships of Corne from *Egypt* to *Cnidus*.

The same Winter, *Hippocrates* setting out from *Peloponnesus* with tenne Gallies of *Thurium*, commanded by *Dorieus* B the sonne of *Diagoras*, with two others, and with one Gallie of *Laconia*, and one of *Syracuse*, went to *Cnidus*. This City was now revolted from *Tissaphernes*: and the *Peloponnesians* that lay at *Miletus* hearing of it, commanded that (the one halfe of their Gallies remaining for the guard of *Cnidus*) the other halfe should goe about *Triopium*, and help to bring in the Ships which were to come from *Egypt*. This *Triopium* is a Promontory of the Territory of *Cnidus*, lying out in the Sea, and consecrated to *Apollo*. The *Athenians*, vpon aduertisement hereof, setting forth from *Samos*, C tooke those Gallies that kept guard at *Triopium*, but the men that were in them escaped to Land. After this they went to *Cnidus*, which they assaulted, and had almost taken, being without Wall; and the next day they assaulted it againe; but being lesse able to hurt it now then before, because they had fenced it better this night, and the men also were gotten into it, that fled from their Gallies vnder *Triopium*, they inuaded and wasted the *Cnidian* Territory, and so went backe to *Samos*.

They assault the City of *Cnidus*, but cannot win it.

About the same time, *Astyochus* being come to the Nauy D at *Miletus*, the *Peloponnesians* had plenty of all things for the Army. For they had not onely sufficient pay, but the Souldiers also had store of money yet remaining of the pillage of *Iasus*. And the *Milefians* vnderwent the Warre with a good will. Neuerthelesse the former Articles of the League made by *Chalcideus* with *Tissaphernes* seemed defectiue, and not so aduantageous to them as to him. Whereupon they agreed to new ones, in the presence of *Tissaphernes*, which were these.

E

A *The Agreement of the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, with King Darius and his children, and with Tislaghernes, for league and amity, according to the Articles following.*

The second League betwene the Lacedæmonians and the King of Persia.

Whatsoever Territories or Cities doe belong vnto King Darius, or were his Fathers, or his Ancestours, Against those shall neither the Lacedæmonians goe to make Warre, nor any way to annoy them. Neither shall the Lacedæmonians, nor their Confederates, exact Tribute of any of those Cities. Neither shall King Darius, nor any vnder his Dominion, make Warre vpon, or any way annoy the Lacedæmonians, or any of the Lacedæmonian Confederates.

B *If the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates shall neede any thing of the King, or the King of the Lacedæmonians, or of their Confederates, what they shall perswade each other to doe, that if they doe it, shall be good.*

They shall, both of them, make Warre ioyntly against the Athenians and their Confederates; And when they shall giue over the Warre, they shall also doe it ioyntly.

Whatsoever Army shall be in the Kings Countrey, sent for by the King, the King shall defray.

C *If any of the Cities comprehended in the League made with the King, shall inuade the Kings Territories, the rest shall oppose them, and defend the King to the utmost of their power.*

If any Citie of the Kings, or vnder his Dominion, shall inuade the Lacedæmonians, or their Confederates, the King shall make opposition, and defend them, to the utmost of his power.

D *After this accord made, Theramenes deliuered his Gallies into the hands of Astyochus, and putting to Sea in a Light-horseman, is no more seene.*

Theramenes goeth to Sea in a Light-horseman, and is cast away.

*The Athenians that were now come with their Armie from Lesbos to Chius, and were Masters of the Field, and of the Sea, fortified Delphinium, a place both strong to the Land-ward, and that had also a Harbour for Shipping, and was not farre from the Citie it selfe of Chi-
us. And the Chians, as hauing beene disheartned in diuers former Battels, and otherwise, not onely, not mutually well affected, but iealous one of another, (for Tydeus
E and his Complices; had bin put to death by Pedaritus for Aticisme, and the rest of the City was kept in awe, but by*

The Chians in distresse, send for ayde to Astyochus.

Astyochns refuseth to ayde them, and is complained on by *Pedartus* his Letters to the State.

The Gallies that were provided for *Pharnabazus* set forth towards *Jonia*.

Antisthenes and 11 other Spartans sent with absolute authority into *Jonia*.

force, and for a time) stirred not against them. And for ^A the causes mentioned, not conceiving themselves, neither with their owne strength, nor with the helpe of those that *Pedartus* had with him, sufficient to giue them battell, they sent to *Miletus*, to require aide from *Astyochns*. Which when he denyed them, *Pedartus* sent Letters to *Lacedæmon*, complaining of the wrong. Thus proceeded the affaires of the *Athenians* at *Chius*. Also their Fleet at *Samos* went often out, against the Fleet of the Enemy at *Miletus*; but when theirs would neuer come out of the Harbour to encounter them, they returned to *Samos*, and lay still. ^B

The same Winter, about the Solstice, went out from *Peloponnesus* towards *Jonia*, those 27 Gallies, which at the procurement of *Calligetus* of *Megara*, and *Timagoras* of *Cyzicus*, were made ready by the *Lacedæmonians* for *Pharnabazus*. The Commander of them was *Antisthenes* a *Spartan*, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* sent eleuen Spartans more, to bee of counsell with *Astyochns*, whereof *Lichas* the sonne of *Arcefilas* was one. These had Commission, that when they should bee arriued at *Miletus*, besides their ^C generall care to order euery thing to the best, they should send away these Gallies, eyther the same, or more, or fewer, into the *Hellepont* to *Pharnabazus*, if they so thought fit, and and to appoint *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias*, that went along in them, for Commander. And that the same eleuen, if they thought it meete, should put *Astyochns* from his Charge, and ordaine *Antisthenes* in his place: for they had him in suspition for the Letters of *Pedartus*.

These Gallies holding their course from *Malea* ^D through the maine Sea, and arriuing at *Melos*, lighted on tenne Gallies of the *Athenians*, whereof three they tooke, but without the men, and fired them.

After this, because they feared lest those *Athenian* Gallies that escaped from *Melos*, should giue notice of their comming, to those in *Samos*, (as also it fell out) they changed their course, and went towards *Crete*, and hauing made their Voyage the longer, that it might be the safer, they put in at *Cannus* in *Asia*. Now from thence, as being in a place of safety, they sent a Messenger to the Fleet ^E at *Miletus* for a Conuoy.

They arrive at *Cannus* in *Asia*.

The

A The *Chians* and *Padaritus* about the same time, notwithstanding their former repulse, and that *Astyochus* was still backward, sent messengers to him, desiring him to come with his whole Fleet, to helpe them being besieged, and not to suffer the greatest of their Confederate Cities in all *Ionia*, to be thus shut vp by Sea, and rauaged by Land, as it was. For the *Chians* hauing many slaues, more then any one State, except that of the *Lacedemonians*, whom for their offences they the more vngently punished because of their number, many of them, as soone as the *Athenians* appeared to be settled in their fortifications, ran ouer presently to them, and were they, that knowing the territory so well, did it the greatest spoile. Therefore the *Chians* said he must helpe them, whilest there was hope and possibility to do it. *Delphinium* being still in fortifying, and vnfurnished, and greater fences being in making, both about their Campe and Fleet. *Astyochus* though he meant it not before, because he would haue made good his threats, yet when he saw the Confederates were willing, he was bent to haue relieved them.

C But in the meane time came the messenger from the 27 Gallies, and from the *Lacedemonian* Counsellours, that were come to *Caunus*. *Astyochus* therefore esteeming the wasting in of these Gallies, whereby they might the more freely command the Sea, and the safe comming in of those *Lacedemonians*, who were to looke into his actions, a businesse that ought to be preferred before all other, presently gaue ouer his journey for *Chiu*, and went towards *Caunus*.

D As he went by the Coast, he landed at *Cos Meropidis*, being vnwalled, and throwne downe by an Earth-quake, which had hapned there, the greatest verily in mans memorie, and rifled it, the Inhabitants being fled into the Mountaines; and ouerrunning the Countrey, made bootie of all that came in his way, sauing of freemen, and those he dismissed. From *Cos* he went by night to *Cnidus*: but found it necessary, by the aduice of the *Cnidians*, not to land his men there, but to follow, as he was, after those 20 Gallies of *Athens*, wherwith *Charminus* one of the *Athenian* Generals gone out frō *Samos*, stood watching for those 27 Gallies that were come from *Peloponnesus*, the same that *Astyochus* himselfe was going to conuoy in. For they at *Samos* had had intelligence from *Miletus* of their comming, and

The *Chians* desire to be
of *Astyochus*.

Astyochus is diuerted from
helping the *Chians*, and
goeth to wast in the 27
Gallies of *Peloponnesus*,
that lay at *Caunus*.

Charminus was lying for them about *Syme*, *Chalce*, *Rhodes*, *A* and the Coast of *Lycia*: For by this time hee knew that they were at *Caunus*. *Astyocheus* therefore desiring to outgoe the report of his comming, went as he was, to *Syme*, hoping to finde those Gallies out from the shore. But a shoure of raine, together with the cloudinesse of the Skie, made his Gallies to misse their course in the darke, and disordered them.

A fight betweene the Peloponnesian and Athenian Fleets, wherein the Athenians had the worse.

The next morning, the Fleet being scattered, the left Wing was manifestly discryed by the *Athenians*, whilest the rest wandred yet about the Island: And thereupon *B* *Charminus* and the *Athenians* put forth against them with twenty Gallies, supposiug they had bene the same Gallies they were watching for, from *Caunus*. And presently charging, sunke three of them, and hurt others, and were superiour in the fight, till such time as, contrary to their expectation, the greater part of the Fleet came in sight, and enclozed them about. Then they betooke themselves to flight, and with the losse of sixe Gallies, the rest escaped into the Island of *Teuglussa*; and from thence to *Hallicarnassus*.

After this the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Cnidus*, and ioyning with those seuen and twenty Gallies that came from *Caunus*, went all together to *Syme*, and hauing there erected a Trophie, returned againe, and lay at *Cnidus*. *C*

The *Athenians*, when they vnderstood what had passed in this battell went from *Samos* with their whole Nauie to *Syme*. But neither went they out against the Nauie in *Cnidus*, nor the Nauy there, against them. Whereupon they tooke vp the furniture of their Gallies at *Syme*, and assaulted *Loryma*, a Towne in the Continent, and so returned to *Samos*. *D*

Tissaphernes and the *Lacedaemonians* disagree about the Articles of their League.

The whole Nauy of the *Peloponnesians* being at *Cnidus*, was now in repaying, and refurnishing with such things as it wanted; and withall, those eleuen *Lacedaemonians* conferred with *Tissaphernes* (for hee also was present) touching such things as they disliked in the Articles before agreed on, and concerning the Warre, how it might bee carried for the future, in the best and most aduantagious manner for them both. But *Lychas* was he that considered the business most neerely, and said, that neither the first League, *E* nor yet the later by *Theramenes*, was made as it ought to haue

A have beene. And that it would be a very hard Condition, that whatſoeuer Territories the King and his Anceſtours poſſeſſed before, he ſhould poſſeſſe the ſame now: for ſo he might bring againe into ſubiection all the Iſlands, and the Sea, and the *Locrians*, and all as farre as *Bæotia*; and the *Lacedæmonians*, inſtead of reſtoring the *Grecians* into liberty, ſhould put them into ſubiection to the rule of the *Medes*. Therefore he required other and better Articles to bee drawne, and not to ſtand to theſe. As for pay, in the new Articles they would require none. But *Tiſſaphernes* chafing at this, went his way in choler, and nothing was done.

The *Peloponneſians* ſollicited by Meſſengers from the great men of *Rhodes*, reſolved to goe thither, becauſe they hoped it would not proue impoſſible, with their number of Seamen, and Army of Land-Souldiers, to bring that Iſland into their power; and withall ſuppoſed themſelues able, with their preſent Confederates to maintaine their Fleet, without asking money any more of *Tiſſaphernes*. Preſently therefore, the ſame Winter, they put forth from *Cnidus*, and arriuing in the Territory of *Rhodes*, at *Cameirus*, firſt frighted the Commons out of it, that knew not of the buſineſſe; and they fled. Then the *Lacedæmonians* called together both theſe, and the * *Rhodians* of the two Cities, *Lindus* and *Ielyſus*, and perſwaded them to reuolt from the *Athenians*. And *Rhodes* turned to the *Peloponneſians*. The *Athenians* at the ſame time hearing of their deſigne, put forth with their Fleet from *Samos*, deſiring to haue arriued before them, and were ſcene in the maine Sea, too late, though not much. For the preſent they went away to *D Chalce*, and thence backe to *Samos*, but afterwards they came forth with their Gallies diuers times, and made Warre againſt *Rhodes*, from *Chalce*, *Cos*, and *Samos*. Now the *Peloponneſians* did no more to the *Rhodians*, but leaue money amongſt them, to the ſumme of * thirty two Talents, and otherwiſe for foureſcore dayes that they lay there, hauing their Gallies haled aſhore, they meddled not.

In this time, as alſo before the going of the *Peloponneſians* to *Rhodes*, came to paſſe the things that follow.

E Alcibiades, after the death of *Chalcideus*, and Battell at *Miletus*, being ſuſpected by the *Peloponneſians*; and *Aſtyochus* hauing

Rhodes reuolreth to the *Peloponneſians*.

* The City of *Rhodes* was not then built.

* 6000 pounds ſterling.

Alcibiades flyeth to the *Phœnicians*, and croſſeth the buſineſſe of the *Peloponneſians*.

having receiued letters from them from *Lacedemon*, to put A
him to death (for he was an enemy to *Agis*, and also other-
wise not well trusted) retired to *Tissaphernes*, first for feare,
and afterwards to his power hindred the affaires of the
Peloponnesians. And being in euery thing his instructor, he
not only cut shorter their pay, inasmuch as from a * *Drach-*
ma, he brought it to 3 * oboles, and those also not continual-
ly paid; aduising *Tissaphernes* to tel them, how that the *Athe-*
nians, men of a long continued skill in Nauall affaires,
allowed but three oboles to their owne, not so much for
want of money, but lest the Mariners, some of them grow- B
ing insolent, by superfluity, should disable their bodies, by
spending their money on such things as would weaken
them, and others should quit the Gallies, with the arreare
of their pay in their Captaines hands for a pawne; but al-
so gaue counsell to *Tissaphernes*, to giue money to the Cap-
taines of the Gallies, and to the Generals of the seuerall
Cities (saue onely those of *Syracuse*) to giue way vnto
it. For *Hermocrates*, the Generall of the *Syracusians* was
the onely man, that in the name of the whole League
stood against it. And for the Cities that came to re- C
quire money, he would put them backe himselve, and
answer them in *Tissaphernes* his name, and say, namely to
the *Chians*, that they were impudent men, being the ri-
chelt of the *Grecian* States, and preserued by Strangers, to
expect neuerthelesse, that others, for their liberty, should
not only venture their persons, but maintaine them with
their purses. And to other States, that they did vniustly,
having laid out their mony before they reuolted, that they
might serue the *Athenians*, not to bestow as much, or more
now vpon themselues. And told them, that *Tissaphernes*, D
now he made Warre at his owne owne charges, had rea-
son to be sparing, but when money should come downe
from the *King*, he would then giue them their full pay,
and assilt the Cities as should be fit. Moreouer, he adu-
sed *Tissaphernes* not to be too hasty to make an end of the
Warre, nor to fetch in the *Phenician* Fleet which was ma-
king ready, nor take more men into pay, whereby to put
the whole power both by Sea and Land, into the hands of
one. But to let the Dominion remaine diuided into two,
that the *King*, when one side troubled him, might set vpon E
it with the other. Whereas the Dominion both by Sea
and

* 7 pence halfe penny.

* 3 pence halfe penny farthing.

He aduiseeth *Tissaphernes*
to shorten their pay.

And to corrupt the
Captaines.

The integrity of *Hermo-*
crates.

Alcibiades answereth in
Tissaphernes name, to the
Cities that call vpon him
for money, and puts
them off.

He counselleth *Tissapher-*
nes to prolong the War,
and afflict both sides.

A and Land being in one, he will want, by whom to pull downe those that hold it, vnlesse with great danger and cost, he should come and try it out himselfe. But thus the danger would be lesse chargeable (he being but at a small part of the cost,) and he should weare out the *Grecians* one against another, and himselfe in the meane time remaine in safety.

He said further, that the *Athenians* were fitter to partake dominion with him then the other, for that they were lesse ambitious of power by Land; and that their speeches
B and actions tended more to the *Kings* purpose: For that they would ioyne with him to subdue the *Grecians*, that is to say, for themselues, as touching the dominion by Sea, and for the *King*, as touching the *Grecians* in the *Kings* Territories. Whereas the *Lacedæmonians* on the contrary, were come to set them free. And it was not likely but that they that were come to deliuer the *Grecians* from the *Grecians*, will (if they ouercome the *Athenians*) deliuer them also from the *Barbarians*.

He gaue counsell therefore, first to weare them out
C both, and then, when he had clipped, as neere as he could, the wings of the *Athenians*, to dismisle the *Peloponnesians* out of his Countrey. And *Tisaphernes* had a purpose to doe accordingly, as farre as by his actions can be coniectured: For hereupon he gaue himselfe to beleue *Alciades*, as his best Countsellour in these affaires, and neither paid the *Peloponnesians* their wages, nor would suffer them to fight by Sea, but pretending the comming of the *Phœnician* Fleete, whereby they might afterwards fight with oddes, he ouerthrew their proceedings, and abated the
D vigour of their Nauy, before very puissant, and was in all things else more backward, then hee could possibly dissemble.

Now *Alciades* aduised the *King* and *Tisaphernes* to this, whilest he was with them, partly, because he thought the same to bee inded the best course but partly also, to make way for his owne returne into his Countrey: knowing, that if he destroyed it not, the time would one day come, that he might perswade the *Athenians* to recall him. And the best way to perswade them to it, he thought was this,
E to make it appeare vnto them, that he was powerfull with *Tisaphernes*. Which also came to passe. For after the

Athenian

He aduised him, of the two, to taoue the *Athenians*, the rather, as fitter to helpe subdue the *Grecians*.

Tisaphernes guided by the counsell of *Alciades*, hindred the successe of the *Peloponnesians*.

Alciades aymeth at his returne to *Athenis*, by making shew of his power with *Tisaphernes*.

Athenian Souldiers at *Samos* saw what power he had with A him, the Captaines of Gallies, and principall men there, partly vpon *Alcibiades* his owne motion, who had sent to the greatest amongst them, that they should remember him to the best sort, and say, that he desired to come home, so the gouernment might bee in the hands of a Few, not of *euill persons*, nor yet of the *Multitude* that cast him out; and that he would bring *Tissaphernes* to be their friend, and to warre on their side; but chiefly of their owne accords had their mindes enclined to the depoling of the popular gouernment. B

This businesse was set on foot first in the Campe, and from thence proceeded afterwards into the Citie. And certaine persons went ouer to *Alcibiades* out of *Samos*, and had conference with him. And when he had vndertaken to bring to their friendship, first *Tissaphernes*, and then the King, in case the Gouernment were taken from the People, (for then, he said, the King might the better rely vpon them) they that were of most power in the City, who also were the most toyled out, entred into great hope, both to haue the ordering of the State at home themselues, and C victory also ouer the enemy. And when they came backe to *Samos*, they drew all such as were for their purpose into an Oath of Conspiracie with themselues, and to the Multitude gaue it out openly, that if *Alcibiades* might be recalled, and the People put from the Gouernment, the King would turne their friend, and furnish them with Money. Though the Multitude were grieued with this proceeding for the present, yet for the great hope they had of the Kings pay, they stirred not.

But they that were setting vp the *Oligarchy*, when they D had communicated thus much to the Multitude, fell to consideration anew, and with more of their Complices, of the things spoken by *Alcibiades*. And the rest thought the matter easie, and worthy to be beleueed: but *Phrynichus*, who yet was Generall of the Army, liked it not, but thought (as the truth was) that *Alcibiades* cared no more for the *Oligarchy* then the *Democraci*, nor had any other ayme in it, but onely by altering the Gouernment that then was, to be called home by his associates. And said, they were especially to looke to this, that they did not mutiny for E the King, who could not very easily be induced (the Peloponnesians

Motion made for the recalling of *Alcibiades*, & depoling of the People.

Conspiracy in the Army at *Samos*, against the Democracy of Athens.

Phrynichus is against the recalling of *Alcibiades*.

Athenians being now as much masters at Sea as themselves, and having no small Cities within his Dominions) to ioyne with the Athenians, whom he trusted not, and to trouble himselfe, when he might haue the friendship of the Peloponnesians, that neuer did him hurt.

As for the Confederate Cities to whom they promise Oligarchy, in that they themselves doe put downe the Democracie, he said, he knew full well, that neyther those which were already revolted would the sooner returne to, nor those that remained, be euer the more confirmed in their obedience thereby. For they would neuer bee so willing to be in subiection, either to the Few, or to the People, as they would be to haue their liberty, which side soeuer it were that should giue it them. But would thinke, that euen those which are termed the * Good men, if they had the Government, would giue them as much to doe, as the People, being Contriuers and authors to the People, of doing those mischiefes against them, out of which they make most profit vnto themselves. And that if the Few had the rule, then they should be put to death unheard, and more violently then by the former, whereas the People is their refuge, and moderator of the others insolence. This he said, hee was certaine that the Cities thought, in that they had learned the same by the actions themselves. And that therefore what was yet propounded by Alcibiades, he by no meanes approved.

* καλοκαγαροί. The best men, or Aristocracy, a difference from the Oligarchy, which was of the richest sort only. For the Good men who in the Democracie are the Peoples minions, and put the People upon all they doe, will doe the same things themselves, when they haue the Souerainety in their hands.

But those of the Conspiracy there assembled, not onely approved the present proposition, but also made preparation to send Pisander and others Ambassadors to Athens, to negotiate concerning the reduction of Alcibiades, the dissolution of the Democracie, and the procuring vnto the Athenians the friendship of Tissaphernes.

Now Phrynichus knowing that an ouerture was to bee made at Athens for the restoring of Alcibiades, and that the Athenians would embrace it; and fearing lest being recalled he should doe him a mischiefe (in regard hee had spoken against it) as one that would haue hindered the same, be-tooke himselfe to this course. He sends secret Letters to Astyochus, the Lacedemonian Generall, who was yet about Miletus, and aduertised him, that Alcibiades vndid their affaires, and was procuring the friendship of Tissaphernes for the Athenians, writing in plaine termes the whole businesse, and desiring to bee excused, if hee rendred euill

The treason of Phrynichus against the State, for feare of Alcibiades.

He writes secret Letters to Astyochus.

Astyochnus appeareth him
to *Alcibiades*.

Phrynichus sends to *Astyochnus*
again, and offers to
put the whole army into
his hands.

The device of *Phrynichus*
to auoyd the danger.

to his enemy, with some disadvantage to his Countrey. *Astyochnus* had before this, laid by the purpose, of reuenge against *Alcibiades*, especially when he was not in his owne hands. And going to him to *Magnesia*, and to *Tisaphernes*, related vnto them, what aduertisement he had receiued from *Samos*, and made himselfe the appeacher. For he adhered (as was said) to *Tisaphernes* for his priuate lucre, both in this, and in diuers other matters, which was also the cause, that concerning the pay, when the abatement was made, hee was not so stout in opposing it, as hee ought to haue beene. Hereupon *Alcibiades* sendeth Letters presently to those that were in office at *Samos* accusing *Phrynichus* of what hee had done, and requiring to haue him put to death. *Phrynichus* perplexed with this discovery, & brought into danger indeed, sends againe to *Astyochnus*, blaming what was past, as not well concealed and promised now, to be ready to deliuer vnto him the whole Armie at *Samos*, to be destroyed; writing from point to point, (*Samos* being vnwalled) in what manner he would doe it, and saying, that since his life was brought in danger, they could not blame him, though he did this or any other thing, rather then be destroyed by his most deadly enemies. This also *Astyochnus* reuealed vnto *Alcibiades*. B

But *Phrynichus* hauing had notice betimes how he abused him, and that Letters of this from *Alcibiades* were in a manner come, he anticipates the newes himselfe, and tels the Ar nie, That whereas *Samos* was vnwalled, and the Gallies rid not all within, the Enemy meant to come and assault the Harbour; That hee had sure intelligence hereof; and that they ought therefore with all speed to raise a Wall about the Citie, and to put Garrisons into other places thereabouts. Now *Phrynichus* was Generall himselfe, and it was in his owne power to see it done. They then fell to walling, wherby *Samos* (which they meant to haue done howsoeuer) was so much the sooner walled in. Not long after came Letters from *Alcibiades*, that the Army was betrayed by *Phrynichus*, and that the Enemy purposed to inuade the Harbour where they lay. But now, they thought not *Alcibiades* worthy to be beleued, but rather that hauing foreseene the designe of the enemy, he went about out of malice, to fasten it vpon *Phrynichus*, as conscious of it likewise. So that he did him no hurt by telling it, but bare witnesse C
D
E

A nesse rather of that w^{ch} *Phrynichus* had told them of before.

After this *Alcibiades* endeouored to encline and perswade *Tissaphernes* to the friendship of the *Athenians*; for though *Tissaphernes* feared the *Peloponnesians*, because their Fleet was greater then that of the *Athenians*, yet if hee had beene able, he had a good will to haue beene perswaded by him; especially in his anger against the *Peloponnesians*, after the dissension at *Cnidus*, about the League made by *Theramenes*, (for they were already false out, the *Peloponnesians* being about this time in *Rhodes*) wherein that which had
 B beene before spoken by *Alcibiades*, how that the coming of the *Lacedemonians* was to restore all the Cities to their liberty, was now verified by *Lichas*, in that he said, it was an Article not to be suffered, that the King should hold those Cities, which he and his Ancestors then or before had holden. *Alcibiades* therefore, as one that laboured for no trifle, with all his might applyed himselfe to *Tissaphernes*.

The *Athenian* Ambassadors sent from *Samos* with *Pisander*, being arrived at *Athens*, were making their propositions to the People. And related vnto them summarily the points of their businesse, and principally this, That if they would call home *Alcibiades*, and not suffer the Government to remaine in the hands of the People, in such manner as it did, they might haue the King for their Confederate, and get the victory of the *Peloponnesians*. Now when many opposed that point touching the Democracie, and the enemies of *Alcibiades* clamoured withall, that it would bee a horrible thing hee should return by forcing the Governmēt, when the **Eumolpidae*, and **Ceryces* bare witness against him concerning the
 D *Mysteries*, for which he fled, and prohibited his returne vnder their curse. *Pisander*, at this great opposition and querimony, stood out, and going amongst them, tooke out one by one those that were against it, and asked them, Whether, now that the *Peloponnesians* had as many Gallies at Sea to oppose them, as they themselves had, and Confederate Cities, more then they, and were furnished with money by the King and *Tissaphernes*, the *Athenians* being without, they had any other hope to save their State, but by perswading the King to come about to their side? And they that were asked hauing nothing to
 E answer, then in plaine termes hee said vnto them, This you cannot now obtaine, except wee administer the State

Alcibiades endeouored to turne *Tissaphernes* to the part of the *Athenians*.

Pisander getteth the *Athenians* to be content with the Oligarchy, and to giue him and others Commission to treat with *Alcibiades*.

* *Eumolpidae*, a Family descended from *Eumolpus*, the author at *Athens* of the *Mysteries* of *Ceres*. This Familie had the chiefe authority in matter that concerned those Rites.

* *Ceryces*, *Heralds* in War, Ambassadors in peace, *Sudas*. They pronounced all formal words in the Ceremonies of their Religion, and were a Family descended from *Ceryx* the sonne of *Mercury*.

with more moderation, and bring the power into the hands of a Few, that the King may rely vpon vs. And wee deliberate at this time, not so much about the forme, as about the preservation of the State; for if you mislike the forme, you may change it againe hereafter. And let vs recall Alcibiades, who is the onely man that can bring this to passe.

The People hearing of the Oligarchy, tooke it very haynously at first; But when *Pisander* had proued euidently, that there was no other way of safety, in the end, partly for feare, and partly because they hoped againe to change the Gouvernement, they yeelded thereunto. So B they ordered, that *Pisander*, and tenne others, should goe, and treat, both with *Tissaphernes*, and with *Alcibiades*, as to them should seeme best, Withall, vpon the accusation of *Pisander* against *Phrynichus*, they discharged both *Phrynichus*, and *Scironidas*, his fellow-Commissioner, of their Command, and made *Diomedon* and *Leon* Generals of the Fleet in their places.

Phrynichus accused by *Pisander*, and discharged of his command.

Now the cause why *Pisander* accused *Phrynichus*, and said he had betrayed *Iasus* and *Amorges*, was onely this, hee thought him a man vnfit for the businesse now in hand C with *Alcibiades*.

Pisander, after he had gone about to all those Combinations (which were in the Citie before, for obtaining of places of Iudicature, and of Command) exhorting them to stand together, and aduise about deposing the Democracie; and when he had dispatched the rest of his businesse, so as there should be no more cause for him to stay there, tooke Sea with those other tenne, to goe to *Tissaphernes*.

Leon and *Diomedon* warre vpon the Peloponnesian Navy at *Rhodes*.

Leon and *Diomedon* arriuing the same Winter at the Athenian Fleet, made a Voyage against *Rhodes*, and finding D there the Peloponnesian Gallies drawne vp to Land, disbarcked, and ouercame in battell such of the Rhodians as made head; and then put to Sea againe, and went to *Chalce*. After this they made sharper Warre vpon them from Cos. For from thence they could better obserue the Peloponnesian Navy, when it should put off from the Land.

Chius distressed, and *Pedartus* the Captaine slaine.

In this while, there arriued at *Rhodes*, *Xenophontidas* a Laconian, sent out of *Chius* from *Padaritus*, to aduertise them, that the Fortification of the Athenians there, was now finished, and that vnlesse they came and relieued them E with their whole Fleet, the State of *Chius* must vterly be

A be lost. And it was resolved to relieue them. But *Pedaritus* in the meane time, with the whole power both of his owne auxiliar Forces, and of the *Chians*, made an assault vpon the Fortification which the *Athenians* had made about their Nauy, part whereof he wonne, and had gotten some Gallies that were drawne aland. But the *Athenians* issuing out vpon them, first put to flight the *Chians*, and then ouercame also the rest of the Army about *Pedaritus*, and slew *Pedaritus* himselfe, and tooke many of the *Chians* prisoners, and much Armour. After this the *Chians* were besieged both by Sea and Land more narrowly, and great famine was in the City.

Pisander, and the other *Athenian* Ambassadors that went with him, when they came to *Tissaphernes*, began to conferre about the agreement. But *Alcibiades* (for he was not sure of *Tissaphernes*, because he stood in feare too much of the *Peloponnesians*, and had a purpose besides, as *Alcibiades* himselfe had taught him, to weaken both sides yet more) betooke himselfe to this shift; that *Tissaphernes* should breake off the Treaty, by making to the *Athenians* exorbitant demands. And it seemed that *Tissaphernes* and hee ayimed at the same thing; *Tissaphernes* for feare; and *Alcibiades*, for that when he saw *Tissaphernes* not desirous to agree, though the offers were neuer so great, he was unwilling to haue the *Athenians* thinke hee could not perswade him to it, but rather that he was already perswaded and willing, and that the *Athenians* came not to him with sufficient offers. For *Alcibiades* being the man that spake for *Tissaphernes*, though he were also present, made vnto them such excessiue demands, that though the *Athenians* should haue yeelded to the greatest part of them, yet it must haue beene attributed to them, that the Treaty went not on. For they demanded first, That all *Ionia* should be rendred. Then againe The adiacent Ilands, and other things, which the *Athenians* stood not against. In fine, at the third meeting, when he feared now plainly to be found vnable to make good his word, he required, That they should suffer the King to build a Nauy, and layle vp and downe by their Coast, where soeuer, and with what number soeuer of Gallies hee himselfe should thinke good.

E Vpon this, the *Athenians* would treat no longer, esteeming the Conditions intolerable, and that *Alcibiades* had

Alcibiades vnable to make good his word, in bringing *Tissaphernes* to the *Athenians* selfe, demandeth excellent conditions, to make the breach appeare to proceed from the *Athenians*, and to save his own credit.

had abused them; and so went away in a chafe to Sa- A
mos.

*Tissaphernes hearkeneth
again to the Peloponnesi-
ans.*

Presently after this the same Winter, *Tissaphernes* went to *Caunus*, with intent both to bring the *Peloponnesians* backe to *Miletus*, and also, (as soone as he should haue agreed vnto new *Articles* such as he could get) to giue the Fleet their pay; and not to fall directly out with them, for feare, lest so many Gallies wanting maintenance, should either bee forced by the *Athenians* to fight, and so bee ouercome, or empied of men, the businesse might succeed with the *Athenians* according to their owne desire, without him. Besides, he was afraid, lest looking out for maintenance, they should make spoile in the Continent. In consideration, and foresight of all which things, he desired to counterpoise the *Grecians*. And sending for the *Peloponnesians*, hee gaue them their pay, and now made the third League, as followeth.

*The third League betweene
Tissaphernes and the
Peloponnesians.*

In the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of Darius, Alexippidas being Ephore in Lacedæmon, Agreement was made in the Plaine of Mæander, betweene the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates on one part, and Tissaphernes, and Hieramenes, and the sonnes of Pharnaces on the other part; concerning the affaires of the King, and of the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates. C

That whatsoever Countrey in Asia belongeth to the King, shall be the Kings still. And that concerning his owne Countries, it shall bee lawfull for the King to doe whatsoever hee shall thinke meete.

That the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall not inuade any the Territories of the King, to harme them; nor the King, the Territories of the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates. D

If any of the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates shall inuade the Kings Countrey to doe it hurt, the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall oppose it. And if any of the Kings Countrey shall inuade the Lacedæmonians, or their Confederates, to doe them hurt, the King shall oppose it.

That Tissaphernes shall, according to the rates agreed on, maintaine the present Fleet, till the Kings Fleet arrive.

That when the Kings Navy shall be come, the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall maintaine their owne Nauie themselves, E

A *selues, if they please; or if they will haue. Tiffaphernes to main-
taine it, he shall doe it: And that the Lacedæmonians and their
Confederates, at the end of the Warre, repay Tiffaphernes what
soeuer money they shall haue receiued of him.*

When the Kings Gallies shall be arriued, both they, and the Gal-
lies of the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall make the
Warre ioyntly, according as to Tiffaphernes, and the Lacedæmo-
nians and their Confederates shall seeme good. And if they will giue
ouer the Warre against the Athenians, they shall giue it ouer in the
same manner.

B Such were the Articles.

After this *Tiffaphernes* prepared for the fetching in of the
Phœnician Fleet, according to the Agreement, and to doe
whatsoever else hee had vndertaken, desiring to haue it
seene, at least, that he went about it.

In the end of this Winter, the *Bæotians* tooke *Oropus* by
Treason. It had in it a Garrison of *Athenians*. They that
plotted it, were certaine *Eretrians*, and some of *Oropus* it
selfe, who were then contriuing the reuolt of *Eubœa*. For

Oropus taken by Treason.

C the place being built to keepe *Eretria* in subiection, it was
impossible, as long as the *Athenians* held it, but that it
would much annoy both *Eretria*, and the rest of *Eubœa*. Ha-
uing *Oropus* in their hands already, they came to *Rhodes* to
call the *Peloponnesians* into *Eubœa*. But the *Peloponnesians*
had a greater inclination to relieue *Chius* now distressed, and
putting to Sea, departed out of *Rhodes* with their whole
Fleet. When they were come about *Triopium*, they discry-
ed the *Athenian* Fleet in the maine Sea, going from *Chalce*.
And neither side assaulting other, they put in, the one Fleet
D at *Samos*, the other at *Miletus*. For the *Peloponnesians* saw
they could not passe to relieue *Chius*, without a Battell.
Thus ended this Winter, and the twentieth yeere of this
Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer, in the beginning of the Spring, *Der-
cylidas* a *Spartan*, was sent by Land into *Hellespont*, with a
small Army, to worke the reuolt of *Abydus*, a Colonie of
the *Milesians*. And the *Chians* at the same time, whilest
Astyochus was at a stand how to helpe them, were com-
pelled by the pressure of the Siege, to hazzard a Battell
E by Sea.

Now whilest *Astyochus* lay in *Rhodes*, they had receiued
into

THE ONE AND
TWENTIETH
YEERE.

The *Chians* fight against
the *Athenians* that besie-
ged them.

into the Citie of *Chiu*, after the death of *Padaritus*, one *Le-* A
on a *Spartan*, that came along with *Antisthenes* as a priuate
 Souldier, and with him twelue Gallies that lay at the
 guard of *Miletus*, whereof fve were *Thurians*, foure *Syra-*
cufians, one of *Anca*, one of *Miletus*, and one of *Leons* owne.
 whereupon the *Chians* ifluing forth with the whole force
 of the City, feazed a certain place of ftrength, and put forth
 thirty fixe Gallies againft thirty two of the *Athenians*, and
 fought. After a sharpe fight, wherein the *Chians* and their
 affociates had not the worft; and when it beganne to bee
 darke, they retired againe into the City. B

Abydus and *Lampsacus*
 reuolt.

Presently after this, *Dercylidas* being arriued now in *Hel-*
lefpont from *Miletus*, by Land, *Abydus* reuolted, to him, and
 to *Pharnabazus*. And two dayes after, reuolted alfo *Lamp-*
sacus.

Strombichides recouereth
Lampsacus.

Strombichides hauing intelligence of this, made hafte
 thither from *Chiu*, with foure and twenty Sayle of *Atheni-*
ans, (thofe being alfo of that number, which transported
 his men of Armes.) And when hee had ouercome the
Lampsacens that came out againft him, and taken *Lampsacus*,
 being an open Towne, at the firft shout of their voyces, C
 and made Prize of all the goods they found, and of the
 Slaues, he placed the Free-men there againe, and went a-
 gainft *Abydus*. But when that Citie neither yeilded, nor
 could be taken by affault, he croffed ouer from *Abydus* to
 the oppofite fhore, and in *Seflus*, a Citie of *Cherfonnefus*,
 (poffeffed heretofore by the *Medes*) he placed a Garrifon,
 for the cuftody of the whole *Hellefpont*.

In the meane time, not onely the *Chians* had the Sea at
 more command, but *Aflyochus* alfo, and the Army at *Mi-*
letus, hauing beene aduertifed what paff in the fight by D
 Sea, and that *Strombichides* and thofe Gallies with him
 were gone away, tooke heart. And *Aflyochus* going to *Chi-*
us, with two Gallies fetched away the Gallies that were
 there, and with the whole Fleet now together, went a-
 gainft *Samos*. But feeing they of *Samos*, by reafon of their
 iealoufie one towards another, came not againft him, hee
 went backe againe to *Miletus*. For it was about this time,
 that the *Democracie* was put downe at *Athens*.

The Democracy at *Athens*
 put downe by *Pifander*
 and his fellowes.

For after that *Pifander* and his fellow-Ambaffadours
 that had beene with *Tiffaphernes*, were come to *Samos*, they E
 both affured their affaires yet better in the Army, and alfo
 pro-

A prouoked the principall men of the *Samiens* to attempt with them the erecting of the *Oligarchy*; though there were then an insurrection amongst them against the *Oligarchy*. And withall the *Athenians* at *Samos*, in a conference amongst themselves, deliberated, how, since *Aleibiades* would not, to let him alone; (for indeed they thought him no fit man to come into an *Oligarchy*) but for themselves, seeing they were already engaged in the danger, to take care, both to keepe the businesse from a relapse, and withall to sustaine the Warre, and to contribute money, and whatsoeuer else was needfull, with alacrity, out of their priuate estates, and no more to toyle for other then themselves. Having thus aduised, they sent *Pisander* with halfe the Ambassadors presently home, to follow the businesse there, with command to set vp the *Oligarchy* in all Cities they were to touch at by the way, the other halfe they sent about, some to one part of the State, and some to another. And they sent away *Diotrephes* to his Charge, who was now about *Chios*, chosen to goe *Gouernour* of the Cities vpon *Thrace*.

The authors of the *Oligarchy* resolute to leaue out *Aleibiades*, and to gouerne the State with their priuate meanes for themselves.

C Hee, when he came to *Thasus*, deposed the *People*. And within two moneths at most, after he was gone, the *Thasians* fortified their Citie, as needing no longer an *Aristocracy* with the *Athenians*, but expecting liberty euery day by the helpe of the *Lacedaemonians*. For there were also certaine of them with the *Peloponnesians*, driuen out by the *Athenians*; and these practised with such in the City as were for their purpose, to receiue Gallies into it, and to cause it to revolt. So that it fell out for them iust as they would haue it, that that estate of theirs, was set vp without their danger, and that the *People* was deposed, that would haue withstood it. Insomuch as at *Thasus* it fell out contrary to what those *Athenians* thought, which erected the *Oligarchy*; and so, in my opinion, it did in many other places of their Dominion. For the Cities now growne wise, and withall resolute in their proceedings, sought a direct liberty, and preferred not before it, that outside of a well-ordered Government, introduced by the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* having set vp the *Oligarchy* in *Thasus*, it presently revolteth from them.

They with *Pisander*, according to the order giuen them, entring into the Cities, as they went by, dissolued the *Democracies*, & hauing in some places obtained also an

The proceeding of *Pisander* in setting vs the *Oligarchy*.

ayde of men of Armes, they came to *Athens*, and found the A
 businesse for the greatest part dispatched to their hands, by
 their Complices, before their comming. For certaine
 yong men combining themselues, had not onely murdered
Androcles priuily, a principall Patron of the Popular go-
 uernment, and one that had his hand the farthest in the
 banishment of *Alcibiades*; whom they slew for two cau-
 ses: for the sway hee bare amongst the People, and to
 gratifie *Alcibiades*, who they thought would returne, and
 get them the friendship of *Tissaphernes*; but had also made
 away diuers men vsfit for their Designe, in the same man- B
 ner. They had withall an Oration ready made, which
 they deliuered in publike, wherein they said, *That there*
ought none to receiue wages, but such as serued in the Warres, nor
to participate of the Gouernment, more then 5000, and those, such
as by their purjes and persons were best able to serue the Common-
Wealth.

And this with the most carried a good shew, because
 they that would set forward the alteration of the State,
 were to haue the manning of the same. Yet the People C
 and the * *Councell of the Beane*, met still, but debated no-
 thing, saue what the Conspirators thought fit. Nay, all
 that spake were of that number, and had considered before
 what they were to say. Nor would any of the rest speake
 against them, for feare, and because they saw the Combi-
 nation was great; and if any man did, he was quickly made
 away by one conuenient meanes or other, and no enquire
 made after the deed-doers, nor Iustice prosecuted against
 any that was suspected.

But the People were so quiet, and so afraid, that euery D
 man thought it gaine to escape violence, though he said
 neuer a word. Their hearts failed them, because they
 thought the Conspirators more then indeed they were:
 and to learne their number, in respect of the greatnesse of
 the Citie, and for that they knew not one another, they
 were vnable.

For the same cause also was it impossible for any man
 that was angry at it, to bemoane himselfe, whereby to be re-
 uenged on them that conspired. For he must haue told his
 mind, either to one he knew not, or to one he knew & trust- E
 ed not. For the *Populares* approached each other, euery one
 with

* The Senate or Councell of
 509.

A with ieaſonſie, as if they thought him of the plot. For indeed there were ſuch amongſt them, as no man would haue thought would euer haue turned to the *Oligarchy*; and thoſe were they that cauſed in the *Many* that diffidence, and by ſtrengthening the ieaſouſie of the *populars* one againſt another, conferred moſt to the ſecurity of the *Few*. During this opportunity, *Piſander*, and they that were with him comming in, fell in hand preſently with the remainder of the buſineſſe. And firſt they aſſembled the *People*, and deliuered their opinion, for tenne men to bee choſen

B with power abſolute, to make a draught of Lawes, and (hauing drawne them) to deliuer their opinion at a day appointed, before the *People*, touching the beſt forme of government for the Citie.

Afterwards, when that day came, they ſummoned the Aſſembly to *Colonus*, (which is a place conſecrated to *Nep-tune*, without the City, about two Furlongs off) And they that were appointed to write the Lawes, preſented this, and onely this, *That it ſhould be lawfull for any Athenian to deliuer whatſoeuer opinion hee pleaſed*, impoſing of great

C puniſhments vpon whoſoeuer ſhould eyther accuſe any that ſo ſpake, of violating the Lawes, or otherwiſe do him hurt. Now here indeed it was in plaine termes propounded, *That not any Magiſtracy of the forme before vſed, might any longer be in force; nor any Fee belong vnto it, but that ſiue Pry-tanes might be elected, and theſe ſiue chooſe a hundred, and euery one of this hundred take vnto him three others. And theſe 400 entring into the Councell-houſe, might haue abſolute authority to gouerne the State as they thought beſt, and to ſummon the 5000, as oft as to them ſhould ſeeme good.* He that deliuered this opi-

The forme of the new Oligarchy.

D nion was *Piſander*, who was alſo otherwiſe, openly the forwardeſt to put downe the *Democracie*. But he that contriued the whole buſineſſe, how to bring it to this paſſe, and had long thought vpon it, was *Antiphon*, a man for vertue not inferiour to any *Athenian* of his time, and the ableſt of any man, both to deuife well, and alſo to expreſſe well, what he had deuifed. And though he came not into the aſſemblies of the *People*, nor willingly to any other debating, becauſe the *Multitude* had him in ieaſouſie for the opinion they had of the power of his eloquence, yet

E when any man that had occaſion of ſuite, eyther in the Courts of Iuſtice, or in the Aſſembly of the *People*,

Piſander a principall man of the *Oligarchs*.

Antiphon another ſetter vp of the *Few*.

The praife of *Antiphon*.

came to him for his counsell, this one man was able to help A him most. The same man, when afterwards the government of the Four hundred went downe, and was vexed of the People, was heard pleade for himselfe, when his life was in question for that businesse, the best of any man to this day.

Phrynichus also shewed himselfe an earnest man for the *Oligarchy*, and that more eminently then any other, because he feared *Alcibiades*, and knew him to be acquainted with all his practises at *Samos* with *Alyochus*; and thought in all probability, that he would neuer returne, to liue vnder B the government of the Few. And this man in any matter of weight, appeared the most sufficient to bee relyed on.

Also *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*, an able man both for elocution and vnderstanding, was another of the Principall of those that ouerthrew the *Democracie*. So that it it is no maruell if the businesse tooke effect, being by many and wise men conducted, though it were a hard one. For it went fore with the *Athenian People*, almost a hundred yeeres after the expulsion of the *Tyrants*, to be now C deprived of their liberty, hauing not onely not benee subiect to any, but also for the halfe of this time, benee enured to dominion ouer others.

When the Assembly (after it had passed these things, no man contradicting) was dissolued, then afterwards they brought the Four hundred into the Councell-house, in this manner. The *Athenians* were euermore partly on the Walles, and partly at their Armes in the Campe, in regard of the Enemy that lay at *Decelea*. Therefore on the day appointed, they suffered such as knew not their intent, to goe forth, as they were wont. But to such as were D of the Conspiracy, they quietly gaue order, not to goe to the Campe it selfe, but to lagge behind at a certaine distance, and if any man should oppose what was in doing, to take Armes and keepe them backe. They to whom this charge was giuen, were the *Andrians*, *Tenians*, three hundred *Carystians*, and such of the Colonie of *Agina* which the *Athenians* had sent thither to inhabite, as came on purpose to this action with their owne Armes. These things thus ordered, the Four hundred, with euery man a secret E Dagger, accompanied with one hundred and twenty yong men

Phrynichus another author of the *Oligarchy*.

The 400 enter vpon the Senate, and dismisse the Senate of 500, called the Councell of the Beare.

A men of Greece, (whom they vsed for occasions of shedding bloud) came in vpon the **Counsellors of the Beane*, as they sate in the *Counsell-house*, and commanded them to take their salary, and be gone, which also they brought ready with them, for the whole time they were behind, and payed it to them as they went out. And the rest of the Citizens mutined not, but rested quiet.

*The Senate or Councell of 500 made by Solon, and the 1000 of Cleisthenes, more and bludge.

The 400 being now entred into the *Counsell-house*, created **Prytanes* amongst themselves by lot, and made their prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, all that were before vsuall at the entrance vpon the Government. And afterwards, receding farre from that course, which in the adminitration of the State, was vsed by the *People*, sauing that for *Alcibiades* his sake, they recalled not the Outlawes, in other things they gouerned the Common-wealth imperiously. And not onely slew some, though not many, such as they thought fit to be made away, and imprisoned some, and confined others to places abroad, but also sent Heralds to *Agis*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who was then at *Decelea*, signifying that they would come to composition with him, and that now he might better treat with them, then he might before with the vnconstant *People*.

*These were presidents in the Councell of the 500, in number 50, and in turne moderated and put the question in that Councell, and also in the Assemblies of the 1000.

But he, not imagining that the Citie was yet in quiet, nor willing, so soone, to deliuer vp their ancient liberty, but rather that, if they saw him approach with great forces, they would be in tumult, not yet beleeuing fully, but that some stirre or other would arise amongst them, gaue no answer at all to those that came from the *Foure hundred*, touching the composition; but hauing sent for new, and great forces out of *Peloponnesus*, came downe himselfe not long after, both with the Army at *Decelea*, and those new commers, to the *Athenian* Wallles. Hoping that they would fall into his hands according to his desire, at least the more easily for their confusion, or perhaps at the very first shout of their voyces, in respect of the tumult that in all likelihood was to happen both within and without the Citie. For, as for the *Long-wallles*, in regard of the few Defendants likely to be found vpon them, he thought he could not faile to take them. But when he came neere, E and the *Athenians* were without any the least alteration within, and had with their Horsemen which they sent out,

Agis, in hope that the Citie was in sedition, cometh to assault it, but is repulged.

out, and a part of their men of Armes, and of their Light-Armed, and of their Archers, ouerthrowne some of his men that approached too neere, and gotten some armes and bodies of the slaine; rectified thus, he with drew his Armie againe, and himselfe, and such as were with him before stayed in their place at *Declea*; but, as for those that came last, after they had stayed a while in the Countrey, he sent them home againe. After this, the 400, notwithstanding their former repulse, sent Ambassadors vnto *Azis* anew, and he now receiuing them better, by his aduice they sent Ambassadors also to *Lacedemon*, about an agreement, being desirous of Peace. B

The 400. send to *Lacedemon* to procure a Peace.

They sent to *Samos*, to excuse their doings to the army.

They likewise sent 10 men to *Samos*, to satisfie the Army, and to tell them, *That the Oligarchy was not set vp, to any preiudice of the Citie, or Citizens, but for the safety of the whole State. And that they which had their hands in it, were 5000, and not 400 onely. Notwithstanding that the Athenians by reason of warfare, and imployment abroad, neuer assembled, of how great consequence soeuer was the matter to be handled, so frequent, as to be 5000 there at once. And hauing in other things instructed them how to make the best of the matter,* they sent them away immediately after the gouernment was changed, fearing (as also it fell out) lest the Seafaring multitude, would not onely not continue in this *Oligarchicall* forme themselves, but (the mischief beginning there) would depose them also. C

The Oligarchy assaulted at *Samos* by the Populans.

For in *Samos* there was a commotion about the *Oligarchy* already. And this that followeth, happened about the same time that the 400 were set vp in *Athens*. Those *Samians* that had risen against the Nobility, and were of the Peoples side, turning when *Pisander* came thither, at the perswasion of him and of those *Athenians* in *Samos* that were his Complices, conspired together to the number of 300, and were to haue assaulted the rest as *Populans*; and one *Hyperbolus*, a lewd fellow, who, not for any feare of his power, or for any dignity, but for wickednesse of life, and dishonour he did the Citie, had beene banished by *Ostracisme*, they slew; abetted therein both by *Charminus*, one of the Commanders, and by other *Athenians* that were amongst them, who had giuen them their faith; and together with these they committed other facts of the same kind, and were fully bent to haue assaulted the *Popular* side, E

A side, but they hauing gotten notice thereof, made knowne the designe both to the Generals, *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, (for these being honoured by the *People*, endured the *Oligarchy*, vnwillingly) and also to *Thrasibulus*, and *Thralilus*, whereof one was Captaine of a Gally, and the other Captaine of a Band of a men of Armes, and to such others continually as they thought stood in greatest opposition to the Conspirators; and required of them, that they would not see them destroyed, and *Samos* alienated from the *Athenians*, by the only means of which their Dominion had till this time

B kept it selfe in the state it is in. They hearing it, went to the Souldiers, and exhorted them one by one, not to suffer it, especially to the *Paralians*, (who were all *Athenians* and Freemen, come thither in the Gally called *Paralus*, and had alwayes before been enemies to the *Oligarchy*. And *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, whensoever they went forth any whither, left them certaine Gallies for their guard.) So that when the 300 assaulted them, the *Commons* of the *Samians*, with the helpe of all these, and especially of the *Paralians*, had the vpper hand, and of the 300, slew 30. Three of the

C chiefe authors, they banished, and burying in obliuion the fault of the rest, gouerned the State from that time forward as a *Democratie*.

The *Paralus*, and it (whereas the sonne of *Archestratus*, a man of *Athens*, one that had been forward in the making of this change, the *Samians*, and the Souldiers dispatched presently away to *Athens*, to aduertise them of what was done, for they knew not yet that the gouernment was in the hands of the 400. When they arriued, the 400 cast some two or three of these of the *Paralus* into prison; the

D rest, after they had taken the Gally from them, and put them aboard another Military Gally, they commanded to keepe guard about *Eubœa*. But *Chareas*, by some meanes or other, getting presently away, seeing how things went, came backe to *Samos*, and related to the Army all that the *Athenians* had done, aggrauating it to the vtmost, As that they punished euery man with stripes, to the end that none should contradiet the doings of those that bore rule; and that their wiues and children at home were abused; and that they had an intention further to take and imprison all that were of kinne to any of

E the Army which was not of their faction, to the intent to kill them, if they of *Samos* would not submit to their authority. And many

The Army send to *Athens* to signifie their doings against the *Oligarchy* at *Samos*, not knowing that the *Oligarchy* was then in authority at *Athens*.

The Democracy re-established in the army.

many other things he told them, adding lyes of his owne. A

When they heard this, they were ready at first to haue fallen vpon the chiefe authors of the *Oligarchy*, and vpon such of the rest as were partakers of it. Yet afterwards, being hindred by such as came betweene, and aduised them not to ouerthrow the State, the enemy lying so nere with their Gallies to assault them, they gaue it ouer. After this, *Thraſybulus* the sonne of *Lycas*, and *Thraſyllus*, (for these were the principall authors of the change) determining now openly to reduce the State at *Samos* to a Democracy, tooke oathes of all the Souldiers, especially of the *Oligarchicals*, the greatest they could deuise, both that they should be subiect to the Democracy, and agree together, and also that they should zealously prosecute the Warre against the *Peloponnesians*, and wishall be enemies to the 400, and not haue to doe with them by Ambassadors. The same oath was taken by all the *Samians* that were of age, and the *Athenian* Souldiers communicated with them their whole affaires, together with whatsoever should succeed of their dangers. For whom and for themselves, they made account there was no refuge of safety; but that, if either the 400, or the enemy, at *Mile-* C
tus, ouercame them, they must needs perish.

So there was a contention at this time, one side compelling the Citie to a Democracy; the other, the Army to an *Oligarchy*. And presently, there was an Assembly of the Souldiers called, wherein they depriued the former Commanders, and such Captaines of Gallies as they had in suspicion, of their charge, and chose others, both Captaines of Gallies, and Commanders in their places, of which *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſyllus* were two. And they stood vp and encouraged one another, both otherwise; and with this, D
That they had no cause to be dejected for the Cities revolting from them; For they at Athens, being the lesser part, had forsaken them, who were not onely the greater part, but also euery way the better provided. For they hauing the whole Navy could compell the rest of the cities subiect vnto them, to pay in their mony, as well now, as if they were to set out from Athens it selfe. And that they also had a Citie, namely *Samos*, no weake one, but euen such a one, as when they were enemies, wanted little of taking the Dominion of the Sea from the Athenians. That the seat of the Warre, was the same it was before; and that they should be better able to provide themselves of things necessary; hauing the Nauie, then they E
(should

The army encourageth it selfe against the City and State at home, by comparison of their strength.

- A should be that were at home in the City. And that they at Athens were Masters of the entrance of Piræus both formerly by the favour of them at Samos, and that now also, unless they restore them the Government, they shall againe bee brought to that passe, that those at Samos shall bee better able to barre them the use of the Sea, then they shall bee to barre it them of Samos. That it was a trifle and worth nothing which was conferred to the overcomming of the Enemy by the Citie, and a small matter it would be to lose it, seeing they had neither any more Siluer to send them (for the Souldiers shifted for themselves) nor yet good direction
- B which is the thing for which the Citie hath the command of the Armies. Nay that in this point they erred which were at Athens, in that they had abrogated the Lawes of their Countrey, whereas they at Samos did both obserue the same themselves, and endeavour to constrain the other to doe so likewise. So that such of them in the Campe as should giue good counsell, were as good as they in the Citie. And that Alcibiades, if they would decree his security and his returne, would with all his heart procure the King to bee their Confederate. And that which is the maine thing, if they sayled of all other helpes, yet with so great a Fleet, they could not faile
- C of many places to retire to, in which they might finde both Citie and Territorie.

When they had thus debated the matter in the Assembly, and encouraged one another, they made ready, as at other times, whatsoeuer was necessary for the Warre. And the tenne Ambassadors which were sent to Samos from the *Four-hundred*, hearing of this by the way, at *Delos*, whither they were come already, stayed still there.

- D About the same time also, the Souldiers of the *Peloponnesian* Fleet at *Miletus* murmured amongst themselves, that *Astyochnus* and *Tissaphernes* overthrew the state of their Affaires. *Astyochnus*, in refusing to fight, both before, when their owne Fleete was stronger, and that of the *Athenians* but small, and also now, whilest they were said to bee in sedition, and their Fleet diuided, and in expecting the *Phonician* Fleet, in fame, not in fact to come from *Tissaphernes*; And *Tissaphernes*, in that hee not onely brought not in that Fleete of his,
- E but also impaired theirs, by not giuing them their pay, neither fully nor continually: And that they therefore
- V u u
- ought

Vpon the murmur of the Souldiers against *Astyochnus*, he goeth to Samos to offer the *Albenians* battell, who refuse it.

ought no longer to delay time, but to hazard battell. This A
was wrged principally by the *Syracusians*.

Astyocheus and the Confederates, when they heard of the
murmur, and had in Counsell resolved to fight, especially
after they were informed that *Samos* was in a tumult, put-
ting forth with their whole Fleet, to the number of
121 Sayle, with order given to the *Milesians* to march
by Land to the same place, went to *Mycale*. But the *A-*
thenians being come out from *Samos* with their Fleet of 82
Gallies, and riding now at *Glauce* of the Territory of *My-*
cale, (for in this part toward *Mycale*, *Samos* is but a little B
way from the Continent) when they descryed the *Pelopon-*
nesian Fleet comming against them, put in againe to *Sa-*
mos as not esteeming themselves a sufficient number to ha-
zard their whole fortune on the Battell. Besides, they
stayed for the comming of *Strombichides* from *Hellepont* to
their ayde, (for they saw that they of *Miletus* had a desire
to fight) with those Gallies that went from *Chius* against
Abydus; for they had sent vnto him before. So these re-
tired into *Samos*. And the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *My-*
cale, there encamped, as also did the Land-forces of the *Mi-*
lesians, and others of the Countrey thereabouts. The next C
day, when they meant to haue gone against *Samos*, they
receiued newes that *Strombichides* with his Gallies was ar-
riued out of *Hellepont*, and thereupon returned presently
to *Miletus*. Then the *Athenians* on the other side, with
the addition of these Gallies, went to *Miletus*, being now
one hundred and eight Sayle, intending to fight: but
when no body came out against them, they likewise went
backe to *Samos*.

The *Athenians* offer battell
to the *Peloponnesians* and
they refuse it.

The *Peloponnesians* send
part of their Fleet to-
wards the *Hellepont*, but
there went through but
onely tenne Gallies.

Immediately after this, the same Summer, the *Pelopon-*
nesians, who refused to come out against the Enemy, as D
holding themselves with their whole Fleete too weake
to giue them Battell, and were now at a stand how
to get Money for the maintenance of so great a num-
ber of Gallies, sent *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias*
with fortie Gallies (according to the order at first from
Peloponnesus) to *Pharnabazus*. For not onely *pharna-*
bazus himselfe had sent for, and promised to pay them,
but they were aduertised besides, by Ambasiadours, that
Byzantium had a purpose to reuolt. Hereupon these *Pelo-*
ponnesian Gallies hauing put out into the maine Sea, to the E
end

And that they might not be seene as they passed by, and tossed with Tempests, part of them (which were the greatest number) and *Clarchus* with them, got into *Delos*, and came afterwards to *Miletus* againe: (but *Clarchus* went thence againe into the *Hellepont* by Land, and had the command there,) and part vnder the charge of *Elixus* a *Megarean* (which were tenne Sayle, went safely through into the *Hellepont*, and caused *Byzantium* to reuolt. And after this, when they of *Samos* heard of it, they sent certaine Gallies into *Hellepont*, to oppose them, and to be a guard to the Cities thereabouts; and there followed a small fight betweene them, of eight Gallies to eight, before *Byzantium*.

In the meane time, they that were in authority at *Samos*, and especially *Thraſybulus*, who after the forme of Government changed, was still of the minde to haue *Alcibiades* recalled, at length in an Assembly perswaded the Souldiers to the same. And when they had decreed for *Alcibiades*, both his returne, and his security, he went to *Tissaphernes*, and fetched *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, accounting it their onely meanes of safety, to winne *Tissaphernes* from the *Peloponnesians* to themselues. An Assembly being called, *Alcibiades* complained of, and lamented, the calamity of his owne exile, and speaking much of the businesse of the State, gaue them no small hopes of the future time, hyperbolically magnifying his own power with *Tissaphernes*, to the end that both they which held the *Oligarchy* at home, might the more feare him, and so the Conspiracies dissolue, and also those at *Samos* the more honour him, and take better heart vnto themselues: and withall, that the Enemy might obiect the same to the vtmost to *Tissaphernes*, and fall from their present hopes. *Alcibiades* therefore, with the greatest boast that could bee, affirmed that *Tissaphernes* had vndertaken to him, that as long as he had any thing left, if hee might but trust the *Athenians*, they should neuer want for maintenance, no, though hee should bee constrained to make Money of his owne bed; and that he would fetch the *Phœnician* Fleet now at *Aspendus*, not to the *Peloponnesians*, but to the *Athenians*. And that then onely hee would rely vpon the *Athenians*, when *Alcibiades* called home, should vndertake for them.

Alcibiades is recalled, and cometh to *Samos*.

He manifesteth his power with *Tissaphernes*.

Alcibiades Generall of the
Athenian Army.

Hearing this and much more, they chose him presently **A**
for Generall, together with those that were before, and
committed vnto them the whole gouernment of their af-
faires. And now there was not a man that would haue
fold his present hopes, both of subsisting themselues, and
being reuenged of the *Four-hundred*, for any good in the
world; and were ready euen then, vpon those words of
his, contemning the Enemie there present, to set sayle for
Piræus. But he, though many pressed it, by all meanes
forbade their going against *Piræus*, being to leaue their E-
nemies so neere; but since they had chosen him Generall, **B**
he was, he said, to goe to *Tissaphernes* first, and to dispatch
such businesse with him as concerned the Warre. And
as soone as the Assembly brake vp, he tooke his iourney
accordingly, to the end that he might seeme to communi-
cate euery thing with him, and for that he desired also to
bee in more honour with him, and to shew that hee was
Generall, and a man capable to doe him good or hurt.
And it happened to *Alcibiades*, that he awed the *Athenians*
with *Tissaphernes*; and *Tissaphernes* with the *Athenians*.

The *Peloponnesians* mur-
mur against *Tissaphernes*
and *Astiochus*.

When the *Peloponnesians* that were at *Miletus* heard that **C**
Alcibiades was gone home, whereas they mistrusted *Tis-
saphernes* before, now they much more accused him. For it
fell out, that when at the coming of the *Athenians* with
their Fleet before *Miletus*, they refused to giue them Bat-
tell, *Tissaphernes* became thereby a great deale slacke in his
payment, & besides that he was hated by them before this,
for *Alcibiades* sake, the Souldiers now, meeting in Com-
panies apart, reckoned vp one to another, the same matters **D**
which they had noted before, and some also, men of va-
lue, and not the common Souldier alone, recounted this
withall, how they had neuer had their full stipend, that
the allowance was but small, and yet not continually paid,
and that vnlesse they either fought, or went to some other
place where they might haue maintenance, their men
would abandon the Fleet, and that the cause of all this
was in *Astiochus*, who for priuate lucre gaue way to the
humour of *Tissaphernes*. Whilest these were vpon this con-
sideration, there happened also a certaine tumult about *A-
stiochus*. For the Mariners of the *Syracusians* and *Thurians*, **E**
by how much they were a multitude, that had greater li-
berty

A berty then the rest, with so much the flouter importunity, they demaunded their pay. And he not onely gaue them somewhat an insolent answer, but also threatned *Dorieu*, that amongst the rest spake for the Souldiers vnder himsele, and lift vp his staffe against him. When the Souldiers saw that, they tooke vp a cry like Seamen indeed, all at once, and were running vpon *Astyoclus*, to haue stricken him. But foreseeing it, he fled to an Altar, and was not stricken, but they were parted againe.

Mutiny against *Astyoclus*.

B The *Milesians* also tooke in, a certaine Fort in *Miletus*, built by *Tissaphernes*, hauing priuily assaulted it, and cast out the Garrison that was within it. These things were by the rest of the Confederates, and especially by the *Syracusians*, well approued of, but *Lichas* liked them not; saying, it behoued the *Milesians*, and the rest dwelling within the Kings Dominion, to haue obeyed *Tissaphernes* in all moderate things, and till such time as the Warre should haue been well dispatched, to haue courted him. And the *Milesians*, for this and other things of this kind were offended with *Lichas*, and afterwards when hee dyed of sickness, would not permit him to bee buried in that place, where the *Lacedaemonians* then present, would haue had him.

The *Milesians* take in the Fort made in their City by *Tissaphernes*.

C Whilest they were quarrelling about their businesse with *Astyoclus* and *Tissaphernes*, *Mindarus* commeth in from *Lacedaemon* to succeed *Astyoclus* in his charge of the Fleet. And as soone as he had taken the Command vpon him, *Astyoclus* departed. But with him *Tissaphernes* sent a *Carian*, named *Cauleites*, one that spake* both the Languages, both to accuse the *Milesians* about the Fort, and also to make an Apologie for himsele. Knowing that the *Milesians* went principally to exclaime vpon him, and that *Hermocrates* went with them, and would bewray how *Tissaphernes* vndid the businesse of the *Peloponnesians*, with *Alcibiades*, and dealt on both hands. For he was continually at enimity with him, about the payment of the Souldiers wages; and in the end, when *Hermocrates* was banished from *Syracuse*, and other Commanders of the *Syracusan* Fleet, namely, *Potamis*, *Miscon*, and *Demarchus*, were arriued at *Miletus*, *Tissaphernes* lay more heauy vpon him, being an Outlaw
E then before, and accused him amongst other things, that he had asked him mony, and because he could not haue it, became

Mindarus successor to *Astyoclus*, taketh charge of the Army, and *Astyoclus* goeth home.

* Both Greeke and Persian.

came his Enemie. So *Astyochus* and *Hermocrates* and the *A Milefians* went their way to *Lacedemon*.

Alcibiades by this time was come backe from *Tissaphernes*, to *Samos*, And those Ambassadors of the *Four hundred*, which had bene sent out before to mollifie and to informe those of *Samos*, came from *Delos*, now, whilst *Alcibiades* was present.

An Assembly being called, they were offering to speake, but the Souldiers at first would not heare them, but cryed out to haue them put to death, for that they had deposed the People; yet afterwards with much adoe they were B calmed, and gaue them hearing. They declared, *That the change had bene made for the preseruacion of the City, not to destroy it, nor to deliuer it to the Enemy; for they could haue done that before now, when the Enemy during their gouernment assaulted it. That euery one of the 5000 was to participate of the Gouernment in their turnes. And their friends were not (as Chæreas had laid to their charge) abused, nor had any wrong at all, but remained euery one quietly vpon his owne.*

Though they deliuered this and much more, yet the C Souldiers beleued them not, but raged still, and declared their opinions, some in one sort, some in another, most agreeing in this to goe against *Piræus*, And now *Alcibiades* appeared to be the first and principall man in doing seruice to the Common-wealth. For when the *Athenians* at *Samos* were carried headlong to inuade themselues, (in which case most manifestly the Enemy had presently possessed himsele of *Ionian* and *Hellefont*) it was thought that hee was the man that kept them from it. Nor was there any man at that time able to haue held in the Multitude, D but himsele. He both made them to desist from the voyage, and rated off from the Ambassadors, those that were in their owne particular incensed against them; whom also he sent away, giuing them their answer himsele: *That he opposed not the gouernment of the 5000, but willed them to remove the 400, and to establish the Councell that was before of 500. That if they had frugally cut off any expence, so that such as were employed in the Warres might be better maintained, he did much commend them for it. And withall hee exhorted them to stand out, and giue no ground to their Enemies; for that as long as the City held out, there was great hope for them to compound; but* E if

The Ambassadors from the 400 to excuse the change at Athens.

Alcibiades saweth the Athenian State.

A if eyther part miscarry once, eyther this at Samos, or the other at Athens, there would none be left for the Enemy to compound withall.

There chanced to be present also the Ambassadors of the *Argives*, sent vnto the Popular faction of the *Athenians* in *Samos*, to assift them. These *Alcibiades* commended, and appointed to be ready when they should be called for, and so dismissed them. These *Argives* came in with those of the *Paralus*, that had beene bellowed formerly in the military Gally by the *Foure-hundred*, to goe about *Eubœa*, and
B to conuoy *Lesposias*, *Aristophon*, and *Melesiat*, Ambassadors from the *Foure-hundred*, to *Lacedæmon*. These as they sayled by *Argos*, seized on the Ambassadors, and deliuered them as principall men in deposing of the *People*, to the *Argives*, and returned no more to *Athens*, but came with the Gallie they then were in, to *Samos*, and brought with them these Ambassadors from the *Argives*.

The same Summer, *Tissaphernes*, at the time that the *Peloponnesians* were offended with him most, both for the going home of *Alcibiades*, and diuers other things, as now
C manifestly *Atticizing*, with purpose, as indeed it seemed, to cleere himselfe to them, concerning his accusations, made ready for his iourney to *Aspendus* for the *Phœnician* Fleet, and willed *Lichas* to goe along with him; saying that he would substitute *Tamos* his Deputy Lieutenant ouer the Army, to pay the Fleet whilest himselfe was absent.

This matter is diuersly reported, and it is hard to know with what purpose he went to *Aspendus*, and yet brought not the Fleet away with him. For it is knowne that
D Sayle of *Phœnicians* were come forward as far as *Aspendus*, but why thy came not thorow, the coniectures are various. Some thinke it was vpon designe (as hee formerly intended) to weare out the *Peloponnesian* Forces, (for which cause also, *Tamos*, who had that charge, made no better, but rather worse payment then himselfe.) Others, that hauing brought the *Phœnicians* as far as *Aspendus*, he might dismiss them for money; (for he neuer meant to vse their seruice.) Some againe said, it was because they exclaimed so against it at *Lacedæmon*, and that it might not bee
E said he abused them, but that hee went openly to a Fleete really set out.

Tissaphernes goeth to the *Phœnician* Fleet at *Aspendus*.

Coniectures of diuers vpon his going.

The opinion of the
Author.

For my owne part, I thinke it most cleare, that it was A
to the end to consume, and to ballance the *Grecians*, that he
brought not those Gallies in. Consuming them, in that
he went thither, and delayed the time; and equalizing
them, in that bringing them to neither, he made neither
party the stronger. For if he had had a mind to end the
Warre, it is manifest hee might haue beene sure to haue
done it. For if he had brought them to the *Lacedæmoni-
ans*, in all reason he had giuen them the victory, who had
a Nauie already, rather equall then inferiour to that of their
Enemies.

But that which hurt them most, was the pretence hee B
alleged for not bringing the Fleet in, for he said they
were not so many sayle as the *King* had ordained to be got-
ten together. But sure he might haue ingratiated himselfe
more in this businesse, by dispatching it with lesse of the
Kings Money, then by spending more. But whatsoeuer was
his purpose, *Tissaphernes* went to *Aspendus*, and was with
the *Phonicians*, and by his owne appointment, the *Pelopon-
nesians* sent *Philip* a *Lacedæmonian* with him with two Gal-
lies, as to take charge of the Fleet.

Alcibiades, when he heard that *Tissaphernes* was gone to C
Aspendus, goes after him with thirteene Gallies, promi-
sing to those at *Samos*, a safe and great benefit, which was,
that he would either bring those *Phœnician* Gallies to the
seruice of the *Athenians*, or at least hinder their comming
to the *Peloponnesians*; knowing, as is likely, the minde of
Tissaphernes by long acquaintance, that hee meant not to
bring them on, and desiring, as much as he could, to pro-
cure him the ill will of the *Peloponnesians*, for the friendship
shewne to himselfe and to the *Athenians*, that hee might D
thereby the better engage him to take their part. So hee
presently put to Sea, holding his course for *Phaselis* and
Camus vpwards.

The Ambassadors of the Foure-hundred being returned
from *Samos* to *Athens*, and hauing related what they had
in charge from *Alcibiades*, how that he exhorted them to hold
out, and not giue ground to the Enemy, and that he had great hopes
to reconcile them to the army, and to ouercome the *Peloponnesi-
ans*; whereas many of the sharers in the *Oligarchy*, were
formerly discontented, and would gladly, if they could E
haue done it safely, haue quitted the businesse, they were
now

Alcibiades, knowing that
Tissaphernes, would neuer
bring on the Fleet, goeth
after him, to make the
Peloponnesians thinke, the
Fleet was staid for his &
the *Athenians* sakes.

Sedition at *Athens*, about
the change of the *Oligar-
chy* into Democracy againe.

ANOW a great deale more confirmed in that minde. And already they had their meetings apart, and did cast aspersions on the Governement, and had for their ring-leaders, some of the heads of the *Oligarchicals*, and such as bare Office amongst them, as *Tberamenes* the sonne of *Agnon*, and *Aristocrates* the sonne of *Sicelias*, and others, who though they were partakers with the foremost in the affaires of State, yet feared, as they said, *Alcibiades*, and the Armie at *Samos*; and ioyned in the sending of Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, because they were loth, by singling themselves from the greater number, to hurt the State, not that they dismissed the State into the hands of a very few. But said, that the 5000 ought in fact to be assigned, and not in voice onely, and the Governement to be reduced to a greater equality. And this was indeede the forme pretended in words by the 400. But the most of them, through priuate ambition, fell vpon that, by which an *Oligarchy* made out of a *Democracy*, is chiefly ouerthrowne. For at once they claymed euery one, not to be equall, but to bee farre the chiefe. Whereas in a *Democracie*, when election is made, C because a man is not overcome by his equals, he can better brooke it. But the great power of *Alcibiades* at *Samos*, and the opinion they had that the *Oligarchy* was not like to last, was it that most evidently encouraged them; and therevpon they euery one contended, who should most eminently become the Patron of the *People*.

Ambition of the *Oligarchicals* amongst themselves, ouerthroweth their Governement.

But those of the *Four-hundred* that were most opposite to such a forme of Governement, and the principall of them, both *Phrynichus*, (who had beene Generall at *Samos*, and was euer since at difference with *Alcibiades*) and *Aristarchus*, a man that had beene an aduersary to the *People*; D both in the greatest manner, and for the longest time; and *Pisander* and *Antiphon*, and others of the greatest power, not onely formerly, as soone as they entred into authority, and afterward when the State at *Samos* reuolted to the *People*, sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, and bestirred themselves for the *Oligarchy*, and built a wal in the place called *Eetioneia*, but much more afterwards, when their Ambassadors were come from *Samos*, and that they saw not onely the *Populars*, but also some others of their own party, thought E trusty before, to bee now changed. And to *Lacedæmon* they sent *Antiphon* and *Phrynichus*, with tenne others, with

The *Oligarchs* fortifie
the mouth of the Hauen
of *Eetioneia*.

all possible speed, as fearing their aduersaries, both at home **A**
and at *Samos*, with Commission to make a Peace with the
Lacedemonians on any tolerable conditions: whatsoeuer, or
how soeuer, and in this time went on with the building of
the Wall in *Eetioneia* with greater diligence then before.
The scope they had in this Wall, as it was giuen out by
Theramenes the sonne of *Agnon* was not so much to keepe out
those of *Samos*, in case they should attempt by force, to en-
ter into *Piræus*, as at their pleasure to be able to let in both
the Gallies, and the Land-forces of the Enemies. For this
Eetioneia is the Peere of the *Piræus*, close vnto which is the **B**
mouth of the Hauen; and therefore they built this Wall,
so to another Wall, that was built before to the Continent,
that a few men lying within it, might command the en-
trance. For the end of each Wall was brought to the
Tower vpon the very mouth of the Hauen, as well of the
old Wall towards the Continent, as of the new which was
built within it to the water. They built also an open
* ground-gallery, an exceeding great one; and close to their
new Wall within *Piræus*, and ywere Masters of it, and con-
strained all men, as well to bring thither their corne, which **C**
they had already come in, as to vnload there whatsoeuer
should come in afterward, and to take & sell it from thence.

Theramenes murmureth a-
gainst their fortifying in
Eetioneia.

These things *Theramenes* murmured at long before, and
when the Ambassadors returned from *Lacedæmon*, with-
out compounding for them all in generall, he gaue out, that
this Wall would endanger the vndoing of the Citie. For
at this very instant, there hapned to be riding on the Coast
of *Laconia*, 42 Gallies, (amongst which were some of *Ta-*
rentum, some of *Locri*, some *Italians*, and some *Sicilians*) set
out from *Peloponnesus*, at the instance of the *Eubæans*, bound **D**
for *Eubæa*, and commanded by *Hegeandrides* the sonne of *He-*
gesander, a *Spartan*. And these *Theramenes* said were com-
ming, not so much towards *Eubæa*, as towards those that
fortified in *Eetioneia*, and that if they were not looked to,
they would surprize the City. Now some matter might
indeed be gathered also from those that were accused, so
that it was not a meere slander. For their principall de-
signe was to retaine the *Oligarchy*, with dominion ouer
their Confederates; but if they failed of that, yet
being masters of the Gallies and of the fortification, to haue **E**
subsisted free themselues; If barred of that, then, rather
then

The scope of the *Oligar-*
chicals.

A then to bee the onely men to suffer death vnder the restored *Democracie*, to let in the Enemy, and without either *Nauy* or *Fortification*, to haue let what would haue become of the City, and to haue compounded for the safety of their owne persons.

Therefore they went diligently on with the *Fortification*, wherein were *Wickets* and *Entries*, and backewayes for the Enemy, and desired to haue it finished in time. And though these things were spoken but amongst a few before, and in secret, yet when *Phrynichus*, after his

B returne from his *Lacedæmonian* Ambassage, was by a certaine Watchman wounded trecherously in the Market-place, when it was full, as he went from the Councell-house, and not farre from it, fell instantly dead, and the murtherer gone; and that one of his Complices, an *Argiue*, taken by the *Foure-hundred*, and put to the torture, would confesse no man of those named to him, nor any thing else, sauing this, that many men vsed to assemble at the house of the Captaine of the Watch, and at other houses, then at length, because this accident bred no alteration,

Phrynichus murdered.

C *Theramenes*, and *Aristocrates*, and as many other, either of the 400, or out of that number, as were of the same faction, proceeded more boldly to assault the Government. For now also the Fleet being come about from *Laconia*, and lying vpon the Coast of *Epidaurius*, had made incursions vpon *Ægina*. And *Theramenes* thereupon alledged, that it was improbable that those Gallies holding their course for *Eubœa*, would haue put in at *Ægina*, and then haue gone backe againe to lye at *Epidaurius*, vnlesse they had bene sent for by such men as he had euer accused of the

D same; and that therefore there was no reason any longer to sit still. And in the end, after many seditious and suspicious speeches, they fell vpon the State in good earnest. For the Souldiers that were in *Piræus*, employed in fortifying *Ectoneia*, (amongst whom was also *Aristocrates*, Captaine of a Band of men, and his Band with him) seized on *Alexicles*, principall Commander of the Souldiers vnder the *Foure-hundred*, an eminent man of the other side, and carrying him into a house, kept him in hold. As soone as the newes heereof was brought vnto the

Theramenes and his Faction set themselves against the rest of the 400.

E *Foure-hundred*, (who chanced at the same time to be sitting in the Councell-house) they were ready al of them presently

to haue taken Armes, threatning *Theramenes* and his A Faction.

He to purge himselfe was ready to goe with them, and to helpe to rescue *Alexicles*, and taking with him one of the Commanders, who was also of his Faction, went downe into *Piræus*. To helpe him went also *Aristarchus*, and certaine Horse-men of the yonger sort.

Great and terrible was the tumult. For in the Citie they thought *Piræus* was already taken, and him that was laid in hold, slaine. And in *Piræus* they expected euery B houre the power of the City to come vpon them. At last the ancient men, stopping them that ranne vp and downe the City to arme themselues, and *Thucydides* of *Pharalus*, the Cities * Host, being then there, going boldly and close vp to euery one he met, and crying out vnto them, not to destroy their Countrey, when the Enemy lay so neere waiting for an aduantage, with much adoe quieted them, and held their hands from spilling their owne blood. *Theramenes* comming into *Piræus*, for he also had command ouer the Souldiers, made a shew by his exclaiming, of beeing C angry with them; but *Aristarchus* and those that were of the contrary side, were extremely angry in good earnest. Neuerthelesse the Souldiers went on with their busines, and repented not a iot of what they had done. Then they asked *Theramenes*, if hee thought this Fortification were made to any good end, and whether it were not better to haue it demolished. And he answered, that if they thought good to demolish it, he also thought the same. At which word they presently got vp, both the Souldiers, and also many others, of *Piræus*, and fell a digging downe of the D Wall.

Now the prouocation that they vsed to the Multitude, was in these words: That whosoever desired that the Souerainety should be in the 5000 instead of the 400, ought also to set himselfe to the worke in hand. For notwithstanding all this, they thought fit as yet to vayne the Democracie with the name of the Five-thousand, and not to say plainly, Whosoever will haue the Souerainety in the People, lest the 5000. should haue bin extant indeed, and so a man by speaking to some or other of them, might doe hurt to the businesse, E through ignorance. And for this cause it was, that the

Four-

of the C. He that lodged the Athenians, when any of them came to *Pharalus*.

The souldiers pull downe the Wall they had built in *Ectoneia*.

A *Four-hundred* would neither let the *Five-thousand* bee ex-
tant, nor yet let it bee knowne that they were not. For to
make so many participant of the affaires of State, they
thought was a direct *Democracie*, but to haue it doubtfull,
would make them afraid of one another. The next day,
the *Four-hundred*, though out of order, yet met together
in the *Council-house*, and the Souldiers in *Piræus* hauing en-
larged *Alexicles*, whom they had before imprisoned, and
quite razed the Fortification, came into the Theater of
Bacchus, neere to *Munychia*, and there sate downe with their
B Armes, and presently, according as they had resolued in
an Assembly then holden, marched into the City, and there
sate downe againe in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. To
this place came vnto them certaine men elected by the
Four-hundred, and man to man reasoned and perswaded
with such as they saw to be of the mildest temper, both to
be quiet themselues, & to restraine the rest; saying, that not
onely the *Five-thousand* should be made knowne who they
were, but that out of these, such should be chosen in turnes,
to be of the *Four-hundred*, as the *Five-thousand* should
C thinke good; and entreating them by all meanes, that they
would not in the meane time ouerthrow the City, and
force it into the hand of the Enemy. Hereupon the whole
number of the men of Armes, after many reasons, alledged
to many men, grew calmer, and feared most the losse of
the whole City. And it was agreed betwixt them, that
an Assembly should be held, for making of accord, in the
Temple of *Bacchus* at a day assigned.

A day appointed for an
assembly, wherein to
treat of agreement.

When they came to the Temple of *Bacchus*, and wan-
D ted but a little of a full Assembly, came newes that *Heges-*
sandridas with his 42 Gallies, came from *Megara* along
the Coast towards *Salamis*. And now there was not a
Souldier, but thought it the very same thing that *Theramenes*
and his party had before told them, That those Gallies
were to come to the Fortification, and that it was now demolish-
ed to good purpose. But *Hegesandridas*, perhaps vpon appoint-
ment, houered vpon the Coast of *Epidaurus*, and thereabouts;
but it is likely, that in respect of the sedition of the *Athe-*
nians, he staid in those parts, with hope to take hold of
E some good aduantage. Howsoeuer it was, the *Athenians*, as
soone as it was told them, ran presently with all the po-

wer

wer of the City, downe to *Piræus*; lesse esteeming their domesticke Warre, then that of the Common Enemy, which was not now farre off, but euen in the Hauen. And some went aboard the Gallies that were then ready, some lanchd the rest, and others ranne to defend the Wallles, and mouth of the Hauen.

But the *Peloponnesian* Gallies being now gone by, and gotten about the Promontory of *Sunium*, cast Anchor betweene *Thoricon* and *Prasie*, and put in afterwards at *Oropus*. The *Athenians* with all speede, constrained to make vse of tumultuary Forces, such as a Citie in time of sedition might afford, and desirous with all haste to make good their greatest stake, (for *Eubæa*, since they were shut out of *Attica*, was all they had) sent a Fleet vnder the command of *Timocharis*, to *Eretria*. Which arriuing. with those Gallies that were in *Eubæa* before, made vp the number of sixe and thirty Sayle; and they were presently constrained to hazard Battell. For *Hegesandridas* brought out his Gallies from *Oropus*, when hee had first there dined:

Now *Oropus* is from *Eretria* about threescore Furlongs of Sea. Whereupon the *Athenians* also, as the Enemy came towards them, beganne to embarke, supposing that their Souldiers had beene some where neere vnto the Gallies; but it fell out, that they were gone abroad to get their dinner, not in the Market (for by set purpose of the *Eretrians*, to the end that the Enemy might fall vpon the *Athenians* that embarked slowly, before they were ready, and force them to come out and fight nothing was there to bee sold) but in the vtmost Houses of the Citie. There was besides a signe set vp at *Eretria*, to giue them notice at *Oropus*, at what time to set forward.

The *Athenians* drawne out by this deuice, and fighting before the Hauen of *Eretria*, made resistance neuertheless for a while, but afterwards they turned their backes, and were chased ashore. Such as fled to the City of the *Eretrians*, taking it for their friend, were handled most cruelly, and slaughtered by them of the Towne; but such as got to the Fort in *Eretria*, holden by the *Athenians*, saued themselues: And so did so many of their Gallies as got to *Cbalcis*.

The battell between the
Athenians and the Fleet of
Hegesandridas at *Eretria*.

The *Athenians* defeated.

The *Athenians* defeated.

The

A The *Peloponnesians*, after they had taken twelue *Athenian Gallies* with the men, whereof some they slew, and some they tooke prisoners, erected a *Trophie*; and not long after, hauing caused all *Eubœa* to reuolt, saue onely *Oreus* (which the *Athenians* held with their owne forces) they settled the rest of their businesse there.

Eubœa reuolteth.

When the newes of that which had hapned in *Eubœa*, was brought to *Athens*, it put the *Athenians* into the greatest astonishment that euer they had beene in before. For neither did their losse in *Sicily*, though then thought great,

The lamentable estate of the *Athenians* vpon the losse of *Eubœa*.

B nor any other at any time so much affright them, as this.

For now when the Army at *Samos* was in rebellion, when they had no more Gallies, nor men to put aboard, when they were in Sedition amongst themselves, and in continual expectation of falling together by the eares, then in the necke of all, arriued this great Calamity; wherein they not onely lost their Gallies, but also, which was worst of all, *Eubœa*, by which they had receiued more Commodity then by *Anica*. How then could they chooſe but be deiected? But most of all they were trou-

C bled, and that for the neerenesse, with a feare least vpon this victory, the enemy should take courage, and come immediately into *Pireus*; now empty of Shipping, of which they thought nothing wanting, but that they were not there already. And had they beene any thing aduenturous, they might easily haue done it, and then, had they stayed there and besieged them, they had not onely encreased the Sedition, but also compelled the Fleet to come away from *Ionis*, to the ayde of their kinred and of the whole City, though Enemies to the *Oligarchy*; and

The *Lacedæmonians* let slip the aduantage which they might haue had, if in prosecution of the victory, they had come to *Pireus*.

D in the meane time gotten, the *Hellespont*, *Ionis*, the *Ilands* and all places euen to *Eubœa*, and as one may say, the whole *Athenian Empire* into their power. But the *Lacedæmonians* not onely in this, but in many other things were most commodious enemies to the *Athenians* to Warre withall. For being of most different humours, the one swift, the other slow, the one aduenturous, the other timorous; the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them great aduantage, especially when their greatnesse was by Sea. This was euident in the *Syracusians*, who being in condition like vn-
E to them, warred best against them.

The *Lacedæmonians* commodious enemies to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* vpon this newes, made ready notwithstanding

The Athenians settle their Government, and put an end to the Sedition, by deposing the 400, & setting vp the 5000.

standing twenty Gallies; and called an Assembly, A
 then presently in the place called *Pnyx*, where they were
 wont to assemble at other times, in which hauing depo-
 sed the *Four-hundred*, they decreed the *Soueraignty* to the
Five-thousand, of which number were all such to bee, as were
 charged with *Armes*; and from that time forward to *Salari-*
ate no man for *Magistracy*, with a penalty on the *Magistrate*
 receiuing the *Salary*, to be held for an execrable person. There
 were also diuers other Assemblies held afterwards, where-
 in they elected *Law-makers*, and enacted other things
 concerning the *Gouernment*. And now first, (at least B
 in my time) the *Athenians* seeme to haue ordered their
State aright; which consisted now of a moderate temper,
 both of the *Few*, and of the *Many*. And this was the first
 thing, that after so many misfortunes past, made the *City*
 againe to raise her head.

They recall *Alcibiades*.

They decreed also the recalling of *Alcibiades*, and those
 that were in exile with him; and sending to him, and to
 the *Army* at *Samos*, willed them to fall in hand with
 their businesse. C

Most of the *Oligarchicals*
 fly to the enemy.

Aristarchus betrayeth
Oenoe.

In this change, *Pisander* and *Alexicles*; and such as
 were with them, and they that had beene principall
 in the *Oligarchy*, immediately withdrew themselues to
Decelea. Onely *Aristarchus* (for it chanced that hee had
 charge of the *Souldiers*) tooke with him certaine *Ar-*
chers, of the most *Barbarous*, and went with all speede
 to *Oenoe*. This was a Fort of the *Athenians* in the *Con-*
*fin*es of *Bæotia*, and (for the losse that the *Corinthians* had
 receiued by the *Garrison* of *Oenoe*,) was, by voluntary D
Corinthians, and by some *Bæotians* by them called in to
 ayde them, now besieged. *Aristarchus* therefore hauing
 treated with these, deceiued those in *Oenoe*, and told
 them; that the *City* of *Athens* had compounded with the
Lacedæmonians, and that they were to render vp the place
 to the *Bæotians*, for that it was so conditioned in the *Agree-*
ment. Whereupon, beleeuing him, as one that had au-
 thority ouer the *Souldiery*, and knowing nothing because
 besieged, vpon security for their passe, they gaue vp the
 Fort. So the *Bæotians* receiue *Oenoe*; and the *Oligarchy* and E
Sedition at *Athens* cease.

About

- A About the same time of this Summer, when none of those, whom *Tissaphernes*, at his going to *Aspendus*, had substituted to pay the *Peloponnesian* Nauie, at *Miletus*, did it; and seeing neither the *Phœnician* Fleet, nor *Tissaphernes* came to them; and seeing *Philip*, that was sent along with him, and also another, one *Hippocrates* a *Spartan*, that was lying in *Phaselis*, had written to *Mindarus* the Generall, That the Fleete was not to come at all, and in euery thing *Tissaphernes* abused them; seeing also that *Pharnabazus* had sent
- B for them, and was willing, vpon the comming to him of their Fleete, for his owne part also, as well as *Tissaphernes*, to cause the rest of the Cities within his owne Prouince to reuolt from the *Athenians*; Then at length, *Mindarus* hoping for benefit by him, with good order, and sudden warning, that the *Athenians* at *Samos* might not bee aware of their setting foorth, went into the *Hellepont* with seauenty three Gallies, besides sixteene, which the same Summer were gone into the *Hellepont* before, and had ouer-runne part of *Chersonesus*. But tossed with the
- C Winds, hee was forced to put in at *Icarus*, and after hee had staid there through ill weather some fīue or sixe dayes, he arriued at *Chios*.

Mindarus with the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, seeing *Tissaphernes* and the *Phœnician* Fleet came not, resolues to goe to *Pharnabazus* in the *Hellepont*.

- Thrasyllus* hauing beene aduertised of his departure from *Miletus*, hee also puts to Sea from *Samos*, with fīue and fifty Sayle, halting to bee in the *Hellepont* before him. But hearing that hee was in *Chios*, and conceiuing that hee would stay there, hee appointed
- D Spyes to lye in *Lesbos*, and in the Continent ouer against it, that the Fleet of the Enemy might not remoue without his knowledge; and hee himselfe going to *Methymna*, commanded prouision to bee made of Meale, and other necessaries, intending, if they stayed there long, to goe from *Lesbos*, and inuade them in *Chios*.

Mindarus stayeth by the way at *Chios*, *Thrasyllus* in the meane time out-goes him, and watches for his going by at *Lesbos*.

- Withall, because *Ereffiis* was reuolted from *Lesbos*, he purposed to goe thither with his Fleet, if hee could,
- E to take it in. For the most potent of the *Methymnian* Exiles had gotten into their society, about fīfty men of
- Yyy
- Armes,

Armes, out of *Cyme*, and hired others out of the Conti-
 A
 nent, and with their whole number, in all three hundred,
 hauing for their Leader *Anaxarchus* a *Theban*, chosen in re-
 spect of their descent from the *Thebans*, first assaulted *Me-*
thymna, but beaten in the attempt, by the *Athenian* Gar-
 rison that came against them from *Mitylene*, and againe
 in a Skirmish without the Citie, driuen quite away,
 they passed by the way of the Mountaine to *Eressus*,
 and caused it to reuolt. *Thraſyllus* therefore intended to
 goe thither with his Gallies, and to assault it. At his
 comming, hee found *Thraſybulus* there also before him, B
 with fīue Gallies from *Samos*: For hee had beene aduer-
 tised of the Out-lawes comming ouer; but beeing too
 late to preuent them, hee went to *Eressus*, and lay before
 it at Anchor. Hither also came two Gallies of *Methymna*,
 that were going home from the *Helleſpont*; so that they
 were in all threescore and seuen Sayle, out of which they
 made an Armie, intending with Engines, or any other
 way they could, to take *Eressus* by assault.

Mindarus and his fleet
 stole by into the *Helles-*
ſpont vntill of those that
 watched their going, in
Lesbos.

* a *Tessaraeſte*, seemeth
 to haue bene a coyne among
 the *Chians* and the *Atticks*
 part of some other greater
 coyne.

In the meane time, *Mindarus*, and the *Peloponnesian* Fleet
 that was at *Chius*, when they had spent two dayes in C
 victualling their Gallies, and had receiued of the *Chians*
 three *Chian* * *Tessaraeſtes* a man, on the third day put spee-
 dily off from *Chius*; and kept farre from the shore, that
 they might not fall amongst the Gallies at *Eressus*. And
 leauing *Lesbos* on the left hand, went to the Continent
 side, and putting in at a Hauen in *Craterai*, belonging to
 the Territory of *Phocaea*, and there dining, passed along
 the Territory of *Cyme*, and came to *Arginuse* in the Con-
 tinent, ouer against *Mitylene*, where they supped. From
 thence they put forth late in the night, and came to *Har-* D
matius, a place in the Continent ouer against *Methymna*, and
 after dinner going a great pace by *Leſtus*, *Larissa*, *Hamaxitus*,
 and other the Townes in those parts, came before midnight
 to *Rhatium*; this now is in *Helleſpont*. But some of his Gal-
 lies put in at *Sigeum*, and other places thereabouts.

The *Athenians* at *Sestus*
 with 18 Gallies stole
 out of the *Hellespont*, but
 are met by *Mindarus*, and
 4 of them taken.

The *Athenians* that lay with eighteene Gallies at
Sestus, knew that the *Peloponnesians* were entring into
 the *Helleſpont*, by the Fires, both those which their owne
 Watchmen put vp, & by the many which appeared on the
 Enemies shore, and therefore the same night, in all haste, E
 as they were, kept the shore of *Cherſonnesus*, towards *Eleus*,
 desiring

A desiring to get out into the wide Sea, and to decline the Fleete of the Enemy; and went out vntoene of those sixteene Gallies that lay at *Abydus*, (though these had warning before from the Fleete of their friends that came on, to watch them narrowly, that they went not out) but in the morning, beeing in sight of the Fleete with *Mindarus*, and chased by him, they could not all escape, but the most of them got to the Continent, and into *Lemnos*; onely foure of the hindmost were taken neere *Elaeus*; whereof the *Peloponnesians* tooke one with the men in her, that had run her selfe a-ground at the Temple of *Protesilaus*, and two other without the men, and set fire on a fourth, abandoned vpon the shoare of *Imbrus*.

After this they besieged *Elaeus* the same day, with those Gallies of *Abydus*, which were with them, and with the rest, being now all together fourescore and sixe Sayle. But seeing it would not yeeld, they went away to *Abydus*.

C The *Athenians*, who had beene deceived by their Spyes, and not imagining that the Enemies Fleete could haue gone by without their knowledge, and attended at leasure the assault of *Eressus*, when now they knew they were gone, immediately left *Eressus*, and hasted to the defence of *Hellepont*. By the way they tooke two Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, that hauing ventured into the Maine more boldly in following the Enemy, then the rest had done, chanced to light vpon the Fleet of the *Athenians*.

D The next day they came to *Elaeus*, and slayed, and thither, from *Imbrus*, came vnto them those other Gallies that had escaped from the Enemy. Heere they spent siue dayes in preparation for a Battell. After this, they fought in this manner. The *Athenians* went by the shore, ordering their Gallies one by one, towards *Sessus*. The *Peloponnesians* also, when they saw this, brought out their Fleet against them from *Abydus*.

Beeing sure to fight, they drew out their Fleets in length, the *Athenians* along the shoare of *Chersonnesus*, beginning at *Idacus*, and reaching as farre as *Arrbiane*,

Y y 2

three.

The *Athenians* hast from *Lesbos* after the *Peloponnesians* into *Hellepont*.

The *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* fight, and the *Athenians* get the victory.

threescore and sixe Gallies. And the *Peloponnesians*, A
from *Abydu* to *Dardanus*, fourescore and sixe Gallies. In
the right Wing of the *Peloponnesians*, were the *Syracu-*
sians; in the other, *Mindarus* himselfe, and those Gallies
that were nimblest. Amongst the *Athenians*, *Thrasyllus*
had the left Wing, and *Thrasylbulus* the right, and the
rest of the Commanders, euery one the place assigned
him.

Now the *Peloponnesians* laboured to giue the first on-
set, and with their left Wing to ouer-reach the right
Wing of the *Athenians*, and keepe them from going B
out, and to driue those in the middle, to the shore which
was neere. The *Athenians*, who perceiued it, where the
Enemy went about to cut off their way out, put
foorth the same way that they did, and out-went
them.

The left Wing of the *Athenians* was also gone for-
ward by this time, beyond the point called **Cynos-sema*,
by meanes whereof that part of the Fleet which was
in the midst, became both weake and diuided, especi-
ally when theirs was the lesse Fleet; and the sharpe C
and angular figure of the place about *Cynos-sema* tooke
away the sight of what passed there, from those that
were on the other side.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore charging this middle part,
both draue their Gallies to the dry Land, and beeing
farre superiour in fight, went out after them, and as-
saulted them vpon the shore. And to helpe them,
neither was *Thrasylbulus* able, who was in the right Wing,
for the multitude of the Enemies that pressed him;
nor *Thrasyllus* in the left Wing, both because hee could D
not see what was done for the Promontory of *Cynos-sema*,
and because also hee was kept from it by the *Syracusi-*
ans and others, lying vpon his hands, no fewer in
number then themselves. Till at last the *Peloponnesians*,
bold vpon their victory, chasing some one Gally, some
another, fell into some disorder, in a part of their Armie.
And then those about *Thrasylbulus*, hauing obserued that the
opposite Gallies sought now no more to go beyond them,
turned vpon them, and fighting, put them presently to
flight. And hauing also cut off from the rest of the E
Fleet, such Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, of that part
that

* The Sepulcher of Hecuba.
Eurip.

A that had the victory, as were scattered abroad, some they assaulted, but the greatest number they put into affright vnfoughten. The *Syracusians* also, whom those about *Thrasyllus* had already caused to shrink, when they saw the rest fly, fled out-right.

This defeat being giuen, and the *Peloponnesians* hauing for the most part escaped, first to the Riuer *Pydius*, and afterwards to *Abydus*; though the *Athenians* tooke but few of their Gallies, (for the narrowness of the *B Hellespont* afforded to the Enemy a short retreat) yet the Victory was the most seasonable to them that could be. For hauing till this day stood in feare of the *Peloponnesian* Nauie, both for the losse which they had receiued by little and little, and also for their great losse in *Sicily*, they now ceased eyther to accuse themselues, or to thinke highly any longer of the Nauall power of their Enemies. The Gallies they tooke were these; eight of *Chios*, five of *Corinth*, of *Ambracia* two, of *Leucas*, *Laconia*, *Syracuse*, and *Pellene*, one apiece. Of their owne C they lost fiftene.

When they had set vp a Trophie in the Promontory of *Cynos-sema*, and taken vp the wreckes, and giuen truce to the Enemies to fetch away the bodies of their dead, they presently sent away a Gally with a Messenger, to carry newes of the Victory to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, vpon the comming in of this Gally, hearing of their vnexpected good fortune, were encouraged much, after their losse in *Eubœa*, and after their sedition, and conceiued that their estate might yet keepe vp, if they plyed the businesse couragiously. D

The fourth day after this Battell, the *Athenians* that were in *Sestus*, hauing hastily prepared their Fleet, went to *Cyzicus* which was reuolted, and espying as they past by, the eight Gallies come from *Byzantium*, riding vnder *Harpagium* and *Priapus*, set vpon them, and hauing also ouercome those that came to their ayde from the Land, tooke them. Then comming to *Cyzicus*, being an open Towne, they brought it againe into their owne power, E and leauied a summe of Money amongst them.

The courage of the *Athenians* erected with this victory.

The *Athenians* rebouled *Cyzicus*, and take 8 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*.

The

The Peloponnesians recover some of their Gallies taken, at Eleus.

They send for the Fleet with Hippamidas out of Eubœa.

Alcibiades returneth from Apendus to Samos.

He fortieth Cos.

The Antandrians put out the Garrison of Tissaphernes out of their Cittadell.

Tissaphernes goeth toward Hellepont, to recover the fauour of the Peloponnesians.

The Peloponnesians in the meane time going from Aby- A
dus to Eleus, recovered as many of their Gallies formerly taken, as remained whole. The rest, the Eleusians had burnt. They also sent Hippocrates and Epicles into Eubœa, to fetch away the Fleet that was there.

About the same time also, returned Alcibiades to Samos, with his thirteene Gallies from Caunus and Phaselis, reporting that he had diuerted the Phœnician Fleete from comming to the Peloponnesians, and that hee had inclined Tissaphernes to the friendship of the Athenians, more then B
hee was before. Thence manning out nine Gallies more, hee exacted a great summe of money of the Halicarnassians, and fortified Cos. Being now almost Autumne, hee returned to Samos

The Peloponnesians being now in Hellepont, the Antandrians (who are Æolians) receiued into the City men of Armes from Abydus by Land, through Mount Ida, vpon iniury that had beene done them by Arsaces, a Deputy Lieutenant of Tissaphernes. This Arsaces hauing fained a cer- C
taine Warre, not declared against whom, had formerly called out the chiefeft of the Delians, (the which in hal- lowing of Deles by the Athenians were turned out, and had planted themselues in Adramyttium) to goe with him to this War. And when vnder colour of amity and confederacy hee had drawne them out, he obserued a time when they were at dinner, and hauing hemmed them in with his owne Souldiers murdered them with darts. And therefore, for this acts sake, fearing lest hee might doe some vnlawfull pranke against them also, and for that hee had otherwise D
done them iniury, they cast his Garrison out of their Cit- tadell.

Tissaphernes hearing of this, (being the act of the Peloponnesians, as well as that at Miletus, or that at Cnidus, for in those Cities his Garrisons had also beene cast out in the same manner) and conceiuing that hee was deeply charged to them, and fearing lest they should doe him some other hurt; and withall not enduring that Pharnabazus should receiue them, and with lesse time and cost, speed better against the Athenians then hee had done, E
resolved to make a journey to them in the Hellepont, both to com-

A complaine of what was done at *Antandrus*, and to cleere himsele of his accusations, the best he could, as well concerning the *Phœnician* Fleet, as other matters. And first he put in at *Ephesus*, and offered Sacrifice to *Diana*.

When the Winter following, this Summer shall bee ended, the one and twentieth yeere [of this Warre] shall bee compleat.

* * *

The end of the one and twentieth Summer.

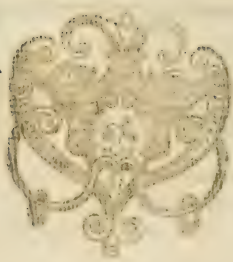
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